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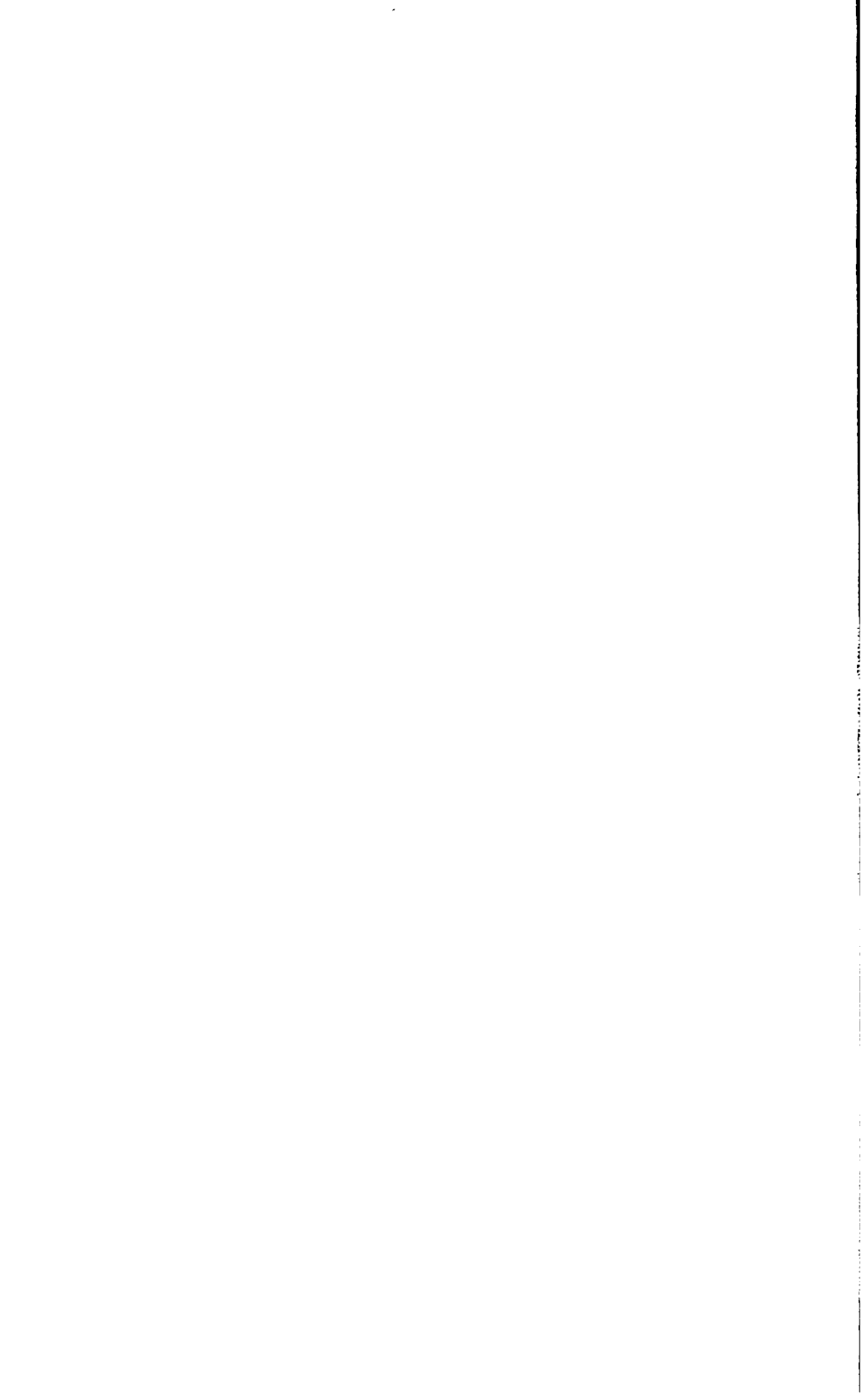
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A HISTORY
OF
The Weald of Kent,

WITH AN OUTLINE OF THE
HISTORY OF THE COUNTY TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY
ROBERT FURLEY, F.S.A.

ALSO,
A SKETCH OF THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE DISTRICT,

BY
HENRY B. MACKESON, F.G.S.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAP.	PAGE
XXIV. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S RENTAL OF THE MANOR OF ALDINGTON AND ITS DENES.—NEW RENTS RESERVED IN SUBSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S RIGHT TO THE TIMBER.—TUNBRIDGE CASTLE UNDER THE EARLS OF STAFFORD AND DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM.—PENSURST UNDER THE DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM.—VISCOUNT ROCHFORD, OF HEVER CASTLE, FATHER OF ANNE BOLEYNE.—CARDINAL WOLSEY.—TUNBRIDGE PRIORY	425
XXV. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—HENRY THE EIGHTH'S JOURNEYS THROUGH KENT.—ERASMUS, RECTOR OF ALDINGTON.—ELIZABETH BARTON, THE HOLY MAID OF KENT.—THE CARDINAL'S COURT.—THE LEADING FAMILIES IN THE WEALD.—ITS DISTURBED STATE.—PERSECUTION OF HERETICS.—VISITATION OF MONASTERIES.—THEIR DISSOLUTION.—DESTRUCTION OF BECKET'S SHRINE.—JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.—SHERIFFS IN THE WEALD ..	435
XXVI. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—EDWARD VI.—MURDER OF ARDEN OF FAVERSHAM.—QUEEN MARY.—JUDGE HALES.—THE WYATT REBELLION.—CARDINAL POLE.—MARIAN PERSECUTION.—LOSS OF CALAIS	466
XXVII. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONCLUDED.—QUEEN ELIZABETH.—MANORS OF WYE AND TUNBRIDGE GRANTED TO THE QUEEN'S NEPHEW, LORD HUNSDON.—THE BROADCLOTH AND IRON MANUFACTORIES, AND ROADS IN THE WEALD.—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE WEALD.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTY.—THE SPANISH ARMADA.—HAWKHURST AND MARDEN AND THEIR DENES.—THE CHURCH.—PUBLIC STATUTES.—EARTHQUAKES, &c., IN KENT	477
XXVIII. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.—TUNBRIDGE.—WYE, AND ITS PURCHASE BY THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA.—A ROYAL SURVEY OF ALDINGTON AND ITS DENES, LYMINGE, MARDEN, &c.—CREATION AND LIST OF KENTISH BARONETS.—ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCESS HENRIETTA MARIA AT DOVER AND CANTERBURY, AND MARRIAGE OF CHARLES I.—SIR DUDLEY DIGGES.—SIR JOHN COLEPEPER.—FOREST EXACTIONS.—ABOLITION OF MONOPOLIES AND PATENT OFFICES, AND SIR JOHN COLEPEPER'S SPEECH THEREON.—ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND SPANISH FLEETS IN THE DOWNS.—THE LONG PARLIAMENT.—SIR EDWARD DERING, BART.—SYMPATHY OF THE WEALD WITH THE PURITANS.	519
XXIX. THE RISING OF THE KENTISH ROYALISTS IN 1648.	534
XXX. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.—THE COMMONWEALTH.—KENTISH MANSIONS, &c., PLUNDERED.—HOTFIELD PARK.—SURVEY OF THE SEVEN HUNDREDS IN THE WEALD.—RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—SHEERNESS.—DUTCH FLEET IN THE THAMES.—THE DOVER TREATY.—JAMES II. A ROMAN CATHOLIC.—CASE OF SIR EDWARD HALES (THE YOUNGER).—THE KING'S ABDICATION, DETENTION AT FAVERSHAM, RETURN TO LONDON, AND FLIGHT TO ST. GERMAIN. ...	553

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

XXXI. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—PLOT AGAINST THE LIFE OF WILLIAM III.—THE CLOTHIERS AND WOOL SMUGGLING.—THE IRON WORKS AND ROADS IN THE WEALD	566
XXXII. THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONCLUDED.—THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEALD.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—PURVEYANCE.—APPAREL.—PUBLIC STATUTES.—TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—MEN OF EMINENCE.—M.P.s AND SHERIFFS RESIDING IN THE WEALD	85
XXXIII. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—THE KENTISH PETITION, A.D. 1701.—THE CLOTHIERS, IRON WORKS, ALTERED TENURE OF THE DENES, AND ROADS IN THE WEALD.—ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—THE CHURCH.—THE HAWKHURST GANG OF SMUGGLERS.—THE GREAT STORM IN THE WEALD OF 1763.—GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AT LEEDS CASTLE AND THE MOTE.—MEN OF EMINENCE FROM THE WEALD.—M.P.s AND SHERIFFS FOR KENT	604
XXXIV. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.—THE THREATENED INVASION OF ENGLAND.—THE GREAT BOUNDARY AND TITHE CAUSE IN THE WEALD.—THE TITHE ACT.—THE TENTERDEN TITHE SUIT.—COBBETT IN THE WEALD.—THE RAILWAYS THROUGH THE WEALD.—THE ARCHBISHOPS.—CHURCHES IN THE WEALD.—M.P.s FOR KENT.—SHERIFFS, &c.	637
XXXV. SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING HISTORY OF THE WEALD.—ITS KENTISH BOUNDARY.—ITS DENES, WHERE SITUATE, AND THE OUTLYING MANORS OF WHICH THEY WERE HELD.—THE OPINIONS OF MODERN WRITERS ON IT.—ITS ANCIENT CASTLES, PARKS, &c.—ITS CHIEF OWNERS.—ITS LITTLE COLONY OF ARTISTS	690
XXXVI. SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING HISTORY OF KENT AS A KINGDOM AND AS A SHIRE, ITS BOUNDARY, AND CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS	749
APPENDIX A. LETTER FROM JAMES II., WHILE HE WAS DETAINED AT FAVERSHAM, TO THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA	825
APPENDIX B. LETTER FROM ARTHUR YOUNG ON THE TRIAL OF O'CONNOR AND OTHERS, A.D. 1798	825
APPENDIX C. TABLE OF THE ANCIENT DENES	827
APPENDIX D. A LIST OF THE PARISHES, &c., IN AND ON THE BORDERS OF THE WEALD, THE PRESENT INCUMBENTS, POPULATION, &c.	833
APPENDIX E. WEALD OF KENT TOKENS	837
APPENDIX F. COBBETT ON ROMNEY MARSH, A.D. 1823	845
APPENDIX G. THE DIVISION BETWEEN EAST, MID, AND WEST KENT	846
APPENDIX H. EXTRACTS FROM ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S DIARY	847

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. — ARCHBISHOP WARHAM'S RENTAL OF THE MANOR OF ALDINGTON AND ITS DENES. — NEW RENTS RESERVED IN SUBSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S RIGHT TO THE TIMBER. — TUNBRIDGE CASTLE UNDER THE EARLS OF STAFFORD AND DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM. — PENSURST UNDER THE DUKES OF BUCKINGHAM. — VISCOUNT ROCHFORD, OF HEVER CASTLE, FATHER OF ANNE BOLEYN. — CARDINAL WOLSEY. — TUNBRIDGE PRIORY.

THIS century includes the nine last years of the reign of Henry VII., and the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth (except the last three years), in the following order of time :—

CHAP. XXIV.

HENRY VIII.,*	from 22nd April, 1509, to 28th Jan.,	1547.
EDWARD VI.,	„ 28th Jan., 1547, „ 6th July,	1553.
MARY,	„ 6th July, 1553, „ 24th July,	1554.
PHILIP AND MARY,	„ 25th July, 1554, „ 17th Nov.,	1558.
ELIZABETH,	„ 17th Nov., 1558, „ 24th March,	1603.

I feel I cannot better describe the changes which were going on in the holdings of the different denes in the Weald of Kent, during the sixteenth century, and the relaxation of the lords' rights over them, than by referring to another rent-roll at this period of our history.

The manor of Aldington still formed part of the possessions of the See of Canterbury. The rental of Archbishop Warham, from Michaelmas, 1512 (4 Henry VIII.), is among the manorial documents. It includes the park,

A.D. 1512.
Archbishop
Warham's
rental of
the manor of
Aldington.

* Henry VIII., and all his children mentioned above, were born at Greenwich, as a royal residence now preferred to Eltham.

CHAP. XXIV.
The Aldington
Rental, temp.
Hen. VIII.

the mill at *Sebrocke*, and the occupation of Willop by William and Thomas Knachebull. There is a minute description of the holdings at and near Hythe, the tenants' names, with an account rendered by the park-keeper of Saltwood of the herbage, agistment, and pannage of hogs; the occupation of Chene and the *new Marsh* there, by the Brokhills; the lands both salt and fresh; the fishery in "*le Chanell*;" the lands of Upper and Northsture. There is also an account of land which had escheated from bastardy, and of land in Appledore which had been lately acquired, and before had been submerged in the sea.

The Dene of
Rolvynnden.

This rent-roll then sets out an account of John Lucas, "Collector of the rents in the Weald," to which I would more especially direct the attention of the reader. We find, under "New Rents," "6s. received of John Mongeham, and his partners, for the dene of Rolvynden, belonging to the manor of Aldington, that they and their heirs may in future times dispose of all the wood growing upon the same dene, and that which shall hereafter grow in it, at their pleasure, in addition to the ancient rent and service formerly due and accustomed therefrom."

Ante, pp. 198,
201, 333.

Here we again meet with a composition between the lord and the tenants of this particular dene, by which the tenants paid a new or increased rent for all the timber growing in it; thus confirming what has been previously stated, and establishing the fact that Archbishop Warham continued to pursue the course adopted by his predecessors and the Abbots of Battle, the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the several religious houses during the reigns of Edward I., II., and III., in allowing the tenants of the denes, by the payment of this new rent, to acquire the important right of converting the timber to their own use, and cultivating the land as they thought most to their own advantage.

In this rental of Archbishop Warham, I find similar compositions in no less than twenty of the denes belonging to this manor, which it is needless to name

except that one of them was the Isle of Oxney,* and one of them was held by John Deryng and others, the rents varying in each case. CHAP. XXIV.

Under the head of "Customs," there is further reference to the denes: "To 11s. of *dangerii*† per annum for eleven denes when there is no pannage, except the dene of Iden, which owed no *dangerius*." Now that this composition had been entered into, the right to danger and pannage ceased. Ante, p. 384.

William Brabam is returned as the farmer of Cranbrook Rectory, and a payment of £36 2s. is made for "the farm and wood sales;" the amount expended for the repair of the Church and Rectory is £21 10s. 4½d.

Let us now turn to Tunbridge, and its Castle, Manor, and Priory. Tunbridge.

Edmund, the last of the Earls of Stafford and owners of Tunbridge referred to in these pages, was succeeded by his son Humphry, who greatly distinguished himself for his valour both at home and abroad. He became Earl and afterwards Duke of Buckingham, Constable of Dover and Queenborough Castles, and Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He was slain at the battle of Northampton, fighting on the side of Henry VI. His eldest son had been slain at the previous battle of St. Albans, and the grandson of Humphry (Henry) succeeded to the titles and estates. His head was struck off at Salisbury,‡ by Richard III., without any previous arraignment or judgment. Henry VII. reinstated his eldest son, Edward, in his father's rank and patrimony, including Tunbridge, and he became a favourite with this monarch. His Ante, p. 365.

* Oxney Ferry was parcel of the Manor of Aldington.

† Danger-silver was paid for permission to plough and sow in time of pannage. For an explanation of "danger," and "pannage," vide p. 5 of this volume.

‡ This Henry, Duke of Buckingham, was advanced by Richard III. to the offices of Constable of England and of all the castles, Steward of all the King's Lordships, Great Chamberlain, and other lucrative offices; but he at last took up arms against him. £1,000 was offered for his apprehension. He was betrayed by a servant named Bannister, who was rewarded for this act of treachery with the Manor of Yalding, in this county, part of the Duke's possessions. — *Hated*, Vol. II., p. 329 (f).

CHAP. XXIV. haughty and ambitious spirit, however, provoked the jealousy and hostility of Cardinal Wolsey, and he was charged with aspiring to the throne. He was tried, and beheaded on Tower Hill, 17th May, 1521. Tunbridge Castle, with its Manor, again passed into the hands of the Crown, as well as the Lordship of Penshurst, and they were both held by Henry VIII. for the remainder of his life.

The State Papers contain a very interesting account of the castles, parks, etc., not only of Tunbridge, but also of Penshurst, during this century, and no apology is needed for inserting it here, especially as both are in the Weald of Kent.

SURVEY OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S LANDES.
THE HONOR OF GLOUCESTER.

State Papers,
13 Hen. VIII.,
May, 1521.

[First come the Duke's possessions in Somerset and other counties, then those in Kent and Surrey, all belonging to this Honor.]

"The lordship of Tunbrigg, called Tunbrigg Burgus, 9*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* Tunbrigg Larder, nothing. Tunbrigg Chamber, 15*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* The office of balliff of the Liberty of Tunbrigg, 10*s.* The farm of the meadows and pastures of Tunbrigg, 115*s.* The mills of Tunbrigg, 12*l.*

Sum, 42*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.*

*The Manroode.**—The number of the manrode there, 30.

Tunbridge.

The Castle and Town.—The castle there hath been, and yet is, a strong fortress for the three parts thereof; and the fourth part, on the south side, being fortified with a deep running water, was intended to have been made for apartments, and so resteth upon 26 foot height, builded with asheler,† and no more done thereunto; the other three parts of the castle being continued with a great gate-house ere the front entry. A dungeon and two towers are substantially builded with the walls, and embattelung with good stone, having substantial roofs of timber, and lately well covered with lead, except the one half of the dungeon was uncovered. And as unto the said gate-house [it] is as strong a fortress as few be in England, standing on the north side, having a conveyance well embattelung on both sides to the said dungeon on the west side. And on the south-east side there is a like conveyance to a fair square tower, called Stafforde Tower, and from thence to another fair tower standing upon the water nigh to the town bridge, being builded eight-square, and called the Water Tower. This castle was the strongest fortress and most like unto a castle of any other that the Duke had in England or in Wales, &c.

The town of Tunbrigg is a burgh large and well inhabited with people, having plenty of water running through in sundry places.

* The number of the tenants on the Manor.

† Ashlar, a facing made of squared stones.

Parks.—Item, nigh adjoining to the same town there is a proper park called the Postern, well set with oaks and beeches, containing about 3 miles, having in it by estimation 300 fallow deer; and in the same be 52 islands environed with water. Item, in the same park is a proper lodge convenient for a gentleman to live in. Item, nigh adjoining to the same park is another proper park called the Cage, containing about . . . miles, well set with beeches and oaks, having in it by estimation . . . fallow deer. Item, nigh adjoining to the same park there is another great and goodly park called the North Firth, containing about 7 miles, well and plenteously set with oaks and beeches, having in it by estimation . . . fallow deer and . . . red deer, which repair to every of the said parks.

Hawks.—Item, in the said park of North Firth there is an hayer (eyrie) of Goshawks and another of Lanners.

Foundations.—The foundation of the Priory of Tunbrigge, being of Canons of the order of St. Augustine—The advowson of the Church of Herdes besides Canterbury.

[Then follows an account of the offices of constable and porter of the said castle, keeper of North Firth park (this last occupied by Sir Edward Guylforde, with herbage and pannage and 3d. a day), keeper of the Postern and Cage parks, and baili of Tunbregge and the liberties there. The fees vary from 6l. 13s. 4d.

Then follows the lordship of Southborowe.

Hadlowe.—The lordship of Hadlowe at 34l. 14s. 10d. The number of the manrode there, 16.

We next meet with an account of numerous other possessions of the Duke in England and Wales, and under the head of "*Purchased lands*" is the following account of the lordship of Penshurst:—

Kent.—The lordship of Penshurst at 18l. 2s. 0½d.

The Manrode.—The number of the manrode there, 23.

Penshurst.

The Manor Place.—The manor there, standing in the park called Redeleff, is a goodly manor and well builded for the most part of asheler stone, with a goodly hall, chambers, and lodgings, and houses of offices accordingly. Item, upon the east part of the same manor is a fair orchard, and fair alleys in the same for walking. Item, in the base court, or without the same manor, is a large and fair stable, and also a fair barn for hay.

Advowson.—Within the same manor is a donative or a chantry, and in valour, 4l. 11s.

Parks.—There be 2 parks, the one called as is aforesaid Redeleff, and the other Asahore, a river being partition between them, containing about 5 miles; and in the same be by estimation 400 of fallow deer. Item, within a mile of the said manor is another park called the park of Northlegh, containing about 3 miles, and having in it by estimation . . . of fallow deer.

As Heronry.—Item, in the said parks of Redeleff and Asahore is an heronry.

Hawks.—Item, in the same park is yearly an heyer (eyrie) of goshawks."

CHAP. XXIV. The able paper on the history and architecture of Penshurst, by Mr. J. H. Parker, read at the annual meeting of the Kent Archæological Society at Penshurst in 1868 (which, however, does not contain the foregoing valuation and return), will be found in the August number of the Gentleman's Magazine for 1863, p. 180.

Sir Thos.
Boleyn.

About the year 1525 Henry VIII. had become enamoured with the gay and accomplished Anne Boleyn, the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and honours were rapidly conferred upon the fortunate owner of Hever Castle, who was made Viscount Rochford in June, 1525, and afterwards Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.* From the following letters referring to the repairs of the castle and bridge of Tunbridge, one might almost infer that he was at this time custodian of that castle.

THOMAS, VISCOUNT ROCHFORD, TO SIR JOHN DAWNCY.†
17TH JULY [1525].

State Papers,
Henry VIII.,
A.D., 1525.

"Master Dawncy,—In my heartiest manner I recommend me unto you. Sir, you must see that this bearer have more money for the finishing of the bridge at Tone[brige],‡ the covering of the castle there, and the necessary reparations at Pensherst, or else it cannot be done according as the King commanded it. I t[h]ink a small sum will finish it for a long while; also, if it should not be finished, all the cost [that] is done upon it hitherto will be lost, and yet [at] length the King must make it. This bearer can both declare to you how the money is spent that hath been received, and how much will finish it. Praying you that ye will despatch him again as shortly as ye may, for there is on the bridge || masons, besides other laborers; and if he be not there to oversee them, they will work at ley[sure]. And thus our Lord have you in his keeping. From Hever, this 17 day of July, with the ill hand of your own to my little power,

Repairs at
Tunbridge and
Penshurst.

THOMAS ROCHEFORD."

THOMAS VISCOUNT ROCHFORD TO SIR JOHN DAWNCY.
8TH AUGUST [1525].

Ib.

"Master Dawncy,—In my heartiest manner I recommend me unto you, ascertaining you that both the bridge at Tonbryge, and the new covering with tile of the castle there, whereof the lead was had to Eltham, and

* He made considerable additions to Hever Castle, which his grandfather, a wealthy mercer and Lord Mayor of London, had commenced.

† He was one of the surveyors of Crown Lands.

‡ The document is mutilated here and in other places.

|| The number is illegible.

the mending of the place at Penaherst, be almost at a good point; saving there lacketh 4 fother and a half of lead for the gutters of that which is new tiled of the covering of the castle, and that must needs be had, and that now shortly to be laid on, or else all the cost that is done hitherto will be lost. Also, ye must furnish this bearer with such money as shall make an end of the bridge, and for laying of the gutters on the castle; and then I think ye shall no more be called upon neither for the bridge nor the castle at Tonbryge by no man's days that is alive, for it is substantially done, and the bridge 100 and 4 foot in length, and all of free stone; so that, when ye shall see it, I think ye would judge that it hath cost more money than the King shall pay; and thus in my heartiest wise I betake you to God. From Hever, this 8 day of August, by your own to my little power,

T. ROCHEFORD."

Justice has never been hitherto done to the early history of Tunbridge and its lords and owners.

The forest or chase of South Frith we have seen was separated from the Castle in the early part of the fourteenth century. Cecilia, Duchess of York, and mother of Edward IV., held it until her death in 1495, when it reverted to the Crown, and Henry VIII. appointed Sir George Brooke, Lord Cobham, the ranger, with the custody of the pannage and herbage and an allowance of sufficient wood and fuel for the lodges in it. He also appointed him Steward of the Hundreds of Washlingstone, Littlefield, and Barnfield. This King also appointed Ralph Fane his chief bailiff, and park-keeper of the Postern and Cage Parks at Tunbridge and all the warrens within the Manor, Burg, or Lowy of Tunbridge, with the herbage and pannage, and the custody of all waters, rivers, and ponds, at a salary of 10*l.*, and 2*d.* a day as park-keeper of the Postern or Inner Park, and 1*d.* per day for the Cage, and 40*s.* per annum as steward.

Ante, p. 348.

Thus the whole of this great territory was again held by one owner, as in the days of the Earls of Gloucester, but it was only for a short time, for Edward VI. granted the castle and manor to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, together with the forests or chases of North and South Frith; and he the very next year re-conveyed them to King Edward in exchange for other lands. Queen Mary subsequently held them, and

5 Edward VI.,
1552.

CHAP. XXIV. granted them to Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, for life. The Cardinal died the day after the Queen (Nov. 18th, 1558). Queen Elizabeth gave the castle, manor, and the North Frith to her cousin, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, and granted the South Frith to her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, for a term of years; when it expired, the fee of this chase became vested in Frances, Countess of Essex, whose husband was beheaded for treason. Thus for more than five centuries Tunbridge Castle, with its manors and possessions, was held either by the Crown or by the leading nobility of England, subject to the oft renewed contests with the Archbishops, Becket and his successors, for the homage claimed by the See of Canterbury.

Hasted,
Vol. II.,
pp. 330, 339.

Ante, Vol. I.,
pp. 339, 379.
Vol. II., p. 365.

Tunbridge
Priory.

Let us next notice the Priory of Tunbridge (which stood near the site of the present South Eastern Railway Station). While Wolsey was still in the ascendant he was a bountiful patron to literature, and our Universities, especially Oxford, were the objects of his solicitude. He endowed seven Lectureships, and commenced the foundation of Christ College, Oxford, first called Cardinal College, though he did not live to complete it.*

Some very interesting letters were written at this time by Archbishop Warham on this and other subjects engrossing the public attention, but I need not give them *in extenso*, as most of them will be found in the first volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. One is addressed to William Whitnal, William Waller, and Henry Fane, and is dated at Otford, 30th June [1525]. The Archbishop appears to have summoned the inhabitants of Tunbridge and "the other places nigh and adjoining," to consider whether they thought it more expedient to continue the Priory there, or to have a Grammar School founded at Tunbridge for forty scholars, "men's children of those parts," with exhibitions at Oxford. The meeting was well attended, and

p. 31.

* As a nursery for this establishment he also erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity.

"by mouth as well as by writing" those present were for continuing "the monastery with the Prior and his convent;" and they produced a book containing the names of those who were so minded. CHAP. XXIV.

The next and only other letter I shall notice is addressed "To the most Reverend Father in God and my very singular good Lord, my Lord Cardinal of York, and Legate *de latere* his good Grace." It is dated 2nd July [1525], and does not appear in Vol. I. of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. Here the Archbishop tells the Cardinal that he had explained to the inhabitants of Tunbridge and its vicinity that it would be "more to the pleasure of God and the advantage of them and their children" that they should have "forty children of that country to be brought up in learning and afterwards promoted to Oxford," and that certain priests should sing continually for their founder, than to have six or seven canons, and that the Cardinal intended it more for their weal than they themselves could consider. Notwithstanding this, the inhabitants (three only excepted) were anxious to have the canons of the Priory restored, and wished for further time for deliberation with their neighbours. They afterwards waited upon the Archbishop at Otford, and though they still objected to the suppression of the Priory they were willing to be bound by the decision of the King and the Cardinal.

Then follows this significant passage:—"Howbeit there be some men in Kent, which, if they have not interest in all things to be treated in Kent, they will find inventions or make bruits [murmurs] to hinder other men's acts, as though there could be nothing well done in this country without they have some interest in the same."

His Grace next proceeds to state that he had written to Sir Edward Neville, and to the Vicar of Tunbridge, to stop the murmuring; and that he had also sent for the "parochial priest of Cranbroke and Peke of Tunbridge," to wait upon him at Maidstone, where he intended to keep the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas*

* The letter states that all the Archbishop's chapel [ministers, singing

CHAP. XXIV. (July 7th), that he might confer with them upon the matter.

The Cardinal's College at Oxford was founded 18th July, 1525.

Rymer,
Vol. XIV.,
p. 155.

On the 1st of May, 1526, Henry VIII. granted his letters patent to Cardinal Wolsey, confirming all previous grants of suppressed monasteries, including that of Tunbridge, to his newly-founded college at Oxford, which had power to acquire lands to the yearly value of 2,000*l*. The number of monasteries so suppressed, for the purpose of endowing it, was considerable. The thin end of the wedge was thus driven in, and this suppression was a precedent for the general "dissolution" of the religious houses which took place ten years afterwards.

Kent Bag,
No. 34,
A.D. 1528,
Tunbridge.

On the 10th of May, in the same year [1526], Wolsey obtained other letters patent licensing him to appropriate the rectories and churches of Newington, Marden, Tewdeley, Brenchesley, Leigh, Yalding, Pepingbury, and West Greenwich *alias* Deptford, in Kent; and others in Surrey and Sussex, to his new college. Two years afterwards we find John Highden, D.D., "Dean of Cardinal College, Oxford," and its canons, demising to Sir Thomas Boleyn, Knight, Viscount Rochford, K.G., the site of the mansion of their manor or Lordship of Tunbridge, together with all their lands, woods, chief rents, heriots, &c., by name, for the term of twenty-one years, at the year rent of £26 8*s*., with liberty for Viscount Rochford to fell sufficient fuel for the mansion of the manor, together with sufficient "plowbote, cartbote, and hedgebote." On the attainder of the Cardinal, only four years afterwards, the Priory of Tunbridge, and with it all the other possessions of the new college, were held to be forfeited, and, like the castle and manor, reverted to the Crown, and was afterwards held by the same owners until the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who granted the site of the Priory to Sir Henry Sidney.

boys, etc.] and chapel *stuff* were at Maidstone, and that provision had been made as well of beer, ale, wine, and other necessaries.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—HENRY THE EIGHTH'S JOURNEYS THROUGH KENT.—ERASMUS, RECTOR OF ALDINGTON.—ELIZABETH BARTON, THE HOLY MAID OF KENT.—THE CARDINAL'S COURT.—THE LEADING FAMILIES IN THE WEALD.—ITS DISTURBED STATE. PERSECUTION OF HERETICS.—VISITATION OF MONASTERIES.—THEIR DISSOLUTION.—DESTRUCTION OF BECKET'S SHRINE.—JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.—SHERIFFS IN THE WEALD.

CARDINAL WOLSEY, to further his own ambitious schemes, had promised to secure an interview between the King and Charles V., Emperor of Germany, that the Emperor might pay his personal court to Henry, and it was thus achieved. On 21st May, 1520, Henry departed from Greenwich to attend the grand tournament of the field of the cloth of gold. The first evening he slept at Otford,* and then proceeded to Leeds Castle,† thence to the Archbishop's manor house at Charing, arriving at His Grace's Palace at Canterbury, on the 25th, where he intended to keep Whitsuntide. The following day advices were received, to the surprise of those who were not in the secret, that the Emperor Charles had anchored, with a squadron of Spanish ships, off Hythe, being about to visit (so it was pretended) his dominions in the Netherlands; and having, as he sailed up the channel, heard that the English Court was near the coast, he was anxious

CHAP. XXV.

A.D. 1520.

Lingard,
Vol. IV.,
p. 196.

* Henry kept this Priory in his own hands after he had acquired it by an exchange with Archbishop Cranmer, and frequently made it a halting place.

† Then in the hands of the Crown. Henry Guldeford was the Constable of Leeds Castle and park-keeper at this time.

CHAP. XXV.

Stow, p. 507.

Rapin,
Vol. I., p. 742.

to pay his respects to his uncle and aunt.* He was saluted by six English guard ships placed there for the protection of passengers crossing the Channel. The Emperor, accompanied by his mother, the Queen of Arragon, was met by the Cardinal and landed at Dover in state, and proceeded at 10 o'clock at night by torch-light to the Castle. Sir Edward Poynings was at this time Warden of the Cinque Ports, and, according to etiquette, offered the keys of the castle to the Emperor, who graciously declined to accept them. A few hours later King Henry, having been informed of the landing of the Emperor, arrived from Canterbury by torch-light, and Charles arose and embraced him on the stair-case. The following day, Whit-sunday, the King having previously written for Queen Catherine to join them at Canterbury, rode with the Emperor to that City, with the Earl of Derby between them bearing a drawn sword. They proceeded to the west door of the Cathedral, where the Cardinal and Archbishop Warham met them. The King and the Emperor walked under the same canopy to Becket's shrine, and offered their prayers and oblations. There was a grand cavalcade, composed of the heads of the English and Spanish nobility; and the streets were lined with clerks and priests with censers, crosses, surplices, and copes of the richest material. They afterwards proceeded to the Archbishop's palace, where Queen Catherine, the Emperor's aunt, met them and accompanied them to high mass. A grand ball and banquet took place in the great hall the next evening, at nine, and lasted until three in the morning. The Emperor Charles V. danced with the Queen of England,† and Henry danced with the Queen of Arragon. Before the banquet was served the Duke of

* The accuracy of this statement has been questioned. It has been asserted that Henry himself had instructed his Ambassadors to fix the time and place.

† "King Henry's sister, the Queen dowager of France, was one of the guests. She was a celebrated beauty, and had been once proposed as the Emperor's wife. The sight of her made him so sad, says Polydore, that he could not be persuaded to dance."—*Herbert*, p. 36.

Buckingham, officiating as the Archbishop's chief butler or steward, rode into the hall upon a white hobby, alighted, kneeled, and presented the water. The King and Queen washed together, and the Duke of Suffolk held the towel. The trumpeters and servants of the Emperor waited on this occasion. Charles accompanied the Queen to Dover on the Tuesday, and then, escorted by the King, rode to Sandwich, and rejoined his fleet, which consisted of forty-four vessels. Henry returned to Dover that night, and proceeded the next day with the Queen to Calais to attend the Tournament. The King's suite on this occasion amounted to 4,334 persons and 1,637 horses.

CHAP. XXV.

In 1522, the Emperor Charles V. paid a second visit to King Henry pursuant to the treaty of Bruges. He landed at Dover and was accompanied by the King through Canterbury, London and Winchester, to Southampton, where he embarked, his fleet consisting of 180 vessels. Every day he spent in England was marked by some pageant or entertainment.

Lingard,
Vol. IV.
p. 204.

The next royal journey through Kent took place in 1532. The King had created Anne Bullen Marchioness of Pembroke, and she accompanied him to Canterbury, at which city Henry had commanded his nobles, prelates, and servants to assemble on 26th September, that they might proceed with him to France to be present at his intended interview with Francis I. On the 10th of October the royal party proceeded to Dover, and embarked for Calais the next day, where they remained eleven days, and then went to meet Francis, who was at Boulogne. They assembled at an appointed place between Calais and Boulogne, and after the interview Henry accompanied the French King to Boulogne, and Francis returned his visit at Calais: and according to some writers Anne Boleyn was there privately married to Henry by Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in the presence of Cranmer and her parents, while other writers contend that the marriage did not take place until the January following.

The journey of
Henry VIII.
through Kent
in 1532.Herbert,
p. 161.

- CHAP. XXV. On the 28th of August, 1537, the King appears to have been in the Weald of Kent and to have visited Tenterden; and towards the close of his reign (1544), having declared war with France, he embarked 11th July at Westminster for Erith, and proceeded by water to Gravesend* and dined there. He then mounted his horse and rode to Faversham, slept there, and the next morning continued his ride to the Manor House at Forde, near Herne. Having dined with Archbishop Cranmer,† the King proceeded the same evening to Dover, rather a long ride for one who possessed "a huge and distempered body." He had not, however, lost his love for display, for on the 14th of July he crossed the Channel in a ship with sails of cloth of gold. Boulogne was invested by the Duke of Suffolk, and gallantly defended by Vervins, the French governor. Henry himself, "armed at all points upon a great courser," was present during the investment. The lower town was taken before the 21st of July, but the high town did not surrender until the 14th of September, and then on terms well merited by a brave defence. On the 18th September, 1544, Henry made his triumphant entry into Boulogne. One of our men of Kent, Sir Thomas Hardres, distinguished himself at this siege, and was permitted by the King, "as a meet acknowledgment of his distinguished bravery," to bring away with him the gates of the town, which were set up at Hardres Court in a wall that formed the east side of the front garden of the old house at Upper Hardres, near the church. An interesting paper on these gates will be found in Vol. IV. of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, by the Rev. Robt. C. Jenkins, Rector of Lyminge and Hon. Canon of Canterbury, from which it would appear that they were ruthlessly taken down during the present century and sold for the old iron they contained.
- Tenterden Records.
- Investment of Boulogne.
- Mackintosh, Vol. II., p. 233.
- Sir Thomas Hardres.
- pa. 43.

* Henry VIII. erected forts at Gravesend and Milton.

† This Archbishop frequently resided here. It is now in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; and what is left of the palace does not betoken the remains of the residence of an Archbishop.

On his return from France King Henry rested at Hardres Court two nights; and as a further mark of his favour left his dagger with Sir Thomas, remarking "that he knew no more fitting present for so brave a man." This dagger is still in the possession of a descendant of the family.

CHAP. XXV.

Henry VIII.
at Hardres
Court.

From the pomp and vain display of a Sovereign who by his royal and absolute will brought about the Reformation, let us turn to one who in his humble walk as an ecclesiastic had by his writings and profound learning been preparing men's minds for it;* while by his bright example he taught the world to be neither too ambitious of honour, nor too covetous of gain. I refer to Erasmus, of Rotterdam, who should be noticed in these pages, as he held the Rectory of Aldington, on the borders of the Weald, in 1511 and 1512.

Erasmus.

When Henry VIII. ascended the throne Archbishop Warham† held the See of Canterbury, and subsequently the Great Seal, until Wolsey, who was jealous of him, at length obliged him to resign it. He was the great friend and patron of Erasmus, who it is said laid the egg of the Reformation, which Luther hatched, and who was also deemed the great restorer of learning throughout Europe. His disposition was somewhat migratory, so with the object of inducing him to settle in England (which he visited on five different occasions), Archbishop Warham, on the 22nd of March, 1511, conferred on him the Parish Church of Aldington, in Kent,‡ vacant on the resignation of Master John Alan, L.C.D. He at once instituted him as Rector, and committed to him in the Lord the cure of souls of the parishioners, receiving from him the oath of canonical obedience; and the Curate of Aldington or some fit Chaplain was ordered to induct him.

Dr. Knight's
Life of
Erasmus,
p. 155.

* When Erasmus printed the Greek Testament, with notes, there was not more than one other copy to be found in Germany.

† Henry Dene preceded him, and held the See about two years.

‡ Butler, in his "Life of Erasmus," p. 98, erroneously states that the parish was in Gloucestershire, and that it annually produced 200 nobles,

CHAP. XXV.

Erasmus does not appear to have held Aldington more than fifteen months, for on the 31st of July, 1512, from his manor of Maidstone, Archbishop Warham collated John Thorneton, or Thorneden, D.D.,* to the same church "on the resignation of Master Erasmus, of Rotterdam," reserving to the latter a yearly pension out of the fruits of this church.

Archbishop
Warham's
Register.

On the same day and from the same place (the Manor House of Maidstone), His Grace issued his mandate to "all sons of Mother Church," in which he states that it had been contrary to his practice to impose pensions on any church in his patronage, but he had determined to depart from this practice

"In respect of Erasmus, of Rotterdam, a man learned in the Latin and Greek languages, and who, as a shining star, illuminates his times with his learning and eloquence. For whereas the Archbishop conferred on him the church of Aldyngton, and he, wishing to resign it because he is unable to expound in English the Word of God to the parishioners, has requested the Archbishop to provide him with a yearly pension from the same. The Archbishop, therefore, considering his devotion to the study of letters, and his love to the English, which has caused him to forsake Italy, France, and Germany, where he might have become wealthy, and to resort to this country in order that he might pass the rest of his life with his friends,† decrees him a yearly pension of twenty pounds out of the funds of the said parish church of Aldyngton, payable by John [Thorneton], Bishop of Cyrene, and his successors, rectors of the same church."

Knight's
Erasmus,
p. 157 (a)

"On the 19th November, 1514, Richard Master, A.M., was presented to the church of Aldyngton on the free resignation of D. *Iohannis*, *Dei gratia Cironen. Episcopi*, at the collation of the Archbishop, having been sworn to pay a certain yearly pension of twenty pounds to one Master Erasmus, of Rotterdam, Clerk, late Rector of the said church."

The following is a translation of Erasmus' own very interesting and instructive statement of the transaction:—

Works of
Erasmus,
Vol. V., p. 678.

"If I reckon all that he [Archbishop Warham] was ready to give me, great was his liberality towards me; if we take into account what I re-

* He appears to have been the suffragan Bishop of Dover, with the foreign title of Bishop of Cyrene.

Grocyn,
Master of
Maidstone
College.

† Among the many distinguished men with whom Erasmus became acquainted, while at our Universities, was Wm. Grocyn, the first professor or public teacher of Greek in Oxford; he was appointed Master of the College of Maidstone, in 1506. Erasmus speaks of him as singularly learned, and one of the best scholars and most judicious divines in England. It was Grocyn who introduced Erasmus to Archbishop Warham.

ceived, it is a very moderate amount.* He conferred on me only one living, or rather he did not give it, but obtruded it upon me in spite of my constant refusal, because the flock required that the pastor should be of the same nation, which condition I, being ignorant of the language, could not fulfil. When he converted it into a pension, and found that I grudged to receive the money which was collected from a people to whom I could be nothing but unprofitable, the excellent and pious man consoled me thus, saying, 'What great services could you do, if you were to preach to one country congregation? At present, by your books you instruct all pastors with much more abundant fruit; and does it seem to you unworthy if a small portion of the church income returns to you? I will take this care upon me: I will provide that nothing shall be wanting to that church.' And he did so: for, removing the person to whom I had resigned the pastorate, and who was his suffragan, and a man occupied with numerous affairs, he appointed another, a young man learned in Divinity, and of good and sober life."

CHAP. XXV.

The person who was appointed as Dr. Thorndike's successor was the unfortunate Richard Masters, M.A., who was about twenty years afterwards executed for being concerned in the "pious fraud" practised by Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, of whom I will presently speak.

Let me, however, first refer to the high and pure motive and concern for the welfare of the souls of the parishioners of Aldington which induced Erasmus to give up this preferment.

By a series of statutes passed in 1533 and the following year the connexion between the Church of England and the See of Rome was entirely severed. The King became head of the Church, and defender of the faith. The collection of Peter Pence was abolished, and many of the ecclesiastical powers before exercised by the Pope, were transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I fear it cannot be successfully contended that we have gained by the Reformation all that the advocates for an Established Church, and the friends of religion, might have hoped and expected.

No less than 360 years have elapsed since Erasmus was

* The Archbishop added 20*l.* annually out of his own pocket. Erasmus long continued in straitened circumstances; he never made a secret of his poverty, but could not endure that even his most intimate friends should make it the subject of a jest.—*Butler's Life of Erasmus*, p. 71.

CHAP. XXV.

rector of Aldington; and though a rich living, there has not, until within the last two years, been a resident rector there from the time of Erasmus.* Standing near that churchyard, our eyes will rest upon *another church and parish* which have been held by their present non-resident rector for more than half a century, and the parishioners have not, I believe, seen him *in the parish* for more than twenty-five years. I say nothing against this worthy and now aged Divine, who is not acting contrary to law; because by holding another office he is precluded from regularly officiating in the parish in question; but it is the *system* which I, as well as all other real friends of the Church, denounce. Why permit what is prejudicial to vital religion to continue? Correct it at once, and compensate the sufferers from the surplus revenues of the Church.

The existing and exemplary body of clergymen in and on the borders of the Weald of Kent are now struggling to uphold the Established Church in a state of efficiency which never existed there before. The large amount of dissent which prevails in the district is not to be attributed to the doctrines of our Church, but to the laxity which so long existed in its discipline, and continued until within the last forty years.

I must not further digress, but proceed to bring under the notice of the reader "the pious fraud" which had its origin in this very parish of Aldington, fourteen years after Erasmus had resigned the living, and for which his successor forfeited his life; he is described by Erasmus as "a young man learned in divinity, and of good and sober life."

Elizabeth
Barton,
the Holy Maid
of Kent.
Somner's
Canterbury,
p. 70.

The Holy Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton, was a native of Aldington, who acquired great notoriety with many as "The Holy Maid of Kent," but is called by Somner "The great Impostor of her time." Henry VIII. having become enamoured of Anne Boleyn raised the question of the

* Smeeth, with a good residence, was, until recently, united to Aldington, and both originally appurtenant to that manor, until the exchange between Crammer and Henry VIII.

validity of his marriage with Queen Catherine. Failing to secure the consent of the Pope, in obtaining a divorce, he appealed to Cranmer, Warham's successor to the See of Canterbury, and he pronounced the marriage null. Though the King's will was law, he was not insensible to the unfavourable criticisms and discordant rumours of his subjects; these he deemed crimes against the State, and every succeeding year of his reign was stained with the blood of many of his victims. Elizabeth Barton and her adherents were among the first to suffer. She was about the year 1525 a servant in the house of a Mr. Thomas Cobb, of Aldington, when she fell sick and seemed to be in trances, and "uttered many foolish and idle words." At this time Richard Masters was the parson of Aldington,* and he communicated some of these speeches to Archbishop Warham, who appointed Dr. Edward Bocking, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, to enquire into the case. Adjoining Aldington there is a hamlet in which was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, called the Chapel of Our Lady at Court-at-Street, and to this spot the Holy Maid of Kent frequently resorted. Dr. Bocking professed himself a believer in her inspired character, and on one occasion it is said he attended this chapel with the neighbouring families and 8,000 of the humbler classes that they might witness her mighty powers. She was advised either by Archbishop Warham or by Masters, the rector, to quit the village and enter the Convent of St. Sepulchre, Canterbury. Several of the clergy and gentry believed that her mission was to warn an evil and corrupt generation of the universal apostasy to which they were hastening. Even the learned and the wise, including the honest Bishop of Rochester (Fisher) and the amiable Archbishop Warham, gave countenance to her pretensions. "The mighty intellect and conscious purity of Sir T. More himself did not so far preserve the serenity of his mind as to prevent him from yielding to this delusion—enough at

CHAP. XXV.

Lingard,
Vol. V., p. 12.

Hall's Chron.

Mackintosh,
Vol. II., p. 176.

* He held the Rectory from A.D. 1514 to 1534.

CHAP. XXV. least to enable his enemies to charge him with a share of it."

Lingard,
Vol. V., p. 13.

Statutes of
Realm,
Vol. III.,
p. 448.

Cranmer's
Letter in Todd,
Vol. I., p. 89.

While the great divorce cause between Henry and Catherine was yet pending, the Maid at the onset informed Wolsey, at the command of her angel, that if he ventured to pronounce a divorce, God would visit him with the most dreadful chastisement. She also admonished Henry in person at the command of her angel (for even the King had a private interview with her), that if he dared to marry Anne Boleyn while Catherine was alive he would no longer be looked upon as a king by God, but would die the death of a villain within a month, and be succeeded on his throne by his daughter Mary. Some time had elapsed since Henry first heard of the woman and her visions and prophecies, which he continued to treat with ridicule and contempt. But when he had publicly acknowledged his second marriage, he deemed it necessary to close her mouth, and to prevent the circulation of her predictions by severity of punishment. The Holy Maid of Kent was taken from St. Sepulchre's, Canterbury, and examined by Cromwell and Cranmer, and in their official report she is said to have confessed "that her predictions were feigned by her own imagination only to satisfy the minds of them which resorted to her and to obtain worldly praise."* She and her advisers were all arraigned in the Star Chamber and adjudged to stand during the sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and to confess their imposture. But Henry was not satisfied with this, he determined that they should die; so they were taken back to prison, and a bill of attainder of treason was brought into the House of Lords against Elizabeth Barton and her abettors, Dr. Bocking; Masters, the Rector of Aldington; John Deering,† a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury; Henry Gold,

* A scribe who took part in these divinations and prophecies, was one Hawkhurst, a monk of St. Augustine's, who wrote a letter purporting to come from heaven, which was lined with golden letters.—*Hall's Chronicle*.

† The charge against John Deering was, that he wrote and printed books great and small concerning the revelations of Elizabeth Barton, and in her defence and praise, asserting that her miracles were true.

priest; John Lawrence, of Canterbury; Hugh Riche, late warden of the Friars observants at Canterbury; and of misprision of treason against Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, charged with having known of her predictions without revealing them to the King. The parties attainted of treason suffered at Tyburn, May 5th, 1534, where the Holy Maid of Kent again confessed her delusion. "She was executed," says Mac-kintosh, "for misfortunes which ignorance and superstition regarded as crimes; for the incoherent language and dark visions of a disturbed, if not alienated mind." Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, compounded with the Crown for his freedom for £900; and Sir Thomas More, who had some time before ceased to be Chancellor, now at his own request retired from the Council Chamber, on the ground that age and infirmity admonished him to give his whole attention to the concerns of his soul.

The two archbishops who held the see of Canterbury during the memorable reign of Henry VIII. were Warham and Cranmer. Henry VII. had been the guest of Warham at his palace at Canterbury during the last year of his reign (1509), and remained there some days. Here he made his will, which is dated at Canterbury, by which he disposed of the immense wealth he had been so eager to acquire; and he then founded one anniversary mass in Christ Church and another in St. Augustine's. It is said that Warham contemplated erecting a sumptuous palace in Canterbury on the site of the ancient one, but in consequence of a dispute with the citizens as to the precise boundaries of the see lands there, he bestowed £83,000 on his palace at Otford, having previously expended a large sum on Knole, though little more than two miles from it. He also gave an iron railing to Rochester bridge, and was a liberal benefactor to his cathedral at Canterbury, especially to the great tower.

In one of his visitations in the Weald in 1511, we meet in his register with the following entry, recording the eccentricities of Roger Harlackenden, of Wood-

CHAP. XXV.

Vol. II., p. 177.

Lingard,
Vol. V., p. 15.Archbishop
Warham.Hasted,
Vol. IV.,
p. 736.

CHAP. XXV. church, a descendant of a very ancient family who resided there:*

Ecclesia de
Woodchurch.

"Compertum est, That Roger Harlakenden is a common oppressor of his neighbours, whom none loveth.

"Item, That he is meddling of many matters, and will check the parson and the priests, that they cannot be [at] rest for him.

"Item, That he bringeth into his house regular men to sing Mass in an oratory with him, by what authority we cannot tell.

"Item, That upon a Saint Thomas day, three years ago, the keys were taken away by him; that there was no mass, nor martynes song there that day.

"Item, He jangleth and talketh in the church when he is there, and letteth [hindereth] others to say their devotions."

The Spiritual
Courts.

The Spiritual or Church Courts in England, in spite of the efforts of Henry II. and other kings to restrain them, existed to the beginning of the sixteenth century, with a jurisdiction that was practically unrestrained; but, as the doctrines of the early Reformers came into prominence, was in some cases unbearable.

Cardinal Wolsey, either with a view to reform abuses or to participate in the gains resulting from them, by virtue of his legatine authority, usurped the powers of the Archbishop and established commissioners at York Place, who claimed the right of examining into testamentary causes, a matter that concerned the Archbishop's prerogative, and was in derogation of his powers. Of these, I will notice only one instance which is connected with Kent. John Roper, of Wellhall, Eltham, and St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, who had married a daughter of Chief Justice Fineux, and had served the office of Sheriff of Kent, as well as Attorney General for a short time in the reign of Henry VIII., died in 1524, and was buried in St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. He made a will, dated 27th May, 1523. The executors were the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, Sir John Fyneux, Richard Brooke, Judge, John Hales, Baron of the Exchequer, the testa-

Letters and
Papers,
Foreign and
Domestic,
temp. Henry
VIII.,
arranged by
Prof. Brewer,
Vol. IV.,
part I, p. 28.

* He was a warm supporter of Edward IV., and obtained a general pardon from Richard III. He was buried in the south chancel of the church at Woodchurch.

tor's wife, Jane, and five of his old servants! Sums were left to divers churches in Kent for their repairs, and for tithes forgotten. To improve the communication between Whitstable and Canterbury, he left 100 marcs, "to make a horseway for the fishwives and others in the highway from Whytestaple to the entry of the street of St. Dunstan, the Westgate, Canterbury;"* and his estates, which extended over different parts of the county, he directed should be divided among his sons, according to the custom of Gavelkind. We next find a petition presented by a creditor, claiming £40, the balance of a debt for land sold to the deceased, which the testator's widow, Jane, refuses to pay, because she is restrained from executing the will.

CHAP. XXV.

Ib.,
Vol. I., p. 429.

Ib., p. 491.

On the 24th February, 1525, Warham writes to Wolsey from Charing, upon this case, and states that if all testamentary causes are to be called before the Cardinal's special commissioners, the prerogative of his see will be extinguished. He wishes Wolsey to know that Jane Roper only desires to be acknowledged executrix, and what "rumour and obloquy" exist, that no testament can take effect, "otherwise than your Grace is content." He tells him that it was "a great oversight in me to make such a composition with you as has caused so much inconvenience to others," and concludes, "I write plainly to your Grace, for I know right well your Grace will be best content with true and plain dealing."

Ib., p. 509.

On the 8th of March following, having heard from Wolsey, Warham writes from Canterbury, thanking him for so graciously taking his plain writing to him; tells him that he esteems his favour a hundred times incomparably more than the private cause of Jane Roper or any such; promises to defer proceedings in the matter, and concludes by hoping that notwithstanding the composition he had entered into with him, he will not be per-

* The Whitstable fishery had now become of some importance; but the communication from Whitstable through the Blean forest must at this time have been very bad.

CHAP. XXV. suaded that he (Wolsey) has any right to proceed in testamentary matters.

Ib., p. 681. On this occasion, Warham appears to have held his own, for on the 27th July, 1525, an examination of the witness called to establish the will, took place by virtue of a mandate from the Archbishop.

The family of Guldeford. We now find some of the leading inhabitants in the Weald occupying important positions not only in the county but in the Government of the Kingdom. Among them was the ancient family of Guldeford.* The original seat of the family was Hemsted, in Benenden, one of the earliest mansions in the district (now the residence and property of the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy); but Sir

Ante, p. 407. Richard Guldeford was also possessed of the manor and mansion of Halden, in Rolvenden (originally called Lamben.) He died in 1500, at Jerusalem, where he had journeyed on a pilgrimage, having been amply rewarded during his life for his fidelity to the House of York. He had been married twice, and had issue by his first wife Edward and George. He left to his eldest son Edward,† afterwards Sir Edward Guldeford, his manor, &c., at Halden,‡ in Rolvenden. This Sir Edward held the offices of Marshal of Calais, Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Master of the Ordnance, and “Admiral of the narrow sea from the Horsshoo, in Essex, to Branchief, in Sussex.”

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Vol. IV., part I., p. 1006.

By his second wife, Sir Richard had a son Henry, a Knight Banneret, who distinguished himself in Spain and held for life the office of Bearer of the Royal Standard. He was also Master of the Horse, Esquire of the King's body, Comptroller of the Household, and Castellan of

* From the Guldefords are descended in the female line the Darels, Gages, Walsinghams, Cromers, Iselys, and other old Kentish families.

† He left also a son, Sir Richard, who died in Spain without issue, and a daughter and sole heiress, who was married to John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, by whom she was the mother of the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, and Guldeford Dudley, the husband of Lady Jane Grey.

‡ This is the only manor situate in the Weald that I have met with possessing twelve denes, some of which are in the adjoining parishes.

Leeds. At the age of thirty-nine he was created K.G., and he held several grants of land in different parts of Kent. CHAP. XXV.

Many of the members of this family we find in the constant employment of the Crown during the reign of Henry VIII. Licenses were granted to them to export merchandize, such as 1,000 woollen cloths yearly, "without barbing, rowing, or shearing of the same," and hops,* madder, leather, and sea coal; and to import wine, wood, canvas, bay-salt, and even French bonnets or caps.

The eldest brother, Sir Edward (the Lord Warden) appears to have been a very active man. We find him writing from Halden, in Rolvenden, to his brother, Sir Henry, giving an account of a riot, when one of the Canons of Bayham, named Towers, supported by two of Lord Bergavenny's servants, attempted to restore the Abbey to the monks, on 4th June, 17 Henry VIII. [1525], which outbreak lasted nine days, and for which they were indicted; and he sends William a copy of a bill "set upon my cousin Henry Darell's gate" [Scotney?].

Sir Edward
Guldeford.

Then as Lord Warden, we learn that a petition is presented to him by John Pye, of Hythe, and other fishermen, for a subpœna to be served on Thomas Mitchell for having, with others, sailed over and maliciously broken four of their "tramell" nets [drag nets]. Next we hear of his holding inquisitions at Winchelsea and Hastings respecting the wreck of a Spanish ship and the articles saved. And on the same day, by deed, he agrees with the towns of Hastings, Bulverhithe, Pevensey, and Seaford, in Sussex, that as Lord Warden he shall have "one third of all wreck and findells at sea, and one half of those on shore; and shall also have the first choice of buying the other portion at a fair price." Then writing from Rye to Cardinal Wolsey about an attack by four ships of Dieppe on two Spanish vessels lying in the Cambré for fourteen days, laden with merchandize from Flanders, he tells the

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.,
1524-1528.

* Hops were cultivated in Kent about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and soon became an article of exportation.

CHAP. XXV. Cardinal "that there were neither ships nor artillery to rescue the Spaniards, and that he dared not have meddled without orders if there had been." This is followed by another letter written from Halden to Wolsey about arresting at Winchelsea the King's ship "Mary and John," laden with beans, and, looking no doubt at the difficulty of speedy communication with Rolvenden, he begs "that matters touching the jurisdiction of his office be henceforth directed to him or his deputy at Dover Castle."

Sir Edward
Guldeford.

Halden in
Rolvenden.

He next writes from Halden to Cardinal Wolsey on the scarcity of corn, wheat being 7 groats and 2*d.* the bushel, barley, 16*d.*; the price of wheat has risen from 18*d.* Wishes that those who have corn may be compelled to sell at a reasonable price. Desires him to have the corn now on the ground viewed, &c.; that regrators may be compelled to sell at the prices they bought it at, and thus proceeds:—"Rommeney Marsh, where corn and cattle were very plentiful, has fallen into decay. Many great farms and holdings are held by persons who neither reside on them, nor till nor breed cattle, but use them for grazing, trusting to the Welsh cattle." He proposes that every man shall sow the eighth part of his land. That no calves shall be calved between Christmas and Midsummer, or be killed except for honourable households. That rooks shall be destroyed and their nests taken. He tells the Cardinal that constables are loth to arrest vagabonds and thieves because of the expense of conveying them to gaol, and suggests that they might be received and passed from Hundred to Hundred until they arrive at the gaol; and he desires that his cousin, Thomas Wilforde, and Thomas Harlackenden* may be appointed Justices of the Peace for the Seven Hundreds, as there are none there. He next writes to the Cardinal, from Halden, about a French priest "who took church at Rye," and confessed to the Mayor that he had escaped from prison, to which he had been sent for clipping coin, and had changed his gown

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.

* He was son of Roger Harlackenden (*ante*, p. 446). He died in 1558, and was buried in the high chancel of Woodchurch Church.

with one of his countrymen that he might not be known as a priest. In this letter he tells the Cardinal that "wheat was 8 groats and 8d. a bushel at Cranbrook, last Saturday, the market price being 7 groats and 2d., and that it is thought it will rise every market day till the harvest be carried and the corn thrashed." CHAP. XXV.

In a subsequent letter to Wolsey Sir Edward tells him that on Sunday last, 5th July [1528], Roger Horne, of Kenardington, and John Bell, of Appledore, came to him at Halden and shewed him the lewd sayings of Sir John Crake,* parish priest of Brenzett, in Romney Marsh, sends a "bill" of it, and tells Wolsey that he had committed the priest to Maidstone Gaol until the Cardinal's pleasure be known.

The next letter refers to one Nicholas Whyte, surveyor of the works at Tyllingham, where there had been a sea breach, and Guldeford tells Wolsey "it will destroy the country unless it be repaired by Michaelmas." Sea-breach at Tyllingham.

Thus much of the energy and fidelity to his Sovereign of Sir Edward Guldeford, the Lord Warden. Now let us refer to his half-brother, Sir Henry Guldeford, the Comptroller of the Household, and Castellan of Leeds, &c.† In July, 1524, he obtained a grant in tail male of the North Fryth Park, in Tunbridge, with the other inclosures, including the woodland called the Strengelande, besides the fisheries, tenements, &c., in Hadlow, Shipbourne, and Tunbridge, late belonging to Edward, Duke of Buckingham.‡ Sir Henry Guldeford.

He writes from Otford to "Maister Cromwell" on 80th March, 1528, tells him he hears that he had been to

* The custom of prefixing the addition of "Sir" to the Christian name of a clergyman was formerly usual in this country. Fuller, in his "Church History," Book VI., enumerates seven chantries, in the old Cathedral of St. Paul, temp. Edward VI., with the names of the then incumbents, most of whom had the addition of Sir; and gives this reason why there were formerly more sirs than knights:—Such priests as have the addition of Sir before their Christian names were men in holy orders who had not graduated at either of the Universities.

† He held also East Sutton. Died without issue.

‡ Sir Edward Neville and his son Henry were in the August following appointed keepers of the Parks of Postern and Cage, in Tunbridge, with 2d. a day for Postern and 1d. a day for Cage.

Patent
(6 Hen. VIII.),
p. 2, m. 3.

CHAP. XXV.

Sir Henry
Guldeford.

Tunbridge to dissolve that Priory, and was about to proceed to Bilsington to dissolve that House; reminds him of their communication about "the ferme of Bilsington," and asks Cromwell to come to him to Leeds Castle on his return to commune further on the matter.

In this year [1528] Campeggio was despatched from Rome to confer on the legality of the King's marriage with Queen Catherine, and Sir Henry Guldeford writes to Wolsey that he had arrived and had been well entertained. He requires a harbinger* to be sent to meet them at Rochester, to attend on the Legate at London. He was to arrive at Dartford on the following Monday, and Sir Henry adds there is no wine to be got there, and asks him to provide some.

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.

Sir Henry Guldeford, the Comptroller, and a retinue of English gentlemen, met Campeggio, riding on a mule, on Barham Downs, and after the usual complimentary speeches they accompanied him to Canterbury; the Mayor and Aldermen received him, and preceded him to the Cathedral, where Archbishop Warham met him with a numerous retinue of church dignitaries. The Legate sang and blessed the assembly. From Canterbury he wrote to the King and Wolsey an account of his voyage and journey. He tells them he was suffering from the gout, and could in no wise labour after his dinner. By slow stages he proceeded from Canterbury to London.

In 1524 Henry was in want of money to enable him to make common cause with Charles V. in invading France. For some reason, instead of applying to the Parliament, he, by the advice of Wolsey, resolved to raise a subsidy by virtue, as he deemed, of his royal prerogative, and commissioners were appointed to collect it. Those selected for Kent included the names of the Guldefords, the Culpepers, the Nevills, the Wottons, the Crowmers, and the Hales, Sir Thomas Boleyn, Sir John Fogge, Sir James Darell, Sir John Scott, Richard Deryng, &c. The pay-

* An officer of the Court whose duty it was to provide lodgings during a progress.

ment was resisted all over the country,* and this opposition Wolsey chose to ascribe especially to the clergy. Archbishop Warham, in writing from Otford, on 15th April, 1525, to Sir Thomas Boleyn and others, says "the persons deputed by the commissioners to induce the people of Kent to contribute to the army now going into France deny that they have banded together to refuse a contribution." One of Warham's feeble reasons why the Kentish people should pay the subsidy was "because the King was born in Kent." He proceeds to state that there is great poverty in that county and lack of money; and *they discredit the King's promise that the money shall be returned, alleging that the said promise was made at the former loan and never kept.* He tells Sir Thomas that he has been in the shire over twenty years, but never found them unreasonable. Poverty provokes them to outrages, and he wishes to know the mind of the King and Wolsey about sending the unruly before the King and Council. All this referred to the laity.

CHAP. XXV.

Poverty
in Kent.

On the same day Warham writes from Otford to Wolsey about the clergy, who, he says, complain sadly of the burthens cast upon them by the State, and declare they are unable to support their fathers and mothers or dispense hospitality; that the King has already received yearly from them a disme for sixteen years, and that if the laity oppose the grant the clergy have still greater reason. The clergy were to wait upon Warham, at Otford, on the following Thursday, and he concludes by telling Wolsey that he had written to Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Henry Guldeford of the demeanour of the people.

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.

In the following month (3rd May) the Archbishop, Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Boleyn, and Sir Henry Guldeford again report from Canterbury to King Henry that there is great poverty, especially of money, in Kent, and that the

* The failure of this scheme it has been said was the first cause of the downfall of Wolsey, who endeavoured to pacify Henry by presenting to him his newly built Palace of Hampton Court; but there is no authority for this statement.

CHAP. XXV.

people would pay if they had the means. They tell the King that at several fairs men having wares and cattle to sell, could not sell them unless for half their value. Landlords could not get anything from their tenants, who say they can get no money for their cattle.

In the same month (May) some of the commissioners write to the King informing him that eighty of them had met at Canterbury the inhabitants of divers Hundreds, who declined to make any express promise to pay for fear they should fail in performing it. They know that the King considers Kent his native county, and they are, therefore, the more bound to serve him.

A few days later (12th May) Warham writes to Wolsey from Otford, from which it would appear that Wolsey had recommended to the King moderation in his demands. He tells Wolsey that the commissioners in Kent were very unpopular, and concludes by stating that when last in Canterbury he had made arrangements for a watch on unlawful assemblies, and advises that the substantial men attending Westminster Hall should return to their counties.

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.

A.D. 1528.

This subsidy, which was to have been by way of loan, was not collected without difficulty and disturbance. The men of Kent, we have seen, discredited at the time the promise that the money would be returned. Three years afterwards (22nd April, 1528), we find Warham writing to Lord Rocheford and Sir Henry Guldeford, stating that he understood that a number of the yeomen of Kent intended to wait on him to ask him to petition the King for a return of their money; and on Tuesday in Easter week about 100 came to Knole. The Archbishop, no doubt alarmed, requested that five or six should be sent in to speak with him; they told his Grace that their poverty compelled them to ask him to get their loan money returned, and they had only attended two or three from each parish, lest by meeting in great numbers they might displease the King. The Archbishop pointed out to them that they had not chosen a good time, as it was still

doubtful whether or not there would be war. His Grace inquired who advised them to assemble. They said poverty only, and they and their neighbours lacked meat and money. Warham reminded them of a similar gathering two years ago with which the King was not well pleased. The Archbishop promised if they would make their petition in writing he would present it to the King and speak in its favour. Sir Edward Wotton, Sergeant Thomas Willoughby, and Richard Clement, of the Mote, were present. "After they had been in the town and drunk their full, some of them spoke unfitting words."

CHAP. XXV.

Warham's answer appears to have pleased the people in other districts but alarmed the King, and the Cardinal therefore wrote to Lord Rocheford and Sir Henry Guldeford desiring them to put the malcontents to silence. Warham continued to correspond with Wolsey, Lord Rocheford, and Sir Henry Guldeford, and it is evident that the Council were afraid of a rising in Kent. Lord Rocheford and Sir Henry Guldeford, by the direction of the King, wrote from Greenwich (1st May, 1528) to Warham, requesting that the writer of the Bill of Supplication from Kent (for it had been duly prepared and presented by the Archbishop), and the man who instructed him, might appear before the King and Council. It appears to have been prepared in Tunbridge, and Warham tells Lord Rocheford that, as "he has the rule there," he could quietly investigate the matter without causing a "bruit."

*Threatened
Rising in
the Weald.*

On the 8th of May, Sir Edward Guldeford writes from his manor house at Halden, to Wolsey, stating that he had heard from his brother, Sir Henry, that Thomas Merser, of Hawkhurst, prepared the bill of supplication which "was put up to my Lord of Canterbury by the men of Sevenoaks and others;" that Sir Edward Guldeford had sent his servants to attach him, and he was handed over by them to Wolsey, ignorant of the cause of his apprehension, but suspecting that it is in consequence of "a variance he has with the parson of Hawkhurst."

AP. XXV.
A.D. 1528.

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.

A few days later (17th May), Sir Henry Guldeford writes to Wolsey, from Leeds Castle, informing him that he finds that the inhabitants strongly disapprove of the behaviour of those who went to my Lord of Canterbury at Knole, and he trusts that "the demands of the loan are at a point at this time," and as a proof of the energy which he and his family displayed to preserve order and contentment, he proceeds: "The clothiers complain that they have so little sale that they will not be able to keep as many men as formerly, and if they are compelled to abandon their trade great numbers will be left idle. However, with his brother Sir Edward, his brother Wotton, and his brother George, he has so handled them that they shall not lack occupation until harvest time. He will keep a vigilant eye on them, and hopes no evil demeanour will happen in these parts." He concludes by asking that his brother Wotton, now made a knight, and John Crowmer, "who is a wise man, and always ready to accomplish the King's and Wolsey's commands," may be put in the commission of the peace. Wolsey, four days afterwards (22nd May), writes to Sir Edward Guldeford, directing him to attach John Andrew, of Cranbrook, clothier. This is promptly done; he is sent the next day to the Cardinal, and Sir Edward writes from Halden that he has advised him to tell the whole truth.

On the 29th of May, Lord Rocheford writes to Wolsey, from Hever, that he has been staying at Tunbridge for a week, "to put those parts in good order.* He has been in correspondence with the King respecting the disposition of some of the shire towards an insurrection, and the Judges are to sit at Rochester on Thursday, in Whitsunweek, to examine the matter; and he promises to keep an eye on the quietness of the county, and have his servants and friends ready to repress disturbances and assist the judges at Rochester, as the King wishes. From inquiry, he finds the country quiet. "He has put those

* It will be remembered that he was at this time Lessee of the Manor.
—Ante, p. 434.

parts of Kent, and the part of Sussex which he rules, in readiness to execute the King's orders, as his brother, the bearer, Sheriff of Sussex, will show."* The same day, Sir Henry Guldeford writes from Leeds Castle to Wolsey, stating that his brother, Sir Edward, and the gentlemen commissioned to be at Leeds, were there. He tells him that all that can be suspected had been apprehended except three, who had escaped, and concludes by informing the Cardinal that his brother thinks the sessions of Oyer and Terminer might have been appointed at Cranbrook instead of Rochester.

In the same month (May), under "Sedition of Kent, touching certain seditious proceedings at Goudhurst and Cranbrook," depositions were taken before Sir Henry Guldeford and John Crowmer, which are preserved in the Public Record Office, but are badly mutilated and imperfect. The following is the substance:—The malcontents were composed of clothworkers, fullers, and husbandmen in Goudhurst and Cranbrook. They proposed to seize the Cardinal, but would not slay him, for if they did the land would be interdicted; they would therefore take him to the sea-side, put him into a boat (bored with four great holes stopped with pins) by the side of another boat, and take him to sea and then sink him. That there were fifty persons in Cranbrook ready to rise, and there would be more; and there would be 100 at Frittenden ready to join them. Richard Love and twelve others, whose names are given, met on Ascension Day and proposed to go to Sir Alexander Culpeper's house at Bedgebury and take him by force, with his harness, armour, and weapons; then to Sir Edward Guldeford's, Halden, and Master Darell's, of Scotney, and do the same. John Armstrong, labourer, of Goudhurst, said he would be one of fifty to take the ordnance at the block-house at Rye.

Another family of considerable distinction at the time was the Wottons, who had resided for many years at

CHAP. XXV

A.D. 1528.

The proposed disposal of Cardinal Wolsey by the men of Cranbrook and Goudhurst.

Letters, &c., temp. Hen. VIII.

* This was John Sakville, Sheriff of Sussex and Surrey in 1527-8.

CHAP. XXV.

Families
resident in
the Weald.

Boughton Place, in Boughton Malherbe, on the borders of the Weald. Sir Edward Wotton was the son of Sir Robert,* Treasurer of Calais and a Privy Councillor, and was Sheriff of Kent 27 Henry VIII. [1586]. Holinshed says that the King offered to make him Lord Chancellor, which office he modestly declined. He had a brother, Dr. Henry Wotton (Dean of York and Canterbury, and one of the executors of Henry VIII.), and three daughters; the eldest, Mary, was married to Sir Richard Guldeford. Another family then of eminence was the Bakers, of Sissinghurst,† in Cranbrook, from whom descended Sir John Baker, Knight, Recorder of London, Attorney General, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Privy Councillor to Henry VIII., and his three children.

We also meet with the families of Sir Henry Isley, of Sundridge, who also possessed property in Staplehurst, Chevening, Brasted, and other parts of Kent; Sir William Sidney, of Penshurst, tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI.; the Roberts', of Glassenbury; the Culpepers, of Bedgebury; the Harlackendens, of Woodchurch; and the Chutes, of Bethersden.‡

The cloth trade had opened a communication between the clothiers of the Weald of Kent and the Flemish merchants, with many of whom a strong sympathy had been fostered in favour of the Reformation. Each was employed in preparing a soil to receive seed which was never entirely destroyed. Wolsey, not content with carrying on persecution against obscure individuals at home, attentively watched through our ambassadors and ecclesiastical spies the proceedings of his countrymen abroad. One simple instance of his persecution of a native of Cranbrook, who favoured the Reformation, and had settled in Antwerp, will suffice as an example of his policy.

* Sir Robert Wotton was Lieutenant of Guisnes and Knight-Porter and Comptroller of Calais, where he died and was buried in the Church. He had been Sheriff of Kent temp. Henry VII.—*Hasted*, Vol. II., p. 428.

† He built a magnificent seat there and enclosed a large park. He was buried at Cranbrook in great state.

‡ Philip Chute was standard-bearer to Henry VIII. at the siege of Boulogne.—*Ante*, p. 438.

John Hackett appears to have been the agent in 1528 of Henry VIII., at Mechlin [Malines], in Belgium, even then a place of mercantile importance and part of the dominions of Charles V. Wolsey had written to him to demand the delivery of three English heretics then dwelling in that country, and Hackett writes back (28th June) that, after consulting the authorities, it was determined that the Emperor himself could not send any heretic as a prisoner to another country without previous examination. Hackett concludes by promising to arrest them with their books, &c., but Wolsey must send one or two learned men to assist in their examination, and if they are found guilty they shall either be sent to England or punished in Flanders.

On 14th July Hackett again writes to Wolsey informing him that he had endeavoured to arrest the three heretics, but two could not be found. One Richard Harman had been arrested at Antwerp, and his wife also, suspected of the same faction, who is described as "a mischievous woman of her tongue, as ill of deed." He wishes Wolsey had Harman in England, "for he is a root of great mischief," suggests that Henry should charge him with treason and apply for his delivery as a traitor, and thinks it would be a good thing if Lutherans were included with traitors, for "as soon as they have passed the sea they know neither God nor King."

On the 28th July Richard Harman petitioned the Emperor, showing that he had been put in prison by the Margrave of Antwerp for selling some English New Testaments to a merchant out of England, and for harbouring Lutherans in his house, &c.; and it was ordered that unless the English authorities proceed against him within three weeks he should be tried by the law of the Low Countries.

The correspondence discloses that Harman, though an Englishman born in Cranbrook, had for several years been domiciled as a merchant at Antwerp.

We next find from a letter written by John West, a

CHAP. XXV.

Letters, &c.,
temp.
Hen. VIII.

Arrest of
R. Harman,
a native of
Cranbrook,
at Antwerp.

CHAP. XXV. friar at the Convent at Antwerp, to Hackett, at Malines, that Harman's house had been searched and four letters had been examined; two were from London and two from his native town, Cranbrook. One of the London correspondents desired two New Testaments in English, and the other stated that the news was, that English Testaments should be put down and burnt. The third was from Thomas Davis, of Cranbrook, urging Harman to have patience in the true faith of Christ, for no man may speak of the New Testament in English on pain of bearing a faggot.* The fourth was from John Andrews, of Cranbrook, then in the Fleet, dated 20th February, 1527, concerning the New Testament.

Harman appears to have been still a prisoner in October, 1528, for we find Hackett writing to Wolsey, informing him that he had been to Antwerp on Harman's business and requesting instructions "touching the prisoners there."

The native of the Weald of Kent, thus settled in Antwerp, we may infer at length obtained his discharge, for in Hackett's last letter from Malines, written on the 31st December, 1528, and addressed to "My ghostly father, Friar West," he acknowledges the receipt of a letter from him, posted at Greenwich, in which the writer expresses his surprise that Wolsey has not attached that importance to Harman's business which it demanded. He tells the Friar that if he escapes, "The example will comfort others more to ill than good," for the Council declare that as Harman has been for many years a free burgess of Antwerp, and sworn to the Emperor, the particulars of the treason against Henry VIII., which has been suggested, must be declared. Three adjournments had taken place, and the last expired on the 4th inst., when Harman and his friends thought to have got clear, and the Lords of Antwerp were all seeking to procure his liberty, but a further adjournment had been obtained

* Persons bore a faggot when they recanted their heresies and were reprieved.

until the last Friday in February. He tells the Friar that Harman says that his imprisonment has cost him 2,000 gyldens, and he trusts to recover damages. He closes his letter by assuring the Friar that without good information from England it will be hard to bring him to penalty, for he denies his acts of heresy, and they have not sufficient proof to the contrary, while the inhabitants of Antwerp look favourably on his case.

CHAP. XXV.

Wolsey was too much occupied to press the charge against Harman, and he obtained his release in February, 1529; and as he had been thrown into prison through the instrumentality of Hackett, the English agent, the trader had the boldness to have him arrested, which would never have occurred had not England at this time quarrelled with the Emperor Charles V. Anne Boleyn interceded for him, and Hackett was released, and subsequently employed in a diplomatic mission by Cromwell.

Warham died August 28rd, 1532, at St. Stephen's, Canterbury, at the house of his relative, William Warham, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral.

Death of
Warham.

His successor, Thomas Cranmer, was in Germany at the time, and Henry sent to him, offering him the see and desiring him to return to England, which it is said he did reluctantly. Cranmer was educated at Cambridge, and was regarded as one of the ornaments of that University, both as a theologian and a canonist. He it was who suggested that the opinions of the foreign Universities should be taken respecting the validity of the King's marriage with Catherine, and he was sent on a mission for that purpose. He now obtained "the unsuitable reward of diplomatic activity for a very ambiguous purpose."

Archbishop
Cranmer.

While in Germany Cranmer had married a niece of Osiander, a Protestant divine of Nuremburg, who bore him several children. She followed him to England, and as the canons imposing celibacy had not as yet been abrogated, the marriage was void in law, and cohabitation

CHAP. XXV.

subjected him to death. He lost no time in dispatching the children, with their mother, to Germany, and then appeased the King by an apologetic letter.

A.D. 1535.

Visitations of the monasteries had been going on from the commencement of this century, but without any substantial results. In the summer of 1535, directly after the execution of Sir Thomas More, Cromwell issued a commission for their general visitation. Dr. Leyton was one of the principal Commissioners, and took Kent and the Home counties.

In the following letter, Leyton wrote to Cromwell an account of one of his unceremonious visitations to Langdon Abbey, near Dover, in October, 1535; the style is graphic, and the picture one of the most complete which remains:—

Leyton to
Cromwell;
suppression
of Langdon
Abbey, near
Dover.

"Please it your goodness to understand that on Friday, the 22nd of October, I rode back with speed to take an inventory of Folkestone, and from thence I went to Langden. Whereat immediately descending from my horse, I sent Bartlett, your servant, with all my servants, to circumspect the Abbey, and surely to keep all back-doors and starting-holes. I myself went alone to the Abbot's lodging, joining upon the field and wood, even like a cony clapper, full of starting-holes. [I was] a good space knocking at the Abbot's door; *nec vox nec sensus apparuit*, saving the Abbot's little dog that within his door fast locked bayed and barked. I found a short pole axe standing behind the door, and with it I dashed the Abbot's door in pieces, *ictu oculi*, and set one of my men to keep that door; and about the house I go, with that pole axe in my hand, *ne forte*, for the Abbot is a dangerous desperate knave and a hardy. But for a conclusion, his *gentlewoman* bestirred her stumps towards her starting-holes, and then Bartlett, watching the pursuit, took the tender damoisel; and, after I had examined her, [brought her] to Dover to the Mayor, to set her in some cage or prison for eight days; and I brought holy Father Abbot to Canterbury, and here in Christ Church I will leave him in prison. In this sudden doing, *ex tempore*, to circumspect the house, and to search, your servant John Antony's men marvelled what fellow I was, and so did the rest of the Abbey, for I was unknown there of all men. I found her apparel in the Abbot's coffer. To tell you all this comedy (but for the Abbot a tragedy), it were too long. Now it shall appear to gentlemen of this country, and other the Commons, that ye shall not deprive or visit but upon substantial grounds. The rest of all this knavery I shall defer till my coming unto you, which shall be with as much speed as I can possible."

By Acts of Parliament the King's supremacy in religious matters was finally established, and the Monasteries

were dissolved. Henry created new Bishoprics and converted fourteen Abbeys and Priors into Cathedral and Collegiate churches, attaching a Dean and a certain number of Prebendaries to each, retaining, however, for himself a large portion of their original possessions, and imposing on the new Chapters the obligation of contributing annually a certain sum to the support of the resident poor, and another for the repair of the highways. Among them were Canterbury and Rochester, and the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury were enjoined to give annually to the poor £100 and £40 towards the highways. The others were charged in proportion.

CHAP. XXV.

The Religious Houses in the Weald of Kent or its borders which were suppressed by Henry VIII. were Bayham, Bilsington, Combwell, Maidstone, Mottinden, and Tunbridge.*

Suppression
of Religious
Houses in
the Weald.

Henry ordered a number of holidays to be abolished, as superfluous as regards religion, and injurious, as they made the people idle. Images were only to be permitted as books for the unlettered. Shrines were demolished, relics burnt, and the most celebrated woods and images were broken into fragments or given to the flames.

One of the King's proceedings, connected as it was with Canterbury, must not be passed over, and, on account of its singularity and absurdity, it shall be narrated in the words of Lingard, who gives his authorities:—

Vol. V., p. 53,
6th Ed.

"It had been suggested that as long as the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury should remain in the calendar men would be stimulated by his example to brave the ecclesiastical authority of their Sovereign. The King's attorney was therefore instructed to exhibit an information against him; and "Thomas Becket, some time Archbishop of Canterbury," was formally cited to appear in Court and answer to the charge. The interval of thirty days, allowed by the canon law, was suffered to elapse; till the Saint neglected to quit the tomb in which he had reposed for two centuries and a half; and judgment would have been given against him for default had not the King, of his special grace, assigned him a counsel. The Court sat at Westminster; the Attorney-General

Destruction
of Becket's
Shrine in
Canterbury
Cathedral.

* The two Colleges which were the last founded in Kent were Wye, founded by Archbishop Kemp, temp. Henry VI., for secular canons, and Ashford, founded by Sir John Fogge, temp. Edward IV. These also were suppressed.

CHAP. XXV.

Demolition of
Becket's
Shrine.

and the advocate of the accused were heard; and sentence was finally pronounced that Thomas, some time Archbishop of Canterbury, had been guilty of rebellion, contumacy, and treason; that his bones should be publicly burnt, to admonish the living of their duty by the punishment of the dead; and that the offerings which had been made at his shrine, the personal property of the reputed Saint, should be forfeited to the Crown. A commission was accordingly issued; the sentence was executed in due form; and the gold, silver, and jewels, the spoils obtained by the demolition of the Shrine, were conveyed in two ponderous coffers to the royal treasury. Soon afterwards a proclamation was published, stating that, forasmuch as it now clearly appeared that Thomas Becket had been killed in a riot excited by his own obstinacy and intemperate language, and had been afterwards canonized by the Bishop of Rome as the champion of his usurped authority, the King's Majesty thought it expedient to declare to his loving subjects that he was no Saint, but rather a rebel and traitor to his Prince, and therefore strictly charged and commanded that he should not be esteemed or called a Saint; that all images and pictures of him should be destroyed; the festivals in his honor be abolished, and his name and remembrance be erased out of all books, under pain of his Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure."

The following ecclesiastics, noblemen, and gentlemen, were in the Commission of the Peace for Kent during the reign of Henry VIII.:

Justices of
the Peace
for Kent.

AUGUSTINE, ST., JOHN, Abbot of.
BERGAVENNY, GEORGE NEVELL,
LORD.
BAKER, JOHN.
BOVETON, EDWARD.
CANTERBURY, W., Archbishop of.
CANTERBURY, THOMAS, Prior of
Christ Church.
CHENT, SIR THOMAS.
COBHAM, THOMAS BROKE, LORD.
COLEMAN, JOHN.
*CROWMER, SIR WILLIAM.
CROWMER, JOHN.
CRISPES, JOHN.
*CULPEPER, ALEXANDER.
DRAPE, WILLIAM.
EXETER, HENRY, MARQUIS OF.
FYNOCH, SIR WILLIAM.
FANE, HENRY.
FYNEUX, SIR JOHN.
FYNEUX, WILLIAM.
FOGGE, SIR JOHN.
GULDEFORD, SIR EDWARD.
GULDEFORD, SIR HENRY.

*GULDEFORD, GEORGE.
GOLDWELL, WILLIAM.
HALES, CHRISTOPHER.
HALYS, JOHN.
HAWTE, SIR WILLIAM.
INGLEFELD, THOMAS.
*ISLEY, SIR HENRY.
JERUSALEM, WILLIAM, Prior of
St. John of.
KEMPE, WILLIAM.
LEE, RICHARD.
MONTNS, EDWARD.
MORE, SIR JOHN.
MARTYN, WILLIAM.
NORFOLK, THOMAS, DUKE OF.
NEVELL, SIR EDWARD.
NEVELL, SIR THOMAS.
NORTON, SIR JOHN.
PROCTOR, EDWARD.
PECKHAM, REGINALD.
PETTIT, JOHN.
PELHAM, JAMES.
POTTER, JOHN.
ROCHESTER, J., Bishop of.

*ROCHEFORD, THOS., VISCOUNT
(Sir Thos. Boleyn.)
RYNGELY, SIR EDWARD.
ROPER, WILLIAM.
SANDYS, ROBERT.
SCOTT, SIR WILLIAM.
SEYNTLEGER, ANTHONY.
THAWYTES, EDWARD.
*WALLER, WILLIAM.
WALSYNGHAM, WILLIAM.
WALSYNGHAM, JAMES.

WALDEN, SIR RICHARD.
WILLOUGHBY, THOMAS.
*WOOTTON, SIR EDWARD.
WYATT, SIR HENRY.
WYNGFIELD, SIR RICHARD.
WYLSHIRE, SIR JOHN.
WOODE, THOMAS.
WHITNALL, WILLIAM.
YORK, THOMAS, Cardinal of
(WOLSEY).

CHAP. XXV.
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The names marked thus (*), are those of six proprietors of estates in the Weald who served the office of sheriff during this reign; to them must be added the names of Henry Vane, of Tunbridge, Thomas Roberts, of Glassenbury, Cranbrook, and Sir William Sidney, of Penshurst, in the same district, who were also sheriffs of Kent; and several of them served that office more than once.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—EDWARD VI.—
MURDER OF ARDEN OF FAVERSHAM.—QUEEN MARY.—
JUDGE HALES.—THE WYATT REBELLION.—CARDINAL
POLE.—MARIAN PERSECUTION.—LOSS OF CALAIS.

CHAP. XXVI.
A.D. 1547.

THE reign of Edward VI., the only son of Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, under the Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset, may be very briefly passed over, as not having any especial bearing on the history of the Weald of Kent. Rebellions cropped up in various parts of England, but Kent remained quiet.

Orders were now given for keeping a Bible in every church with Erasmus's Paraphrase on the New Testament; the Book of Common Prayer was established, and marriages of the clergy declared valid.

In 1550 the first journal of the proceedings of the House of Commons was compiled, and the eldest sons of peers were permitted to sit in the House of Commons.

Edward VI. was only sixteen when he died. He was very precocious, wrote some small theological pieces, and kept a journal,* which is preserved in the British Museum.

No dearth appears to have prevailed during his reign. A barrel of beer with the tap was sold for 6d., and four large loaves for one penny. For the information of the promoters of temperance, I may remark that the number of taverns and wine cellars in London was limited to forty, and no person was permitted to keep above ten gallons of wine in his house unless he was worth 1,000 marks.

* All of which have been published, in two vols.

It was during this reign that the horrid murder of Arden, of Faversham,* was perpetrated, which was the foundation of one of our earliest domestic tragedies. Holinshed devoted six quarto pages to the murder, but I can only afford space for a brief summary of it. It was effected by the procurement of an abandoned wife, who, having failed in an attempt to poison her husband, at last killed him in his own house, with the assistance of a noted ruffian, called "Black Will," for which he was rewarded by the wife with £10. She was convicted, and burnt to death in Canterbury, 24th March, 1551. Arden's servant, Michael, was hung in chains at Faversham, and one of the female servants was also burnt there. One Mosbie and his sister were hung at Smithfield; Black Will was hung at Flushing;† and Green at a later period was convicted and hung in chains between Ospringe and Boughton. All these parties were implicated in the murder.‡

CHAP. XXVI.

A.D. 1551.

Murder of
Arden of
Faversham,

Vol. III.,
p. 1024.

Queen Mary ascended the throne 6th July, 1558, and soon convinced the nation that she intended to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in England. Cranmer was advised to make his escape by flight, but he retired to his palace at Beakesbourne, and shortly afterwards took up his abode at Forde, near Canterbury, where he received a summons to appear before the Privy Council, and was soon committed to the Tower, and thence removed to a prison in Oxford. Sir James Hales, of the Donjon or Dane John, Canterbury (descended from a family of

Queen Mary,
A.D. 1553.

Archbishop
Cranmer.

Judge Hales.
Holinshed,
Vol. IV., p. 8.

* I find from a communication from my friend Mr. F. F. Giraud, of Faversham, that Arden was Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs [then known as the "Customer"] at Faversham. His character was not an estimable one.

† Sir William Godolphin appears to have been instrumental in his apprehension, and received the thanks of the Privy Council.

‡ The play of "Arden of Faversham, his true and lamentable Tragedy," author unknown, 1592, will be found among the "Garrick Plays." It contains some poetical passages, and is one of the earliest printed specimens of this class of dramas. The Rev. C. E. Donne, M.A. (Vicar of Faversham), read a paper on this tragedy at the meeting of the Kent Archaeological Society, held at Faversham, in July, 1872, which has since been published.

CHAP. XXVI.

Rapin,
Vol. II., p. 33.Burnet,
Vol. II., p. 248.Sir Thomas
Wyatt's
Rebellion.

that name for centuries connected with Tenterden and the Weald of Kent), and described as "wise, virtuous, and learned at the law," was at this time one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas. He was a Protestant, but had shown his independence and integrity by refusing to recognize the right of Lady Jane Grey to the Crown. In his charge to the Justices of Kent assembled in quarter sessions shortly after Mary's accession, he advised them to adhere to the laws of Edward VI. not then repealed; and for this he was committed to prison. While in the Fleet the warder so terrified him by describing the cruelties which would be inflicted on those who would not change their religion, that he became insane, and attempted self-destruction with a penknife. After his release he had an interview with Queen Mary, who endeavoured to comfort him, but he never recovered, and when on a visit to his nephew, at Thannington, near Canterbury, the next year, he drowned himself in the river Stour.

A few months after this, Kent was the scene of open rebellion. The public mind had become agitated by the official announcement of the marriage of the Queen with Philip of Spain, and even Catholics opposed the match from their dread of seating a foreign and despotic Prince on the English throne. The alarm occasioned by this contemplated marriage is best described in the following confession which Sir R. Southwell, of Mereworth, the Sheriff of Kent, subsequently forwarded to the Privy Council:—

I send unto your Lordships a confession, which one Anthony Norton, of Trocheley [Trotters-cliffe], gent, hath brought unto me, written with his own hand.

"Anthony Norton, being sent for by Mr. Wyat the Monday before the trouble began, went the next day in the morning to Alyngton Castle, where he found Mr. Wyat in his parlour, sitting by the fire, who said to the said Anthony, I am sure you have heard of ye coming of ye King of Spain, who shall be our King, to the undoing of this realm, for at the spring of the year such gentlemen as I, with others, shall be sent into France with a great power of Englishmen to enlarge his countries there."

A general rising was therefore proposed, but it was in Kent only that the insurrection assumed a formidable

character, under the command of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Knight, of Allington Castle, on the Medway, near Maidstone,* an extensive landed proprietor in this county, to whom Edward VI. had granted the important Manor of Maidstone, with its Rectory, and other possessions in that town; and who had served the office of Sheriff under that King. Sir Thomas having collected his friends at Allington Castle (called Allingham by Froude, who describes the commons of Kent "as the same brave, violent, and inflammable people whom John Cade a century before had led to London"), Thursday, the 25th of January, was the day appointed for the rising. The church bells in the towns and villages in Kent were to give the alarm, and Sir Thomas excited the applause of his very adversaries by the secrecy and address with which he organized the rising, and by the spirit and perseverance with which he conducted the enterprise.† The very moment he drew his sword 1,500 armed men assembled around him, while 5,000 more remained at their homes, ready at the first toll of the alarum bell to crowd to his standard. He fixed his head quarters at Rochester Castle, and Sir George Harper, of Sutton Valence, was joint commander. A squadron of five sail in the Thames, under his secret associate, Winter, supplied him with cannon and ammunition, and batteries were erected to command the passage of Rochester Bridge. It however required all Wyatt's address to keep his followers together, for the citizens of Canterbury proved loyal to the Queen, and rejected his entreaties and derided his threats.‡

CHAP. XXVI.

Vol. VI., p. 149.

Howell's
State Trials,
Vol. I., p. 863.

Lingard,
Vol. V., p. 208.

* This knight was the son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who built a mansion adjoining the Castle, which then possessed a park. He was a great favourite of Henry VIII., was distinguished for his learning and poetry. He was Sheriff of Kent 28 Henry VIII., and was one of those it has been said who encouraged the King to proceed with the Reformation, by telling him that "it was a hard thing if a man could not repent without the Pope's leave."—*Hasted*, Vol. II., p. 183 (v).

† The signals for the rising at Tunbridge and Hadlow were given by Sir Henry Ialey and Culpeper. Martyn Drew was the Bailiff of Tunbridge at this time, and to exonerate that town, Thos. Harris, Richard Pratt, and nine other inhabitants, appeared before him, and made a declaration to that effect.

‡ The Mayors of Canterbury and Rochester, with their citizens, and Norden, of Sittingbourne, and his neighbours, rendered essential service to the Sheriff of Kent on this occasion.

CHAP. XXVI. Lord Cobham, Wyatt's uncle, was known to wish him well, and the Sheriff of Kent, Sir R. Southwell, it was supposed would be influenced by Wyatt, and he would carry with him Lord Abergavenny; but Southwell and Abergavenny both remained loyal, and assembled a strong force at Malling on Saturday, the 27th of January, from which town they wrote to the Privy Council as follows:—

"Where we were determined this day to march towards Maidstone, about one of the clock after midnight, came certain word unto us of Isley and Knevet's intent to sack and spoil Mr. Clerk's house in the break of the day; for safeguard whereof we were driven to change our purpose, and to bend ourselves that way towards Senocke, where you shall hear of us. For if Isley and they come not forth, we will seek them where as they are; and also Culpepper, if he will not come to us. In the reverence of God, devise with the Council that the Lord Warden [Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham], Sir Thomas Moyle, and other the gentlemen of East Kent, may repair to that side of Rochester, to cut off their victuals and aid that way. The Mayor of Rochester this night stole from them, and came to us, as also sundry of Isley's neighboura." Dated at Malling, Sunday, 28th January, "at three of the clock in the morning, marching towards Sennocke."

Vol. IV., p. 12. After despatching this letter, according to Holinshed, the Sheriff, Lord Abergavenny, Warham St. Leger,* and other men of influence and yeomen, to the number of 500, started early on the Sunday morning in search of a party of the rebels under the command of Sir Henry Isley and the two Knevetts, who had collected 500 *Weldishmen* [men from the Weald], and were marching towards Rochester to aid Wyatt. On their way they intended to burn and spoil the house of George Clarke. [I conclude this was Ford, in Wrotham.] On reaching Wrotham Heath, the Sheriff's party heard the drums of the insurgents, and pursued them until they reached "Barrow Green, on the road from Sevenoaks to Mr. Clarke's house." The rebels evidently wished to avoid an engagement, and turned into a byeway long before Lord Abergavenny discovered it. He lost no time in following them, and saw them unfurling their ensigns as they ascended Wrotham

* Warham St. Leger was of Ulcomb, and was Sheriff of Kent in the next reign. He was knighted, and appointed Governor of Munster and Privy Councillor in Ireland, where he was slain in 1599. He married Ursula, fifth daughter of Lord Abergavenny.

Hill, "directly under Yallam, Master Peckham's house" [Yaldham, in Wrotham]. An engagement took place in Blacksole Field with shot and arrows; the rebels were put to flight and chased for four miles, "even to Hartley Wood;" some were wounded on each side, and sixty rebels were taken prisoners. Sir Henry Isley fled into Hampshire, but Anthony Knevett escaped and joined Wyatt at Rochester. The followers, however, of the Sheriff and Lord Abergavenny deserted them immediately afterwards, and marched to Rochester to Wyatt. The Sheriff could do but little at this time, and believed that Mary would be lost. He wrote to the Council, stating that Thomas Culpeper, of Begeburie, had ridden from London, and that between that city and Tunbridge "every towne was upp to drive away Spanyards."

CHAP. XXVI.

M.S., Mary.
Domestic
Arch. Cant.,
V. IV., p. 236

In all directions the yeomen and peasants rose to arms, and flocked round Wyatt's standard at Rochester. The Queen's ships were seized in the Medway, and the rebels denounced their opponents as "traitors to God, the Crown, and the Commonwealth."

The following is a copy of their proclamation:

"To all true, faithful, and all the Queen's loving subjects.

"You shall understand that Henry, Lord of Burgavenny, Robert Southwell, knight, and George Clarke, gentleman, have most traitorously, to the disturbance of the commonwealth, stirred and raised up the Queen's most loving subjects of this realm to defend the most wicked and devilish enterprise of certain of the wicked and perverse councillors, to the utter confusion of this her Grace's realm, and the perpetual servitude of all her most loving subjects. In consideration whereof, we, Sir Thomas Wiatt, knight, Sir George Harper, knight [of Sutton Valence], Sir Henry Isleye, knight, Anthony Knevett, esquire, with all the faithful gentlemen of Kent," with the trusty commons of the same, do pronounce and declare the said Henry Lord of Burgavenny, Robert Southwell, knight, and George Clarke, to be traitors to God, the Crown, and to the common weal.

"The proclamation," writes the Sheriff, "was published at Tunbridge, Sevenoaks, and divers other places," including Ashford and Milton.

* It is worthy of remark that Sir George Harper, of Sutton Valence, Thomas Colepeper, of Bridgebury, Sir Thomas Wyatt, of Allington Castle, and Sir Henry Isley, of Sundridge, all holding possessions in the Weald, and all implicated in this rebellion, were successively Sheriffs of Kent in the preceding reign [Edward VI.].

CHAP. XXVI.

Froude,
Vol. VI., p. 154

Ib., p. 157.

Rosso, p. 47.

Mary obtained from the corporation of London a body of 500 men, which she placed under the command of the Duke of Norfolk. She then despatched a herald to Rochester with a promise of pardon if the rebels would disperse. The herald was not admitted into the city, so he read the Queen's message on the bridge, and was answered by Wyatt's followers that they required no pardon, for they had done no wrong. By a stratagem of Sir George Harper, the Duke of Norfolk was induced to advance with the Londoners and eight field pieces to the sloping ground within gun-shot of Rochester bridge. "A group of insurgents were in sight across the water, a gun was placed in a position to bear upon them, and the gunner was blowing his match, when Sir Edward Bray galloped up, crying out that 'the white coats,' as the London men were called, were changing sides." Brett, the London captain, and his men shouted, "A Wyatt! a Wyatt! we are all Englishmen." The Duke sprang on his horse and galloped off for his life. The greater part of his force, including his own private attendants, had deserted him, and the insurgents possessed themselves of their guns, money, and baggage, and 500 of the best troops in London went over to Wyatt. It is said the Duke of Norfolk afterwards fell into the hands of Wyatt, who behaved to him with respect, and requested him to return to the Queen and inform her that the rising was not against her, "but to maintain their country in its ancient liberty." Lord Abergavenny was now wholly forsaken; the Sheriff escaped to the Court; the Lord Warden (Sir Thomas Cheyney) wrote to the Council that he could not depend in the fidelity of "the Seven Hundreds," and was no longer sure of any one.

Cobham took no decided part with the rebels;* his sons, however, came into Rochester that evening. While the father was thus hesitating as to the course he should

* The Queen afterwards, through her council, intimated to him that she forgave him.

pursue, 2000 men were at the gates of his mansion at Cowling Castle.* He refused to lower the drawbridge; but the chains were cut with a cannon shot, the gates were blown open, and the rebels were storming on when his servants forced him to surrender. The house was pillaged, and the rebels carried Cobham off to Wyatt as a prisoner. Neither party appears to have trusted him. The insurgents having rested at Gravesend that night, reached Dartford the next day.

CHAP. XXVI.

Froude,
Vol. VI., p. 15

The situation of the Queen now became alarming, as part of her own Guard had been among the deserters at Rochester; but if she could not fight, she would not yield. She sent Sir Thomas Cornwallis and Sir Edward Hastings to Dartford, to confer with Wyatt, to tell him she "marvelled at his demeanour, rising as a subject to impeach her marriage." He replied that he would rather be trusted than trust; he would argue the marriage with pleasure, but he required first the custody of the Tower and of the Queen's person, and four of the Council must place themselves in his hands as hostages. These terms were indignantly refused. The Queen then boldly appealed to her people, and the citizens of London resolved to defend her.

Ib., p. 161.

Holinshed,
Vol. IV., p. 15

I must refer my readers to Mr. Froude, and other historians, for the progress and ultimate failure of this insurrection, only remarking that Sir Robert Southwell, the Sheriff of Kent, appears to have rendered material assistance in suppressing it. In one of his letters to the Council he states that he had apprehended some of the rebels; the better sort he had committed under guard to Allington Castle, and the "troublesomes" to Maidstone gaol. He was rewarded by large grants of land in Kent.

This rebellion, like the two preceding ones of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, terminated in the death of the ring-leader, with this distinction, that Wyatt died on the scaf-

* It had been the residence of Sir John Oldcastle (called Lord Cobham), who was tried and executed as a Lollard, in 1413.

CHAP. XXVI. fold, on the 11th of April, 1554, declaring that the Lady Elizabeth (afterwards Queen) was not privy to his rising or commotion before it began, though he had previously stated otherwise. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, his body quartered, and his head set upon a pole, which was afterwards stolen.*

The town of Maidstone was disfranchised for the part its inhabitants took in the rebellion, and so remained until the commencement of the next reign.

As usual, writers differ greatly as to the number of rebels captured, executed, and pardoned; but the smaller estimate on these occasions is generally the right one. Vol. IV., p. 26 Holinshed says Sir Henry Isley, Knight,† his brother Thomas, and Wm. Mantell, were executed at Maidstone, where Wyatt first displayed his banner. Anthony and William Knevet, with another of the Mantells, suffered death at Sevenoaks; and Brett, the commander of Wyatt's forces, was hung in chains at Rochester; 240 of the humbler class passed through London with halters round their necks into the Queen's presence, and then obtained Vol. II., p. 38. their pardon. Rapin says, Brett and fifty-eight more were hanged, and 600 prisoners pardoned. Renaud says a hundred were hanged in London, and one hundred in Kent. Stow says eighty in London, and twenty-two in Kent. Dr. Harris says, "twenty pair of gallows were set up in several places of the city, on which were hanged above fifty of the rebels." Gardiner,‡ perhaps unjustly, had been accused of being the adviser of this effusion of

* His estates already enumerated became forfeited, as well as the Manor of Frenchay, in Appledore (which he held in the right of his wife), and the advowson of the rectory of Great Chart. A portion of these estates, situate at Boxley, was restored by Queen Elizabeth to the Wyatt's, and continued in that family until it was devised by the last of them to Lord Romney, the great-grandfather of the present Earl of Romney, who still holds it. There are several portraits of the different members of the Wyatt family at the Mote.

† Sir Henry Isley was a member of an ancient Kentish family, and was possessed of the manors of Sundridge, on the borders of the Weald, and Staplehurst, and of property in Maidstone, then called Half Yoke, near East Farleigh. The Queen gave Staplehurst to Sir John Baker.

‡ "Renard [Simon, Charles V.'s Minister to England], in the closet, and Gardiner in the pulpit, alike told the Queen that she must show no more mercy."—*Froude*, Vol. VI., p. 181.

blood,* which, however, may not be deemed excessive CHAP. XXVI.
when compared with former insurrections.

The Queen now gave directions to purge the Church of all married Bishops and clergy; the Archbishop of York and five other Bishops were deprived of their Sees, and a considerable number of the parochial clergy lost their benefices on this ground, including Edmund Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury, the brother of the Archbishop; at the same time the ancient church service was restored. The treaty of marriage between the Queen and Philip of Spain was ratified by Parliament, and they were married at Winchester, 25th July, 1554.

A.D. 1554.

Judgment of treason had been pronounced against Cardinal Pole, who had opposed the divorce of Henry VIII., and he remained abroad. He now obtained a repeal of his attainder, and returned to England with the avowed object of reconciling the nation to the Church of Rome. Landing at Dover, he rode on horseback the next day (Nov. 21st) with a long cavalcade to Canterbury. The streets were thronged, and the Legate made his way through the crowd amidst cries of "God save your Grace." At Gravesend he proceeded in a barge to London with a silver cross on the prow. The Palace of Lambeth, vacant in consequence of the attainder of Cranmer, was given up to him, and magnificently furnished.

Cardinal Pole.

The Statutes against heretics were revived, especially against Lollards. The sheriff or local magistrate was required "to receive the heretics, and on a high place and before the people to cause them to be burnt."

Mackintosh,
Vol. II., p. 317.

Cardinal Pole was installed in the Archiepiscopal throne of Canterbury on the day of Cranmer's death or the following one, and his Suffragan Bishop of Dover (Thornton) appears to have been foremost among the persecutors of the Protestants. The number of sufferers is variously stated. According to Lord Burleigh, those who

Marian
persecution.

* The reader will find in Vols. III. and IV. of the Arch. Cant., which I have referred to above, some interesting notes connected with this rebellion.

CHAP. XXVI. died during this reign from imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, amounted to 400, of which 290 were burnt alive, while hundreds were driven into exile.*

A.D. 1558. Except the diocese of London, whose Bishop (Bonner) appears to have been ruthless with the martyrs, the county of Kent supplied the greatest number (fifty-six). The devoted Protestants from the Wealden district formed a large proportion of them, and include John Frankysh, Vicar of Rolvenden, who was burnt in Canterbury in 1555.

Loss of Calais. England's cup of sorrow was filled by almost the closing event of this reign, the fall of Calais. Suddenly assailed during the winter, it fell on 7th January, 1558, after having been in the possession of the English for more than 200 years. The Queen strenuously exerted herself to effect its recovery, but her Council would not second her, and she died expressing the belief that "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart.

* For an account of the eccentricities about this time of one Drayner, of Smarden, who favoured the Marian persecution, and acquired the name of "Justice Nine-holes," I must refer the reader to *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, Vol. VIII., p. 663, or *Haslewood's Smarden*, p. 11.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY CONCLUDED.—QUEEN ELIZABETH.—MANORS OF WYE AND TUNBRIDGE GRANTED TO THE QUEEN'S NEPHEW, LORD HUNSDON.—THE BROAD-CLOTH AND IRON MANUFACTORIES, AND ROADS IN THE WEALD.—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE WEALD.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTY.—THE SPANISH ARMADA.—HAWKHURST AND MARDEN AND THEIR DENES.—THE CHURCH.—PUBLIC STATUTES.—EARTHQUAKES, &c., IN KENT.

WE now reach the memorable reign of Queen Elizabeth, called "golden days" by the friends of the Reformation, and "dismal ones" by Roman Catholic writers. A grave doubt hung over the legitimacy of Elizabeth, as well as of Mary, for it was impossible that *both* Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn could have been lawfully married to Henry VIII., and the highest authority in the nation had pronounced that neither was so.

My notice of this reign will be chiefly confined to events connected with the Weald.

Shortly before the dissolution of the Monasteries (1584), the Abbot and Convent of Battle granted to Roger Twysden* a lease, for forty years, of the Royal Manor of Wye, with all its demesne lands and the Rectory of Wye, and the tolls arising from the markets of Wye, Challock, and Hawkhurst, excepting the Wye Water Mill, and the Naccolt Tile Kilns (then part of the same possessions), and also excepting the use of the hall and chamber of

CHAP. XXVII.

A.D. 1558.

Macaulay,
Vol. I., p. 72.

Manor of Wye.

* This family were for many years settled at Chilmington, in Great Chart.

CHAP. XXVII. the Manor house at Wye, whenever the Abbot or his successors should come that way.

On the suppression of the monasteries, Henry VIII. retained Wye] (excepting the quit rents arising from the appendant Manor of Moorhouse, in Hawkhurst, which he granted to Sir John Baker, of Sissinghurst, in Cranbrook), and Edward VI. granted Wye with its rectory and vicarage to Edward Lord Clinton and Saye, to hold in capite by knight service. He shortly afterwards reconveyed them to this King, and they remained part of the possessions of the Crown until the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Queen Elizabeth's nephew, Baron Hunsdon, next held Wye and Tunbridge.

Anne Boleyn's youngest sister Mary was married to William Carey, of the King's body-guard. She had a son Henry, and one of Queen Elizabeth's first acts was to create him Baron Hunsdon;* and, "the better to enable her nephew, the new Baron, to maintain this dignity," she granted to him (20th March, 1559) her Royal Manor of Wye (subject to Roger Twysden's lease†); also the Manor Castle and demesne lands of Tunbridge, with the park of North Frith, the Manors of Hadlow, Bounds in Bidborough, Sevenoaks, Seale, Kemsing, and the advowson of its Vicarage, and the Hundred of Codsheath, with all their extensive privileges, "in as ample a manner as our *very dear sister, the Lady Mary, late Queen of England*, or any other of our progenitors, Kings of England, or Reginald Pole (¹) Cardinal, or John, late Duke of Northumberland (¹), or any Archbishop of Canterbury, or any Duke of Buckingham (¹), or any Abbot or Prior of Battle (²),

* The Queen sent the Order of the Garter to the King of France (Francis II.) by him.

† At a later period in this reign (33 Elizabeth, 1591) a dispute arose between Lord Hunsdon and Roger Twysden respecting the rents, felling of timber, and profits arising from this manor; proceedings were instituted in the Court of Exchequer, and a Royal Commission was issued to Thomas Kempe and others, but I have not met with the result.—Exch. Queen's Remembrancer (Kent) No. 1149.

(1.) In respect of Tunbridge Castle, Manor, &c. Ante, pp. 431, 432.

(2.) In respect of the Royal Manor of Wye, &c.

or Edward Fines, Lord Clinton and Saye (*), or the Lady Ann of Cleves (*), or the Lady Katherine, late Queen of England, held the same."

CHAP. XXVII

We will next notice the steady progress which had been made in our woollen manufactures in the Weald, as well as in other parts of England, which enhanced the price of wool, and induced the landed proprietors to convert their arable lands into pasture, and enclose the waste lands. Thus, in some parts of England, villages were depopulated, which led to the revival of the statutes prohibiting enclosures.

The broad-cloth manufacture in the Weald.

The weavers in the "Seven Hundreds of the Weald" had now become important members of society, and we find them, through their Justices, certifying to the Lord Privy Seal in reply to a communication from him, the following as the substance of the restrictions they deemed necessary for the more effectually carrying on their trade.

1.—That no clothier who had not in his youth exercised the craft of weaving for two years, at the least, ought to use or have in his house any loom.

2.—That no clothier-weaver making coloured cloths should have more than one loom.

3.—That all disputes between the cloth maker and the weaver should be referred to a Justice of the Peace, who should assign an indifferent weaver and a clothier to decide between the parties.

4.—That any clothier or other artificer coming into the Seven Hundreds to seek work, from any other shire than Kent, should enter into a recognizance for his good behaviour.

This document is among the Cottonian MSS., and is without date; it is signed by "Edwarde Wotton, Thos. Wylford." The handwriting is of the time of Henry VIII., and as Sir Edward Guldeford, in a letter to Wolsey, requests that his cousin Thomas Wilforde may be put in the Commission of the Peace, we may conclude it is the same party.

Titus,
B 1, fo. 139.

Ante, p. 450.

The woollen trade of England had at this time reached a remarkable pitch of prosperity, and the Weald of Kent,

(3.) The reputed wife of Henry VIII., who granted to her the Manors of Kemsing and Seale, and also the Castle and Manor of Haver and the Priory of Dartford to hold for her life, provided she did not quit England without the licence of the King or his successors.

CHAP. XXVII

Smith's
Memoirs
of Wool,
Vol. I., p. 110.

5 & 6 Ed. VI.,
c. vi., sec. iv.

Ib., p. 108.

with Cranbrook as its centre, had acquired the reputation of producing some of the best of its broad-cloths. Manufactured woollen goods were exported in preference to the raw material. The demand for them was increased by the sacking of Antwerp in 1576,* which transferred to England the flourishing commerce of that city, as well as of the greater part of the Low Countries.

During the 16th century, no less than forty-six Acts of Parliament were passed relating to wool, raw and manufactured, some of which regulated the colours for dyeing. By one of them, it was provided that every piece of broad-cloth which should be made in the shire of Kent, should contain in length, when thoroughly wet, between twenty-eight and thirty yards, and in breadth seven quarters at the least, and that every piece of Kentish broad-cloth "being well scoured, thicked, milled, and fully dried" should weigh 84lbs. at the least.

Other manufactures were established about this time in Kent by French and Flemish emigrants, the latter called Walloons, who flocked to England to escape persecution, and met with a courteous reception from Elizabeth, who permitted them to settle at Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, and other towns in England. The workers in flannels and baizes settled in Sandwich,† which for a time revived the trade in that town and port. A few weavers in silks and stuffs settled in Canterbury,‡ and the workers in linen thread established a manufactory at Maidstone.

In the 8th of Elizabeth (1566) an Act was passed "Touching Cloth-workers and cloth ready wrought to be shipped over sea," which, while it sanctioned the transport of unwrought and undressed cloths from other

* Antwerp was miserably sacked by the Spaniards, and the English merchants resident there were plundered.

† A colony of Dutch followed them, and before the close of this century the foreigners resident in Sandwich outnumbered the natives.

‡ The Spaniards were the inventors of knitted silk stockings. Queen Elizabeth wore cloth ones, but having been presented with a pair of silk in 1561 she never again wore cloth.

counties upon certain conditions, prohibited the trans-
port of such Kentish and Suffolk cloths, that is to say,
"cloths not rowed, barbed, first coursed and shorne."

There was a strong opposition by the cloth-workers to the passing of this Bill, as originally framed, and some very able objections to free trade, and the answers thereto will be found in "The State Papers—Domestic—Elizabeth." Before the Bill finally passed, concessions were made, which, however, did not extend to the woollen manufacturers of Kent and Suffolk, who were required to complete their workmanship before they could export it.

Lord Cobham was in favour with the Queen, and with her great Minister, William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), and two years later there is a letter from him to Cecil, in which he states that Kent was at this time manufacturing 12,000 cloths yearly, and he solicits her Majesty not to put this Act in force, as far as that county was concerned.

Nothing appears to have been done at this time, and in a subsequent letter, written by Cobham to the Earl of Sussex (no year given), Cobham solicits a licence for a term of years, not less than twelve, to enable him to export 2,000 unwrought cloths from Kent into the Low Countries. He requests the Earl to intercede with Cecil for him, and that he may the better understand his application, he encloses the substance of a petition to the Queen, without date, but which is supposed to have been presented to her between 1568 and 1575, as it appears to have been in circulation in Kent at this time. This document throws considerable light on the extent of the business carried on, and the number of hands employed in the Weald of Kent. It thus proceeds:—

"Item, there is made within the Wyld of Kent yearly, by estimation, eleven or twelve thousand cloths, and out of every cloth there groweth to the poor for their relief and living, as to spinners, weavers, and thickers, 50s., which amounteth to twenty-five or twenty-six thousand pounds amongst them yearly.

Item, the said places in the said county where clothing [cloth-making] is commonly used, is so populous, that the soil thereof is not able by any

CHAP. XXVII. *increase thereof to maintain and And the one-half of the inhabitants, except clothing be maintained.*

The Cloth
Workers.

Item, that clothing in the said Wyld of Kent is the nurse of the people, so that in maintaining clothing, the people are maintained : decay the clothing, and the people decay.

Item, that the making of a broadcloth consisteth not in the travail [work] of one or two persons, but in a number, as of thirty or forty persons—men, women, and children—at the least.

Cranbrook.

Item, that in the town of Cranebrooke, which is but a small part of the said county, there is one thousand cloths less yearly made than hath been in two or three years past. Your Honour may well judge thereby what a number of people, by the lack of clothing, lose a great part of their living ; so that daily idleness and poverty greatly increaseth.

Item, if it should, by your good and honourable means, so please the Queen's excellent Majesty to dispense with the Statute made in the eighth year of her most gracious reign, that no coloured cloths should be shipped or transported into the parts beyond the seas unwrought ; that two or three thousand coloured cloths, by the said dispensation, may pass into the dukedom of Burgundy, that is to say Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and Seland, unwrought, notwithstanding the said Statute, the same should greatly relieve the said country, and the residue of the said eleven or twelve thousand shall be dressed in England, into what parts of the world the same cloths shall pass.

Item, it is much to be doubted that if the stay of making of coloured cloths in Kent should long continue, as it hath already begun, the inhabitants of the said dukedom of Burgundy, having the wools of England, would practise the making of cloths within the said dukedom, as they already have begun, whereby they will not only have the dressing, but the making also, of the said cloths. For the said inhabitants lack not our cloths because they cannot make them, but have them because they can buy them better cheap of the English merchants than they can make them themselves, so as they may buy them unwrought, and otherwise they will buy none ; so that by this means our country, Kent, is grown greatly in decay."

Queen Elizabeth was ever anxious to promote the welfare of her subjects, and by her bold, self-reliant, and vigorous conduct, she secured a large amount of prosperity to her manufacturers of wool in Kent and elsewhere, notwithstanding the loss of the trade with Spain ; based, however, on monopolies which might be then requisite, but did not long survive her reign.

Sutton
Valence.

It was during this century that William Lamb, a native of Sutton Valence and a member of the Clothworkers' Company, founded the existing Grammar School and Almshouses at Sutton Valence, which are under the supervision of that Company. Sir Edward Osborne, ano-

ther member of the Clothworkers' Company, from whom the family of the Duke of Leeds is descended, was a native of Ashford, and served the office of Lord Mayor in 1588. The Chittendens, a family of some repute, were eminent clothiers at Lilsden, in Hawkhurst, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and resided there for several generations.

CHAP. XXVII.

Archbishop Grindal, who held the See of Canterbury from 1575 to 1588, left to the City of Canterbury £100, to be kept in stock for ever, for the use of the poor traders and dealers of wool in Canterbury.

Hasted,
Vol. IV., p. 743.

From the manufacture of wool, called by Camden "one of the pillars of the nation," let us pass on to that of iron.

The Wealden
Iron Works.

The strata which produced the iron ore in the Weald, and which led to the establishment of the different furnaces in Kent, has been fully explained in the able paper of my friend, Mr. Mackeson, which will be found in the Appendix to the first volume.

What Camden records of the Weald of Sussex at this period of our history, will apply, *but in a more limited extent*, to the Weald of Kent.

2nd Edit.,
Vol. I., p. 196.

"It is full of iron mines, for the casting of which there are furnaces up and down the country, and abundance of wood is yearly spent; many streams are drawn into one channel, and a great deal of meadow ground is turned into ponds and pools for the driving of mills by the *flashes* [*suo impetu*] which, beating with hammers upon the iron, fill the neighbourhood round about, night and day, with continued noise. But the iron wrought here is not everywhere of the same goodness, yet generally more brittle than the Spanish, whether it be from its nature, or tincture and temper; nevertheless, the proprietors of the mines, by casting of cannon and other things, make them turn to good account. But, whether the nation is in any way advantaged by them, is a doubt which the next age will be better able to resolve."

According to Mr. Lower, one of the oldest articles produced by our Wealden foundries now in existence is to be seen in Burwash Church, Sussex, and consists of a cast iron-slab of about the fourteenth century, with an ornamental cross and an inscription in relief. Hand-irons and chimney backs, some decorated with fanciful devices, and others with armorial bearings, are still to be met with in our old farm-houses, and were the work of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Sussex Arch.
Collections,
Vol. II., p. 178.

CHAP. XXVII.

Smiles'
Indust. Biog.,
p. 33.

Ib., p. 35.

Lower's
Contributions,
p. 107.

Ante, p. 335.

The first cast-iron cannons* of English manufacture were made at Buxted, in Sussex, in 1543, by Ralph Hogge,† a master founder, who employed as his principal assistant Peter Baude, a Frenchman. Hogge also employed a skilled Flemish gunsmith, while Peter Von Collet about this time introduced the explosive shell. Many of the earliest resident workmen in the Sussex and Kent iron works were, like the weavers, Flemish and French refugees; while others more skilled were invited over by the iron-masters, to instruct their workmen in the art of metal founding.

The payments made to the wood-cutters at this time appear to have been at the rate of 8d. per cord. The charcoal-burners were often paid in wood, and for the charcoal at the rate of 22d. per load. For digging iron-ore 7d. per load was paid, and the charge for carriage was regulated by the distance.

The impetus given to the trades in iron and wool induced the owners, especially of the woods, to clear them with a rapidity which became alarming to the nation, and one of the earliest Statutes passed "for the preservation of woods" was the 35th Henry VIII., which provided that after Michaelmas, 1544, in the felling of underwood of twenty-four years' growth or under, there should be left on every acre "twelve standels or stores of oak," to be made up of elm, ash, asp, or beech, when there was no oak. It further provided that no coppice of underwoods of two acres and upwards should be converted into tillage or pasture. This is followed by a proviso that the Act should not extend to any Lords or owners of woods within "any of the towns, parishes, or places known to be within the Wilds of the counties of Kent, Surrey, or Sussex."

Kent at no time, however, carried on so extensive a

* The earliest cannons were mere cylinders fixed on sledges, and were sometimes composed of iron bars laid side by side like the staves of a cask, and held together by iron hoops; others were formed by iron plates rolled, or in jacked leather bound with broad circles of iron.—*Horstfeld's Sussex*, Vol. I., p. 365.

† The Hogges continued this business at Buxted for three generations and became a wealthy family.

trade in the manufacture of iron as Sussex. The demands of an increasing population sooner led the inhabitants of her portion of the Weald first to commence the grubbing of the woods to supply food, and this was followed by the establishment of the woollen manufactories at Cranbrook and its vicinity. Thus only those dense woods which formed a boundary between Kent and Sussex were left for the enterprising spirit of the iron-masters.

In the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, the alarmists succeeded in passing an Act which provided that timber should not be felled to make coals for burning iron within fourteen miles of the sea or of the river Thames, &c.; but this prohibition was not to extend "to any part of Sussex, nor to the Weild of Kent, nor to the neighbouring parishes of Charlewood, Newdigate, and Leigh, in the Weild of Surrey," where the manufacture of iron was carried on.

A great deal of heavy ordnance was now cast, and even exported, especially from Sussex, under licence from the Lord Admiral. This, as it may be readily imagined, was a dangerous proceeding, and led frequently to smuggling, as shewn to the Privy Council by a declaration of a "Christopher Baker," one of the officials, "touching iron furnaces," in which he assures the council that there were five furnaces in Sussex solely used for making ordnance and shot, and he had been well informed that there had been sold to one stranger's ship, being an argosy, within the previous month, by Partridge and others, twenty pieces of ordnance at the least: strangers' ships were thus so well appointed that no poor merchant's ship might pass through the seas without being molested and robbed. He adds that, in addition to several new works which had been recently set up, there were more than 100 furnaces and iron mills in the three counties of Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, which led to the decay of the woods, timber, and tillage, and also the highways, as they carried all their timber in winter time. Thus he concludes: "In a few years there will not be sufficient

CHAP. XXVII.

Smuggling of
Guns, &c.

Temp.
Elizabeth,
no date

CHAP. XXVII.

The Wealden
Iron Works.Lower, p. 109.
Strype, p. 15.State Papers,
Domestic,
Elizabeth,
Vol. XCV.,
No. 21.

timber to build ships for Her Majesty's service." But it was some time before the English merchants obtained any redress.

As a proof that the manufacture of iron was considered a profitable one, we learn that it was contemplated to extend the trade into East Kent, for Archbishop Parker, evidently in a state of alarm, writes about this time to Queen Elizabeth, telling her that he had been credibly informed that Sir Richard Sackville* intended to erect certain iron mills in Longbeach, in Westwell,† Kent, and adds, "which *plague*, if it shall come into the country, I fear it will breed much grudge and desolation."

I am enabled to supply the reader with the following list taken from the Public Record Office, of the names of the owners of the iron works and furnaces in Kent in 1578-4, and the places where they were planted.

"Sir Richard Baker, knight, one forge, one furnace, in Cranbrook and Hawkhurst.

Sir Alexander Culpeper, one furnace, in Goudhurst.

Thomas Dyck, one forge, in Dorndale (?).

Thomas Bratle, one furnace, in Horamonden, in the hands of Mr. Ashburnham.

Sir Thomas Fane, one furnace, in Tunbridge.

Davy Willerde, two forges, one furnace, in Tunbridge.

Quyntyn, one furnace, in Cowden.

Sir Walter Waller, one forge, in Brichenden [Biddenden], in other men's hands.

Thomas ——— (blank), one forge, one furnace, in Asheherst.

Thomas Darell, of Scotney, one furnace, in Chingleye [Goudhurst], in the hands of Thomas Dyck."

From this we learn that there were at this time about ten owners, six forges, and eight furnaces, in the Weald of Kent; while from the same return we see that in Sussex there were forty forges and thirty-two furnaces, and forty-two owners.

* This family had extensive iron works at Brede, and other parts of Sussex.

† This wood is situate in Westwell and Challock, and contains about 1,100 acres. At this time it was farmed out by the Comptroller of the Queen's Household, though, in truth, it belonged to the See of Canterbury; and Archbishop Whitgift shortly afterwards recovered it.

In Surrey there do not appear to have been more than three owners, three forges, and one furnace. CHAP. XXVII.

Her Majesty and her nobles were not above entering into this commercial enterprise, for among the Sussex manufacturers were Queen Elizabeth, the Earls of Derby, Surrey, and Northumberland, Lords Abergavenny, Buckhurst, Dacres, Sidney, and Montague, &c. State Papers,
Domestic,
Elizabeth,
Vol. XCV.,
No. 61.

In another return in the same reign the following additions are made to the list of iron-masters in Kent:—John Stace, of Ashurst; Stephen Colyns, Lamberhurst; Michael Weston, Cowden; Sir Alexander Culpeper, in respect of "Budbery furnace," in Cranbrook; and Sir Richard Butler, in respect of a furnace and forge in Bidenden.

In or near the valley of the Medway in Ashurst, a short distance below the church, was formerly an iron foundry; and in a wood southwards from the church are pits whence ore was obtained. Hussey's
Churches,
p. 24.

Under Cowden, the Rev. Edward Turner, M.A., writes in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*:—"In Queen Elizabeth's time but little of its land could have been under cultivation; it must have consisted for the most part of wood and pasture. The road leading up to the Roman camp is called Spood Lane. . . . Iron slag is found plentifully in this part of the parish. . . . Cowden, in the days of good Queen Bess, was probably inhabited by 'Franklyns from the Weald of Kent,' of whom Shakespeare speaks. . . . Large iron works were carried on at Cowden, the hammer ponds of which still remain. Of these works the principal masters were the Knights and Tichbornes, the descendants of both of whom are now baronets." Vol. XX., p. 92.

John Wilson, from whom the family of Sir John Maryon Wilson are descended, became about this time, in conjunction with others, the proprietor of iron furnaces at Ashurst and Cowden, "where, by his agents, great quantities of iron were cast, which were converted into guns and other instruments of public utility." Sussex
Arch. Coll.,
Vol. XI., p. 9,
communicated
by R. W.
Blencowe.

CHAP. XXVII.

Most of these iron-masters had to give bond to the Queen, not to cast any pieces of ordnance of iron without a special licence.

Hasted,
Vol. I., p. 223.

In the year 1590 the first slitting-mill for the cutting of iron bars into rods was set up at Dartford, on the river Darent, by Godfrey Box, of Liege; while at Crayford an iron-mill was used for making plates for armour.

Sir William Rowe, a member of the Ironmongers' Company, who served the office of Lord Mayor in 1592, was a native of Hawkhurst.

The scanty supply of timber for building and other purposes, and of wood for fuel, is noticed in an Act passed in 1581 (28 Eliz. c. 5). The reason given is the erection of iron-mills, in divers places, not far from the suburbs of London, and the downs and sea coast of Sussex. To remedy this, it was provided that no wood should be employed for making iron within twenty-two miles of the suburbs of London, or the river Thames, from Dorchester downward; nor within four miles of Winchelsea and Rye, nor within three miles of Hastings, nor within four miles of the foot of the downs between Arundel and Pevensey. Such of the woods, growing in the Wealds of Surrey, Sussex, or Kent, as were distant above eighteen miles from London, and eight from the Thames,—as well as the woods of Christopher Darrell, of Newdigate, within the Weald of Surrey, which had been hitherto preserved for iron-works,—were not included in the Act. Four years afterwards another Act was passed for the preservation of timber in the Weald; but, as its provisions extended to the amendment of the roads, I will refer to it when speaking of the highways, during this century. From the foregoing enactments it is evident the manufacture of iron, unlike that of wool, was regarded with no favourable eye, either by the Government of the day, or the public. Many of its opponents were those who disliked any interference with their field sports, by disforested the country; and also dreaded the increase in the price of fuel.

This trade reached its height towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, when it became so prosperous that England again began to export iron in considerable quantities in the shape of ordnance. Patents for this purpose had been granted by the Queen to Sir Thomas Leighton and Henry Neville, which enabled the Spaniards to arm their ships, and fight us with guns of our own manufacture. Proclamations were again issued prohibiting the export of iron and brass ordnance; but guns continued to be smuggled out of the country. One iron-master succeeded in exporting to the King of Spain 100 pieces of cannon. The iron-masters in the Wealds of Sussex and Kent, from their proximity to London and the Cinque Ports, derived at this time great advantages over the remoter iron-producing districts in the north and west of England; and this hitherto much neglected district, with its colony of weavers and iron-masters, acquired a commercial importance which it never before, or subsequently, enjoyed, impeded only by the deplorable state of its roads, of which we will next speak.

CHAP. XXVII.

Smiles, p. 37.

In the first Vol. I have noticed the state of the roads at the commencement of the thirteenth century. During the next 200 years there was very little improvement in them. The heads of the Church and religious houses were interested in rendering the communications with their cathedrals and monasteries easy and safe; and up to this time they gave occasion for the greatest amount of travelling on the main thoroughfare from our coast to London. The transport by water through the Weald was very limited, and little, however, was done to uphold its cross and bye roads; the remains of some of them may still be traced in sequestered spots, about eight feet deep, covered with underwood, which were horse tracks in summer and rivulets in winter. For those who could afford to ride, the back of a horse was the only practicable mode of travelling: kings and queens rode, judges rode circuit in jack-boots, gentlemen rode, and robbers rode; the bar sometimes rode and sometimes walked.

p. 408.

The Roads,

Smiles' Life
of Telford,
p. 11.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Hemsted,
and other
Roads in the
Weald.

The Weald of Kent furnishes us with one of the earliest instances on record of the Legislature conferring powers on a subject to alter and improve roads. It appears that George Guldeford [written Gilford] was in 1523 in possession of Hemsted,* and he obtained an Act (14 and 15 Henry VIII., c. 6) for "altering Highways in the Weld of Kent," which recites that there was an ancient common way "in the Hundred of Cranebrook, in the Weld of Kent," between the bridge dividing the Hundred of Cranbrook from that of Rolvenden, to Tenterden Cross, "nigh to a great oak called Hemsted Oak," which was in divers places "right deep and noyous," and not so direct as another way might be made over other lands of the Manor of Hemsted; and by this Statute Mr. Gilford, as "Beseecher," obtained authority, with the consent of two Justices and twelve inhabitants within the Hundreds of Cranbrook and Rolvenden, to construct this new way and to enclose the old one. It next refers to the deplorable state of many of the roads in the Weald of Kent, and empowers *any other person* to alter and divert old roads or make new ones with the like consent of two Justices and a Jury, who were to certify the same to the Court of Chancery.

McCulloch's
Ed., p. 68.

Here we find an intelligent and influential landed proprietor endeavouring to act in the spirit of that admirable axiom of Adam Smith expressed 200 years afterwards (which, however, has since taken so much time to establish), that "good and direct roads by diminishing the expense of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of the town, and are thus the greatest of all improvements." This laudable example of Mr. Gilford was shortly afterwards followed by the inhabitants of the adjoining county, for in the 26th Henry VIII. a "Bill for the Highways in the county of Sussex," was passed which recites

* He served the office of Sheriff in 1525, and kept his Shrievalty at Hemsted.

Mr. Gilford's Act, and extends all its provisions to that county. CHAP. XXVII.

These statutes it must be remembered were only *permissive*; but they were followed by a general Highway Act in the next reign (2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8), which directs the constables and churchwardens of *every parish** to call the parishioners together in Easter week and elect two surveyors, but their powers extended only to the repair of "*the highways leading to any market town.*" It was to continue in operation only seven years, but was renewed for twenty years in the next reign (5th Elizabeth, c. 18), with additional powers.

In the reign of Henry VIII. there was another public benefactor to the roads in this district, in the person of James Willford, who is called, in the records preserved in Hawkhurst church, one of the aldermen of London; though the late Mr. Holloway, in his "*History of Rye,*" describes him as "*a ripplier† of Rye.*" He secured an annuity of £7, charged on the Saracen's Head, in Friday-street, London, belonging to the Merchant Taylors' Company, for the perpetual repair of the highway between River Hill, in Kent, and Northiam, in Sussex. p. 456.

The Weald was, however, not the only part of Kent where all but impassable roads were to be met with, for it is recorded a few years later, that in the more rich and fertile district adjoining the Isle of Sheppy, the usual highway leading from the market-town of Middleton (Milton) to the King's Ferry, in Sheppy, was "*in such decay that neither man nor beast without great danger is able to pass,*" and special clauses are inserted in an amended Highway Act (18th Elizabeth, c. 10) for its repair, and for upholding the ferry. The last two Statutes which I shall at present notice had a twofold object, the upholding of the highways throughout the Weald and also the preservation of

* During this century the term "*parish*" first came into common use.

† The rippliers conveyed the fish to London in panniers, on horses, from our fishing towns.

CHAP. XXVII. timber in the same district (27 Elizabeth, c. 19, and 39 Elizabeth, c. 19). By the first it is provided that no one shall erect in Sussex, Surrey, or Kent any iron-mills, furnace, or bloomary other than upon the old or former bays or pens, unless he shall furnish them with timber grown on his own soil; nor shall he convert into coals or fuel for making of iron any sound timber of one foot square at the stub under a penalty of £800. It proceeds then to declare that the highways in these three counties are greatly injured "by means of carriages of coals [charcoal], mines, and iron to and from the iron-works," and enacts that the iron-masters carrying the same for one mile on any highway between the 12th of October and 1st of May shall likewise carry a cart-load of cinder, gravel, stone, sand, or chalk for their repair, to be deposited where the Justices shall direct.

Holloway's
Rye, p. 452.

There was at this time a cannon foundry at Roberts-bridge, in Sussex, and in consequence of the state of the roads the cannon were floated on rafts down the Rother, and sheets, or penstocks, were put across the river at different places to pen up the water, which extended as low down as Appledore, near which place the remains of one was dug up when cleansing and deepening the river a few years ago.

Queen
Elizabeth's
Visit to the
Weald of
Kent.

Bad, however, as the roads in the Weald of Kent were, they did not deter Queen Elizabeth from making one of her progresses through it during the summer of 1578. Such visits, chiefly on horseback,* were of very frequent occurrence, and the expense they occasioned to her subjects was enormous; for not only was she and her numerous train to be entertained, but presents of great

* Queen Elizabeth also visited Kent in 1572 and 1580. She was on horseback about every second day, and continued to hunt until within a short time of her death in 1603. Ten or twelve physicians were in constant attendance upon her at this time, who assured her that she would recover if she would only take their medicine; but nothing would induce her to do it. She made no will, and left behind her a vast and splendid collection of plate and jewels, and a rich wardrobe of more than 2,000 gowns.

value were expected at her departure.* Elizabeth, in return, would confer honours on the owners of the different mansions at which she stayed, as well as on their guests. On one occasion ten of these guests were knighted, including Sir Benjamin Tichborne. The owner of the mansion and his lady would present the neighbouring gentry and tenantry, and merrily dance before the Queen with tabor and pipe. Temporary apartments were fitted up for her Majesty's attendants; the outside of them was often covered with green boughs and clusters of ripe hazel nuts; the inside with arras; the roofs with work of ivy leaves; the floors were strewn with sweet herbs and green rushes. There were also larders and offices for wine, spices, and chandlery; and bowers for Her Majesty's Guard, with kitchens and spacious buildings to serve "all comers," with large ranges and boilers, pastries with spacious ovens, etc.

The Queen's progress this summer (1578), says Strype, was into Kent. She set out from Greenwich on the 14th July, and proceeded to the Archbishop's palace at Croydon, where, surrounded by the nobility, she remained seven days the guest of Archbishop Parker.

From Croydon she moved on to Orpington, the house of Sir Percival Hart, where she was magnificently entertained on 22nd July. She was here received by a nymph personating the genius of the house; then the scene was shifted, and a conflict at sea was represented, which so charmed Elizabeth that upon her departure she named the place Bark-Hart.

She went thence to Knole, which was in her own hands at this time.

She then passed on to Birlingham, or Birling, the Lord Bergavenny's seat, which came to this family by the marriage of Elizabeth, sole heiress of Richard Beau-

CHAP. XXVII

Annals,
Vol. II.,
p. 313.

Queen Elizabeth's Public Processions, &c., by Nichols, 1788, Vol. I., p. 31. Philipott, p. 259.

* On New Year's Day it was also customary for the courtiers to make some valuable present to the Queen, who, in return, would send from forty to fifty ounces of gilt plate; but, to her favourite Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, and to him alone, 400 ounces were assigned. - Sir Harris Nicolas' *Memoirs*, p. 8.

CHAP. XXVII.

Queen
Elizabeth's
Journey
through
the Weald of
Kent.

champ, Earl of Worcester and Lord Bergavenny, to Sir Edward Neville, temp. Henry VI. Until recently, no member of this family resided here for many generations; but when Queen Elizabeth visited it, it was in the hands of Henry Neville, Lord Bergavenny, who died in 1587, and was buried here with great pomp.

The next halting place was Eridge, in Waterdown Forest, on the borders of Sussex, another seat of this lord's.

The Queen then proceeded through the Weald of Kent, stopping first at Bedgbury, in Goudhurst, the mansion of Mr. Culpeper, who on this occasion presented her with an elegant silver-gilt cup with cover, on the top of which was a tuft of flowers.

From Bedgbury the Queen went on to Mr. Guilford's residence at Hemsted in Benenden. While here, on the 10th of August, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, when writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury, thus describes the difficulties of the journey: "*The Queen has had a hard beginning of her progress in the Wild of Kent, and in some part of Sussex, where surely were more dangerous rocks and valleys, as she said, and much worse ground, than was in the Peak.*" He proceeds to inform him that they were journeying towards Rye, and afterwards to Dover, and concludes: "I must end with my most hearty commendations to your Lordship and my good lady, wishing myself with her at Chatsworth, where I should see a great alteration to my good liking. From the Court at Mr. Guilford's house." Mr. Guilford's present to the Queen was a bowl of silver gilt, with a cover with Her Majesty's arms crowned.

Sussex
Arch. Coll.,
Vol. V., p. 190.
Holloway's
Rye, p. 308.

She then moved on from Hemsted to Rye, and tradition says that she halted on her journey at Northiam, in Sussex, under an oak which is still standing near the churchyard, and bears the name of "Queen Elizabeth's Oak," because there was no large mansion at which she could be received. Her Majesty remained at Rye three days; and, according to Horsfield, she conferred the

honour of knighthood on Mr. Shirley, Mr. Guilford, Mr. Walsingham, and Mr. Culpeper. Jeake says she visited Winchelsea on this occasion, but Nichols makes no mention of it.

CHAP. XXVII.

Elizabeth appears to have preferred retracing her course through the Weald to Sissinghurst, rather than travel through Romney and its marshes. At Sissinghurst, near Cranbrook, she was the guest of Mr. John Baker, who also was knighted. Sir John's present to the Queen was a silver gilt cup with cover, on the top of which was a lion holding the Queen's arms.

The inhabitants of Cranbrook, then a manufacturing town of some importance, testified their loyalty and attachment to their Sovereign by presenting to her a cup somewhat similar to the one given by Sir John Baker.

From Sissinghurst, the Queen travelled through the heart of the Weald of Kent to Boughton Malherbe, the seat of Mr. Thomas Wotton (whose family were its owners from the time of Richard II.). This gentleman was noted as much given to hospitality, and a general favourite.

The last resting place on the borders of the Weald during this progress was Hothfield, then the residence of John Tufton,* who married Mary, the eldest daughter of Sir John Baker, the owner of Sissinghurst. Mr. Tufton's present to the Queen consisted of three bowls with covers of silver gilt; on the top of the cover were the royal arms, "supported by her Majesty's beasts," the golden lion and the red dragon.

From Hothfield† the Queen passed on to Westen-

* Her Majesty does not appear to have visited the neighbouring manor of Surrenden Dering and Calehill, on this occasion. Richard Dering was the possessor of Surrenden at this time. He married a Twysden. Elizabeth possibly had not forgotten a sermon which Richard Dering's son (who was one of her chaplains) had preached at the Chapel Royal, in which he declared that "the Queen had no more control over her passions than an untamed heifer;" and for this rude and free-spoken remark he was deprived of his chaplaincy.

† The present mansion at Hothfield Place is a modern building. The old residence stood at a little distance to the north of the present one. On the Heath stands a dwelling-house belonging to Sir Henry

CHAP. XXVII. hanger, her own mansion at this time, and under the charge of Lord Buckhurst. Sir Edward Poynings (already referred to) built a spacious chapel here in the reign of Henry VIII. It appears to have been a magnificent moated house, the walls embattled with nine towers; one of them is still called Rosamond's, and the long gallery is traditionally said to have been her prison. The inner court on the right of the chapel was 180 feet square. The hall was fifty feet by thirty-two, with a cloister; and the house contained 126 rooms.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 345.

She quitted Westenhanger 25th of August, and, according to Mr. W. Durrant Cooper, dined at Sandgate; and on her way to Dover she again halted at Folkestone, and was there met by Archbishop Parker and William Brooke, Lord Cobham, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports and Lieutenant of the County. On arriving at Dover she proceeded to the Castle, where she was entertained by Lord Cobham. The Queen continued there until the 31st, and proceeded thence to Sandwich, remaining there until the 3rd September; and after dining at Wingham, she arrived at Canterbury for supper, where she was magnificently entertained for a fortnight at St. Augustine's palace by Archbishop Parker.

Sussex
Arch. Col.,
Vol. V., p. 190.
Strype's
Annals,
Vol. I., p. 194.

Queen Elizabeth proceeded thence to Fogylston (Fulston), a large mansion* in Sittingbourne,† then belonging to the Cromers, and proceeded thence to Rochester,‡ making her abode first at the Crown Inn and then at the

Tufton with marks of antiquity about it; in one of the upper rooms the royal arms of the House of Tudor are rudely painted. Tradition says that Queen Elizabeth slept here on the above occasion; but it is more probable that the room was occupied by some of the Royal suite, and painted and decorated for the occasion.

* The greater part of this mansion was taken down during the last century. The estate in 1624 passed by marriage to John, the eldest son of Sir Edward Hales, of Tenterden, Knight and Baronet, and has been recently purchased by Mr. Thomas Reason.

† Her Majesty the next year granted to Sittingbourne a charter of incorporation, with a market and two fairs, and towards the close of her reign she extended these privileges by empowering the inhabitants to return two members to Parliament, and to elect a mayor and jurats; but they declined these proffered honours.

‡ Queen Elizabeth appears to have been entertained by Lord Cobham, at Cobham Hall, on a previous occasion.

residence of Mr. Watts,* which acquired its name of *Satis* on that occasion. She attended divine service, and heard a sermon at the castle the day after her arrival.†

CHAP. XXVII.

From Rochester the Queen passed on to her own house, the late Priory at Dartford, and finally arrived at her starting point, Greenwich, in safety, having been absent for more than ten weeks. She appears to have reached most of the above places in time for supper.

Beside the various valuable gifts already enumerated, her Majesty received, during this progress, presents from the Lord Keeper, the Lord Compton, the Lady Cobham, the Lady Throgmorton, and the inhabitants of Sandwich, Dover, and Faversham.

Previous to this progress, information had been received by Sir Henry Norris, at Paris, that an attempt was to be made by the adherents of the Roman Catholic religion to overthrow Elizabeth's government, with the sanction of the Pope (Pius V.), who had already, by his bull, professed to deprive her of her "pretended" right over England, absolved her subjects from their oath of allegiance, and enjoined them, on pain of excommunication, not to obey her laws or commands. An insurrection, under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, had broken out in the North of England, and Lord Hunsdon had been sent to assist in quelling it. The Privy Council, with a view to defend our coast, were not unmindful of the mustering, arming, and training of the inhabitants of the eastern part of Kent. The commissioners appointed to report on the necessary arrangements were the Lord Warden (Lord Cobham), Sir Thomas Kemp, Sir Thomas Wotton, Thomas Scott, Thomas Guldeford, John Cobham, Thomas Wotton, and Robert Rudston, Esquires, who assembled at Ashford on 1st October, 1569. Their report is a long, but

Defence of the
Kentish Coast.

State Papers,
Domestic,
Vol. LIX.,
No. 1.

* The founder of the well-known charity at Rochester, where poor travellers, "not being rogues or proctors," are relieved.

† In all her journeys, Queen Elizabeth appears to have made a rule not to be on the road on Sunday.

CHAP. XXVII.

a careful document. Their attention had been called to the increase of harquebusies [hand guns] and the provision of calivers [lighter guns],* and a proposal had been made to impose a tax for the maintenance of harquebusiers, on the holders of civil offices of the yearly value of £33 6s. 8d., and on all ecclesiastics with cure of souls and benefices of the value of £20 and upwards, who did not keep continual residence four whole months in the year; this the commissioners approved of, but they protested against the Privy Council requiring every Justice of the Peace for Kent to provide one harquebusier beyond his ordinary quota, as the office was not one of emolument, and onerous duties were attached to it. To encourage shooting with the harquebus (as the system of warfare had changed), they recommended that the inhabitants should be permitted to use them with the pellet or bullet when and where they liked, and that a supply of good powder should be furnished at a moderate charge.

Accompanying this report there is a certificate of the able men, armour, and weapons within the laths of St. Augustine, Scray, Shipway, and part of Aylesford. The total number was—men, 6,416; corselets [back and breast plates], 982; calivers, 1,729.† Five places were proposed to be selected for harquebus practice, ten miles apart, for twenty-six days every year, and that rewards should be given, and a provision made for ammunition, &c.; the total estimated cost being £664 8s. 4d. per annum.

The Spanish Armada.

England was to be soon aroused to a more extensive system of defence in consequence of the avowed intention of Spain, then the greatest military authority and naval power of Europe, to invade our soil, a determination no doubt strengthened by the repeated insults and injuries which the English sailors had offered to that kingdom in the New World, and against which Philip had remon-

* For further explanation of the armour and weapons of this period, *vide* Vol. I., p. 321.

† As only part of the Lath of Aylesford and no part of the Lath of Sutton was included in this return, it may be inferred that the muster was intended chiefly for the defence of the sea coast.

strated in vain. This invasion had been long threatened, and the nation had ample time to prepare to meet it. By an order of 16th February, 1586, Kent was to provide 1,500 men, 9,000lbs. of gunpowder, 900lbs. of lead, and six pieces of ordnance, being nearly double that of any other southern county.

Beacons, or fire signals,* were commanded to be set up throughout Kent, and watchmen were stationed at them; while in the day time, when the fire could not be seen, hoblers, or hobilers,† were posted at them. The manner of watching them during the reign of Queen Elizabeth will be found described in the Archæologia. In the Seven Hundreds in the Weald it would appear that there were six beacons at this time,‡ which included those at Goudhurst, Cranbrook, Hawkhurst, Rolvenden, and Tenterden, and communicated with four others at Westwell, Coxheath, Ightham, and Birling. The one at Tenterden was long preserved; it hung at the end of a piece of timber eight feet long, placed at the top of the church. It resembled an iron kettle, and held about a gallon, with an iron ring, or hoop, at the upper part, to hold more coal, rosin, &c.§

The naval force of England was small compared with the Spanish fleet; but it was soon increased, until at last it amounted to 181 vessels, manned by 17,472 sailors.

* Beacons, derived from the Anglo-Saxon *beacon*—to show, to point, hence “beckon”—were the fire signals set up to alarm the interior of a country upon the approach of an enemy. Lord Coke, speaking of them, says, “before the reign of Edward III. they were but stacks of wood set up on high places, and fired when the coming of enemies was descried.” Pitch boxes were then substituted. They have been used in almost all countries from very early times, and are mentioned in the prophecies of Jeremiah, chap. vi., v. 1. Eminences bearing the name of “beacon-hill” are to be met with in almost every county in England.

† This word, according to Sir Henry Spelman, is derived from the French word *hobile*, a light quilted cassock. The hobiler was provided with a horse “of no great proportions, but light, and fitted for all manner of service;” light horsemen.

‡ The reader will find an interesting paper in the 8th Vol. of the Arch. Cant., p. 299, communicated by Mr. Lightfoot, from a MS. in Hawkhurst church, on these fire signals.

§ Hawkhurst formerly possessed five crosses, or watch-houses, viz.:—Badcock’s, Cook’s or Philpot’s, Skelerouch, High-gate, and the Four Trowes [four thoroughs?] or Pipsden-cross.—Kilburne, p. 136.

CHAP. XXVII.

Vol. VIII.,
pp. 100, 183.

Arch. Cant.,
Vol. VIII.,
p. 307.

Hasted,
Vol. III.,
p. 100 (w).

Naval force.

4 Inst.,
Chap. XXV.

CHAP. XXVII. Her military force consisted of two armies: one, under the Earl of Leicester, to oppose the enemy; the other for the defence of the Queen's person, under the command of her kinsman, Lord Hunsdon, then owner of Tunbridge and its manor, and of the royal manor of Wye. The two armies amounted together to 68,000 men.

Arming
the clergy
and their
followers.

The clergy vied with the laity in their preparations for the defence of the nation. Even the domestics of Archbishop Whitgift were regularly trained for military service; his palace was well furnished with arms and his stable with horses. He once journeyed to Canterbury, with a train of 500 horse: 100 of them being his own domestics.

Queen
Elizabeth
at Tilbury.

Every reader of English history is acquainted with the main events of this most interesting and memorable epoch. All have read how Elizabeth, mounted on a white palfrey, and bearing a marshal's truncheon in her hand, rode along the ranks at Tilbury, while the soldiers rent the air with acclamations of joy. A day of thanksgiving was observed, and the Queen, in a triumphal car, ornamented with the spoils and ensigns of the enemy, went in state to St. Paul's. Shortly afterwards a fund—usually styled "The Chest of Chatham,"—was raised by Sir Francis Drake and others, for the relief of wounded sailors in the royal navy.

Hawkhurst
and its denes.

But we must return to the Weald. I have noticed that the quit rents, &c., payable from the appendant Manor of Moorhouse, otherwise Slip-Mill, in Hawkhurst, were severed from Wye, and granted by Henry VIII. to Sir John Baker. He was succeeded by Sir Richard Baker, between whom and Mr. Edmond Roberts and the other tenants of the denes belonging to the Manor of Wye a controversy arose in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, which resulted in a Chancery suit.*

Ante, p. 478.

* Mr. Goodwin Kilburne, of Hawkhurst (a descendant of the topographer), has kindly furnished me with a copy of these proceedings from the Hawkhurst Parish Chest; another copy is among the Manorial Muniments of Wye,

It would appear from the bill of the plaintiff, Mr. Baker, CHAP. XXVII. that he proposed to fell some timber growing on the moor and denes, and also to use it in the repair of his own mansion; that the tenants had enclosed part of the moor (then containing about twenty-six acres), and had made certain bye-laws for the felling the timber in the denes, Ante, p. 333. which they claimed under the grant previously made to them. The defendants (Roberts and others) in their answer state that until the dissolution of monasteries they held their denes of Battle Abbey as part of their Manor of Wye, and they had since held them of the Crown and then of Baron Hunsdon, and they claimed the rights they had hitherto exercised over them. Ante, p. 478. Several old witnesses were examined on both sides, and when the cause was heard [4th Nov., 1567,] an issue was directed to two of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas to try the question at law, and it was finally decided that the tenants of the denes should hold in fee all the waste lands and commons, and all the woods and trees growing thereon, reserving only to the complainant, as Lord of the Manor of Moorhouse, all the rents payable to him from the lands and tenements in these denes, with all his other manorial privileges. This decree was confirmed 81st January, 1568, by Sir Nicholas Bacon, then Lord Keeper, and has been acted upon ever since.*

Let me next call the reader's attention to the Hundred and Manor of Marden,† appendant to the Manor of Middleton (Milton), as I have already shown, and forming part of the ancient demesne lands of the Crown. The Royal Denes in Marden existed long before the Manor Marden and its denes.
Ante, Vol. I., pp. 218, 224, 377.

* In the next reign [10th Nov., 1619], Henry Baker, then Sir Henry Baker, Knight, and Baronet of Sissinghurst, put an end to further litigation by conveying the appendant manor, &c., to Lord Hunsdon, the then owner of Wye, and they have been since held together.

† Philipott is not very complimentary to this parish. He writes: "Marden, in old time written *Mireden*; it deserved well that name, for it stands in a miry, dirty dene." Dr. Harris's derivation of the name is "*Mereden*, i.e., the largest dene;" while, from its long connexion with Anglo-Saxon monarchs, and on the late Mr. Kemble's theory that the Weald was originally a "Mark"-district, why should it not be derived from *meaz*, *mearc*, a boundary, limit, border?—Ante, Vol. I., p. 57.

CHAP. XXVII. and Hundred, and are associated with our earliest Anglo-Saxon history, and they so continued, with one or two trifling exceptions, as part of the Kentish possessions of the Crown for a longer period than any other property in the county; and though Marden was formed into a distinct and separate Hundred, its manor and denes, notwithstanding many early attempts to separate them from Milton,* remained appendant to that Royal Manor. In the reign of Elizabeth, the farmer or lessee was Thomas Randolph.† It is suggested that in consequence of some encroachments, a commission had been appointed to inquire into and define the rights of the Crown. At the head of this commission was Sir Roger Manwood.‡ The Commissioners had to inquire into all matters “concerning Her Majesty’s Hundreds and Manors of Middleton next unto Sittingbourne, and Marden, within the county of Kent.”

Ante, pp. 41,
132, 147.

A.D. 1575.

The verdict of the twenty jurors is dated 19th September, 1575. Among other things they were directed to set out the boundary of the *Hundred* of Marden, which is done with the greatest precision. From it we find that £14 9s. 5d. was payable to the Manor of Milton for rent of Assize, collected by a Reeve. It further records that there were within *the precinct of the Hundred of Marden*, twenty-eight denes, which were held by rent of assize, and fourteen denes by rent called Ward-Silver, all held of the Manor of Middleton; § that there were within the precinct of this Hundred three whole boroughs, and three half boroughs; also that £3 was payable yearly as com-

* Lambarde says Milton was “anciently the King’s own towne.”

† He was also Constable of Queenborough Castle and “Master of the Posts,” or Royal Postmaster.

‡ Sir Roger Manwood was born at Sandwich, and became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He wrote a treatise on “The Forest Laws.”—Ante Vol. I., p. 56. He was a benefactor to his birth-place, as well as to St. Stephen’s, Canterbury, where he resided during his vacations.—Fuller’s Worthies, Vol. I., p. 500.

§ I propose to set out the names of all these denes in the last chapter but one of this volume. The reader will remark that these are held of the Hundred of Marden, and not of the Manor.

monage from certain Marden tenants, for three Drofdenes, whereof the soil was the tenants' and the wood the Queen's, to be felled at her pleasure or that of her farmers as pannage, or Danger-Silver when there was no pannage. These tenants had also to pay 28s. 8d. for the custom of dene silver "of old time arreted."

The Marden tenants holding "Somerhouse land" were to repair and make, if necessary, from their own timber, a house called-Somer House, in the manor of Middleton, lord finding straw, &c., to cover it.

Two law-days, a three weeks' court, and a fair were to be kept within the Hundred. The jury also record that Sir Richard Baker, Lord of the Manor of Reade Court, wrongfully detained from the Hundred of Marden 4s. 2d., payable in respect of that manor. Then follows a return of all the land held by the Lord as escheats. Certain tenements in Staplehurst are noticed as being within the borough of Debtling and Hundred of Maidstone, and are accordingly excepted.

This appendant Manor of Marden, a name which it acquired after the Conquest, extended over parts of Marden, Goudhurst, and Staplehurst, and included the denes just referred to, and was co-extensive with the Hundred, which did not exist before the Conquest.

I have shown that from the reign of Edward I. the Anglo-Saxon customs and services peculiar to the Weald of Kent, and the right to the timber growing in its denes, were gradually converted into annual payments in money, and that these compositions were frequently called *new rents*. It has been also stated that after the reign of Henry I. the rents due to the Crown were generally paid in money and by weight; still we find in the inquisition just referred to, that the Anglo-Saxon names of the customs and services observed by the tenants in the Weald, and for which these rents were substituted, such as pannage, danger, summer-house silver, ward-silver, drof or drovedenes, and dene-silver, are still preserved.

About two years afterwards [January 80th, 1577], the

CHAP. XXVII.

Ante, p. 197.

Ante, pp. 198, 331, 413, 426.

Ante, p. 336.

CHAP. XXVII. inhabitants of the Isle of Sheppey petitioned Lord Burleigh for a licence to compound with the farmer or lessee for the suit and service they owed to the manor of Milton. These compositions were constantly occurring, and thus the lord's rights were gradually merged.

Alienation of
lands held of
the Crown.

I may here notice that no lands held of the Crown in Chief could be alienated without the Royal Licence. If this was not obtained, the sheriff was directed to summon the offenders to show cause why the property should not be seized so as to compel homage and fealty. Of this I may give a Kentish example. The manor of Esshetisford [Ashford], which, with the watermill and the manor and lands of Esture [East Stour], and the land in the denes of Iborndene and Biddenden, belonging to Ashford, which had previously been held by the then dissolved chapel of St. Mary and St. Stephen, in the palace of Westminster, had passed into the hands of Thomas Colepeper, Esq.; and from him to Sir Antony Aucher, of Otterden; and from him, by mortgages (which Sir Antony could not redeem), to Sir Andrew Judd, of Tunbridge School celebrity. At his death the same property passed from his widow and son to the wealthy Thomas Smyth, of Westenhanger, "the customer," and Alice, his wife, the daughter of Sir Andrew Judd. By a pardon, the authority of parliament, and a payment of £31 5s. 9d., these omissions were cured, and Thomas Smyth* obtained a licence to hold this estate in fee.

Ashford.

Mem. Roll,
Exch. Lord
Treas.
Remem.,
2 Eliz., m. 35,
8 Eliz., m. 19.

The Church.
Ante, p. 461.

Archbishop
Cranmer's
exchange with
Henry VIII.

We will pass on to the Church. Though the eventful changes it had to undergo under the Archiepiscopate of Cranmer, have been briefly referred to, it may be convenient to notice here that while the work of the reformation was in progress, Henry VIII. induced the Archbishop to consent to one of those exchanges of possessions which, when they take place between parties not on an equal footing or in the same station of life, too often produce an impression that pressure has been resorted to. It may

* From this Thomas Smyth descended the family of Viscount Strangford. Some of its members are buried in Ashford Church.

not have been so in this case, but it looks very like it. The deed* bears date 11th February, 82 Henry VIII., 1541. The King is formally described as "the most excellent prince of famous memory; our natural sovereign and liege King, Henry VIII., by the grace of God, King of England and of France, defender of the faith, Lord of Ireland, and on earth supreme head of the Church of England." By this deed the Manor of Aldington and other Kentish manors, and possessions of the See of Canterbury, which had been held by the Church long before the Norman Conquest, were for ever severed from it. The property made over to the King by the Archbishop included Aldington, with all its appendant manors and members, *Walda* [the Weald] being one of these members, and also the Manors and Castle of Saltwood, Cheyne Court, and Lyminge, with their members; Croydon Park with its wood, and the Rectory and Parsonage of Cranbrook, and the bailiwick of Hythe, with all the lands of the Archbishop in Hythe. Then follow these sweeping words, "and all other the Archbishop's castles, messuages, lands, &c., parks, warrens, &c., lands drowned or overflowed by the sea, and fishings, &c.," situate in Aldington, and all his manorial and other rights extending over Romney Marsh, and including New Romney, Newchurch, Midley, and Newenden, the Isle of Oxney, Hythe Church, and Cranbrook, excepting to the Archbishop and his successors, his church patronage. Also excepting "Shirley Moor;"† also Betnamswood and the Broks in Cranbrook, with the rent and services held of the Manor of

CHAP. XXVII.

A.D. 1541.

Aldington
manor, &c.

* I am indebted to the Rev. Canon Jenkins, of Lyminge, for a copy of it.

† Shirley Moor is a well-known district of marsh-land situate in the parishes of Tenterden, Woodchurch, Ebony, and Appledore, about three miles in length, and two in breadth; the total quantity given by Hasted is 1,245 acres; but Mr. Thomas Elliott, of Playden, whose father was the surveyor and expeditor of the district, states there are 1,800 acres of it. It has the reputation of being very superior fatting land. From the documents in the possession of the Corporation of Tenterden, extracted by Mr. Joseph Munn, it appears that the water overflowed this Moor in 1459: "37 Hen. VI., Sharley Moor broke out," and that fifty years elapsed before steps were taken to secure the district from further inundation. "1 Hen. VIII., Sharley More was made." The altitude of the Moor is from five to eight feet under high water of medium spring tides.

Vol. III.,
p. 110.

CHAP. XXVII. **Westgate.** In the covenant from the Archbishop that the property is free, the wages of the constable of the Castle of Saltwood, and of the keepers of the parks of Aldington, Lyminge, Saltwood, and Croydon, are excepted. In return, the King made over to the Archbishop and his successors, the site of Malling Abbey, with the lands thereto belonging, with the Manors and Parsonages of West and East Malling, Parrocke (in Milton-next-Gravesend), Leyton, otherwise Leyden, with all the manorial rights extending over Westwell,* East Peckham, Wrotham, Woldham, and Cuttlestone, "to the said Abbey of Malling, in anywise appertaining." Then follows the grant to the See of Canterbury of the Manors and Parsonages of Chisleth and Northbourne, late parcel of the possessions of St. Augustine's Monastery, Canterbury, with all the rights and privileges belonging to the Manors of Chisleth and Northbourne, and extending over the parishes of Ripple, East Langdon, West Langdon, Sholden, Betschanger, Walmer, Oxney, Sele, and Tenterden. Also the Manor of Leyburne, with all its rights, "late belonging to the Abbey of our blessed Lady of Grace next the Tower of London."

Other property in the counties of Surrey, Essex, and Suffolk is included in this grant to the Archbishop.

The rents made payable by the Primate to the Crown were one-tenth of a knight's fee and a yearly rent of £65 18s. 7½d. The net yearly value of the estates given up to the Crown is stated to be £450 18s. 4d., and that to the Archbishop is £515 18s. 9d. *half-farthing*.†

Passing over Archbishops Dene, Warham, Cranmer, and Pole (the last of the Primates buried in the Cathedral), who have been already noticed, we come to Matthew Parker, who was appointed in 1559, and was enthroned

* Westwell originally belonged to the See of Canterbury, but in A.D. 1400 Archbishop Arundel, with the assent of Henry IV., appropriated it to the use of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury.

† We have no means of judging of the correctness of these figures, though I am disposed to consider the return of the net yearly value of the property given up to Cranmer far below the value and importance of the estates made over to the Crown.

regardless of any Bull from Rome, without mitre, pall, pastoral staff, ring, gloves, or sandals.*

While Parker held the See of Canterbury a misunderstanding arose between one Alexander Grygbe, "the proprietary of the Parsonage of Linton" [called also Lylington], and the parishioners, which had been referred to the Archbishop, who had decreed that the lay rector should nominate a sufficient curate to the church within three months; if he failed to do this, the *parishioners* were empowered to make the appointment, and having done this, the lay rector "brought one Richard Pierse, curate of Loose, to say evensong, and he commenced the service in the church, when the parishioners at Linton interrupted him and said he should say no evensong there." Then follows the report of an unseemly controversy in the church, and the lay rector (Grygbe) does not appear to have been very choice in his language. Among the signatures of the inhabitants recording these proceedings are "John Beele, Gaberriell Arkle, Gylbard Best, and Rychard Starttowte."

CHAP. XXVII.

Lamb. Lib.,
Chart. Ant.,
Vol. V., No. 6.

Linton.

The archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury had suffered from a destructive fire, and Parker repaired and partly rebuilt it. Queen Elizabeth having discountenanced the marriage of her clergy, and made it an obstacle to preferment, the wives and families of the heads of the Church did not reside with them within the precincts of their cathedrals, and Archbishop Parker purchased a house adjoining the palace at Beakesbourne for his wife and family, and repaired, pewed, and beautified the chancel of Beakesbourne church. He was succeeded in 1575 by Edmund Grindal, who soon lost the favour of Queen Elizabeth; he was charged with encouraging schism, and was ordered to keep his house. He became blind, and died in 1588. He was succeeded by John Whitgift, who, early in his primacy (about 1588), united Pevington [the Pivingtone

Marriage of
clergy.

Pevington.

* Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Poole, Bishop of Peterborough, refused to assist in his consecration, and were deprived of their sees and imprisoned

CHAP. XXVII. of Domesday], originally a distinct parish, to the adjoining parish of Pluckley, in consequence of the dilapidated state of its church,* the stone belonging to which was at a later period used in the construction of three barns. Hasted says there is a tradition that the parish was divided between the adjoining ones of Pluckley, Little Chart, and Egerton; hence it is most probable that it stood between them. There is a detached portion of Little Chart called Monday Boys, between Pluckley and Egerton, which formed part of Pevington. The church stood on the brow of the hill near to the farmhouse now belonging to Sir Edward Dering.

Kingsnorth.

A portion of Kingsnorth, also called East Kingsnothe,† including the advowson, belonged to Battle Abbey in right of the manor of Wye. In a letter dated Cranbrook, 12th March, 1598, from Sir Richard Baker to Archbishop Whitgift, the Primate is reminded that five years ago Sir Richard laid claim to this advowson by virtue of a grant from Henry VIII. to his [Baker's] father in 1542. His Grace, however, pleaded an earlier grant by Henry VIII. to Cranmer, and conferred the benefice on Mr. Norwood. Sir Richard Baker appears to have discovered a deed by which it was given back to the King, from whom it descended to Edward VI., who returned it to the Archbishop, who gave it to Baker's father [?], who devised it to the writer of the letter; and Sir Richard Baker now claimed to be restored to his right. Archbishop Whitgift out-lived Queen Elizabeth, and died in 1604.

Appointment
of Lords
Lieutenants.

During this century lords lieutenants of counties were first appointed for mustering the population and calling them to arms, which duty had been previously performed by the sheriff and justices of the peace, or by special commissioners of array. The office is recognised in the Act

* In Symonson's Map of Kent, A.D. 1659, Pevington church is shown, and is placed between Egerton, Pluckley, and Little Chart.

† Hasted describes this parish as "obscurely situated and but little known;" the railway from Ashford to Hastings now passes through it. Philipott says that Sir Thomas Brown, of Betchworth Castle, Surrey, was empowered by Henry VI. to enclose a park here.

for taking of musters of 4th and 5th Philip and Mary, c. 8. William Brooke, Lord Cobham, was "sole" lieutenant for Kent from the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was also her Majesty's lord chamberlain.

Sussex and Surrey, which previously had but one sheriff for the two counties, were now to have separate ones (8th Elizabeth, c. 16).

Among the several public statutes affecting Kent which were passed during this century I may notice one for opening the south eastern part of the Weald of Kent to the sea, viz., the Act (6th Henry VIII., c. 17) for cleansing, deepening, and widening the river Stour from "the town of Great Chart to Canterbury, and thence into the haven of Sandwich." It recites that in that city "the bodies of the Holy Confessor and Bishop St. Austen, the Apostolic of England, and also many other holy saints had been honourably humate and shrined," and that it was of late "in great ruin and decay, and the inhabitants impoverished, and many great mansions in the same desolate." This statute was evidently passed through the instrumentality of Archbishop Warham, but no action appears to have been taken upon it; Somner attributes this to the misunderstanding between Warham and the citizens of Canterbury, which caused him to build at Otford instead of Canterbury.

In connexion with agriculture, I may also notice an Act passed in 1582 for the destruction of crows and rooks, because they yearly "devoured and consumed a wonderful and marvellous great quantity of corn and grain of all kinds." In the very next year we find a statute passed "to avoid destroying of wild fowl." In the same parliament we meet with the memorable statute "concerning the number of sheep one should keep" (25th Henry VIII., c. 18), which shows that what is now called "class legislation" was well understood under the Tudors.

It recites that divers subjects of the realm, to whom God of His goodness had disposed great plenty and abundance of movable substance,

CHAP. XXVII.

Sussex and Surrey, separate sheriffs.

Public statutes.

Deepening and widening the Stour.

Somner's Canterbury, pp. 39, 41.

Destruction of rooks.

Restrictions on grazing.

CHAP. XXVII. had of late studied and invented ways and means how they might accumulate and gather together into *few* hands, as well *great multitudes of farms as great plenty of cattle*, in especial sheep, putting such lands to pasture and not to tillage, whereby they had not only pulled down *churches and towns* and enhanced the old rates of rents, that no poor man was able to meddle with it, but, also, had raised the prices of corn, cattle, poultry, &c., almost double, by reason whereof a marvellous number of people were not able to provide food and clothing, but were discouraged with misery and poverty, that they fell daily to robbery, or pitifully died for hunger and cold; and it was thought that one of the greatest occasions that moved these *greedy* people so to keep such great portions of land from the occupying of the poor husbandman, and so to use it in pasture and not in tillage, "was only the great profit that came of sheep," then in few hands, that some had 24,000, some 20,000, some 10,000, some 6,000, some 5,000, by which a good sheep for victual that was accustomed to be sold for 2s. 4d. or 3s., at the most, was then sold for 6s., 5s., or 4s. at the least; and a stone of clothing wool, accustomed to be sold for 18d. to 20d., was then sold for 4s. or 3s. 4d.; which things, thus used, were principally to the high displeasure of Almighty God, to the decay of the hospitality of this realm, to the diminishing of the King's people, and to the *let* [hindrance] of the cloth MAKING. It then enacts that, from the year 1535, no occupier shall have more than 2,000 sheep at one time, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. for every sheep above that number,—lambs under one year being excepted,—and then follows a prohibition and a provision against tenants occupying more than two farms.

Now observe this extraordinary statute affected *only* the *greedy tenants* who occupied the land; for the Act provides that every owner might have in his inheritance "as many sheep as he will;" and all "spiritual persons" were permitted to keep as many sheep upon their lands as they could have done before.

Improvement
of breed of
horses.

In the same reign (82 Henry VIII., c. 19) an Act was passed to improve the breed of horses, which had degenerated because horses of a small stature had been suffered to feed and breed in the forests, commons, and waste grounds in Kent and other counties mentioned by name; and by the Statute of the 8th Elizabeth, c. 8, the export of rams, sheep, and lambs was prohibited. The erection of cottages was also prohibited unless four acres of ground at the least were assigned to each cottage. (81 Elizabeth, c. 7.)

The oath of
supremacy.

The first Act passed in the reign of Elizabeth attempted to suppress the power of Rome, and to restore

to the Crown its ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction by requiring the Oath of Supremacy to be taken. Sir Edward Coke says it was merely an Act of Restitution, and was not introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old, constituting the Sovereign as supreme head in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. When parties refused to take this oath they were attainted. Thus Richard Guldeford (the son of Sir John), who had married into the ancient family of the Moyles, of Buckwell, in Boughton Aluph, and who had become possessed in right of his wife of the manor and advowson of Kennardington,* and a manor in Ruckinge, and other property in this county, was indicted for refusing to take the oath and attainted, as was also his wife: they fled the realm, and the Queen seized the estate.†

CHAP. XXVII.

Attainder of
R. Guldeford.

Hasted,
Vol. III.,
pp. 116, 474.

The first Act making formal provision for the maintenance of the poor was passed in the reign of Elizabeth.

First Poor
Law.

Acts were also passed in the same reign for the maintenance and repair of Rochester bridge by the wardens and assistants; the inning or enclosure of Erith Lesnes and Plumsted Marshes, and for the general enclosing and drainage of "many hundred thousand acres of marshes and other grounds" in the Isle of Ely, and several counties, including Kent.

Rochester
Bridge.

Inclosure Acts.

In 1565 Queen Elizabeth issued a commission to Sir Thomas Cotton, Thomas Wotton, and others, to enquire into the state of the ports of Kent, with their members or creeks, and we learn from their answer and certificate that Dover was still subordinate to Sandwich, which was "frequented with merchants and merchandize, inward and outward, and meet so to continue," and that it was more used than any other creek; "nevertheless, the haven of the said port is decayed by innings of certain marshes adjoining it, which is to be remedied by Commissioners of Sewers."

Kentish Ports.

Sandwich.

* This church was destroyed by lightning about this time (1559).—*Kilburne*, p. 156.

† They both died abroad; and Elizabeth, towards the end of her reign, restored the property to the Moyles.

CHAP. XXVII.

Kentish Ports.

The members or creeks of the port of Sandwich at this time were Dover, Faversham, Milton, and Rochester, with a "customer, comptroller, and searcher" to each; and also Kingsdown, Ramsgate, Bredstayre [Broadstairs], Margate, Reculver, Whitstable, Cony pitte in Teynham, Halstow, and Queenborough, which had no officers, except Margate, where there was a searcher's deputy.*

The Commissioners further report that the creek of Dover was much decayed by the working of the sea, "which is not in man's power to help without great charges," and that the creek of Faversham had been recently decayed "by inning of certain adjoining marahe, which might be remedied by Commissioners of Sewers."

Pat. Roll,
16 Elis.,
p. 6, m. 9.

Appledore and Hythe.

Queen Elizabeth, also in the 16th year of her reign, granted to Thomas Digges, at a fee farm rent, (in consideration of his labour in reclaiming the same), all the waste land or soil from the arm of the sea on the north side of Appledore stream, formerly "marine waste;" also sixty acres near the town of Hythe; also 500 acres of sandy land, called Beach, near Hythe, in the occupation of the jurats of that town; also 100 acres of salt marsh adjoining the Manor of Belgar, near Hythe; with another parcel of land near Richborough Castle, to hold as of the Manor of East Greenwich, at a fee farm rent.†

Ante, p. 467.
Stow, p. 681.

The punishment of wives by burning, in cases of murder, was still retained; for, on 29th July, 1576, a woman was burnt, at Tunbridge, for poisoning her husband; and two days before a man named Opley was hanged, at Maidstone, as an accessory.

Fairs.
Ante, Vol. I.,
pp. 170, 172.

Before the Norman Conquest fairs (derived from the Latin word *feriæ*, holidays) were not of that repute that markets were; though the necessity for them must be

* Gravesend, Folkestone, Hythe, New Romney, and Lydd are not mentioned.

† I am indebted to Mr. Wilks, the Town Clerk of Hythe, for a perusal of this grant. The document is silent respecting the residence and rank of the grantee. I imagine that this Thomas Digges was the celebrated mathematician, who was employed by Queen Elizabeth in the Netherlands as Muster-Master-General. If so, he was the father of Sir Dudley Digges, of Chilham Castle.

apparent when we consider the imperfect state of the roads. They could not be held except by grants from the Crown. The Canterbury fairs were the most important in Kent; but with the demolition of Becket's shrine they began to decline. The right of holding them was extended to almost every parish of any importance, and those in the Weald, (where but little attempt had yet been made to open up the district) were much resorted to long after those held in other parts of the county had declined. At these fairs the people assembled in large numbers, and supplied many of their wants for the ensuing year.* The plague, which frequently visited England during this century, was so severe in 1578 that an order was issued by the Lord Mayor prohibiting every one from going to "Canterbury fayre now this fayre time," or any other fair during this infection. From the commencement of the seventeenth century the glory of our fairs began to depart; and though their necessity has long since ceased, and very little has survived beyond what is vile and degrading to human nature, the Legislature has not, until recently, taken any steps to suppress them. But it is to be hoped that some suitable holiday will be substituted.

On 6th April, 1580, the south-eastern part of England was visited with an earthquake, which was felt in Kent at three different periods of the day. At Sandwich, the land quaked and the sea foamed so that the ships tottered. At Dover, a portion of the cliff and Castle wall fell into the sea. A part of Saltwood Castle was destroyed. A part of Sutton Church fell down. The bells in Hythe Church were heard to sound.

On the 1st of May following, about midnight, another earthquake was felt at Great Chart, Ashford, and other parts of Kent; which, according to Stow, "caused the

CHAP. XXVII.

Ante, p. 463.

Canterbury Fair.

Nicholls's Hist. of the Ironmongers' Comp., p. 102.

Earthquake, A.D. 1580.

Holinshed, Vol. IV., p. 426. Stow, p. 689.

Holinshed, Vol. IV., p. 430. p. 689.

* The great fair at Winchester attracted merchants from all parts of Europe. It was granted, with most extensive privileges, by William the Conqueror to the Bishop, and lasted sixteen days. Its jurisdiction included Southampton and a circuit of seven miles.—Warton's Hist Engl. Poetry, vol. i., p. 279.

CHAP. XXVII. inhabitants to rise from their beds and run to their churches, where they called upon God in earnest prayer to be merciful to them."

Dover. In 1586, Queen Elizabeth granted to Dover, towards the repair of the haven, the free exportation of 30,000 quarters of wheat, 10,000 of barley and malt, and 4,000 tuns of beer; and Parliament, [28 Eliz.] for the same object, granted a toll on British vessels, for the term of seven years, which yielded £1,000 a year at the least.

Stow, p. 741. To the other manufactories introduced into England, during this century, must be added the art of making paper; one of the earliest paper mills was set up at Dartford about A.D. 1588, by Sir John Spielman.

Hasted,
Vol. III., p. 225.

Some progress was now made in the cultivation of fruit. Under "Tenham," Lambarde says:—

Cherries.

"Here have we not only the most dainty piece of all our shire but such a singularity as the whole British Island is not able to pattern. . . . This Tenham, with thirty other parishes extending from Rainham to Bleau Wood, be the Cherry Garden and Apple Orchard of Kent. But as this at Tenham is the parent of all the rest, and from whom they have drawn the good juice of all their pleasant fruit, so is it also the most large, delightsome, and beautiful of them. . . . Here our honest Papist, Richard Harrys (fruiterer to King Henry VIII.) planted by his great cost and rare industry the sweet cherry, the temperate pipyn, and the golden renate. For this man, seeing that this realm (which wanted neither the favour of the sun, nor the fat of the soil, meet for the making of good apples), was nevertheless served chiefly with that fruit from foreign regions abroad; and those plants which our ancestors had brought hither out of Normandy had lost their native verdour, whether you did eat their substance, or drink their juice, which we call cyder; he (I say) about the year of our Lord Christ 1533 obtained 105 acres of good ground in Tenham, then called the Brennet, which he divided into ten parcels, and with great care, good choice, and no small labour and cost, brought plants from beyond the seas, and furnished this ground with them, so beautifully, as they not only stand in most right line, but seem to be of one sort, shape, and fashion, as if they had been drawn through one mould, or wrought by one and the same pattern."*

Vol. I., p. 478.

Fuller, who published his "Worthies" in 1662, states (on the authority of Hartlib's Legacy, p. 15,) that one of the orchards of this primitive plantation, consisting of

* Camden, following Lambarde, describes Kent as "abounding with apples beyond measure; as also with cherries, which were brought out of Pontus into Italy 680 years after the building of Rome, and 120 years afterwards into Britain [A.D. 48]. They thrive well here."

thirty acres, in one year produced fruit which sold for £1,000: there being a failure in the neighbouring orchards.* If this statement is to be relied on, it may be doubted (looking at the difference in the value of money) whether our modern orchard cultivators have surpassed it. From this early period the vicinity of Sittingbourne has had a reputation for its growth of cherries and other fruit. A considerable increase in the plantations has taken place during the last twenty years, encouraged by the facilities of rapid transit by rail, which now enable the inhabitants of distant counties to partake of our cherries; and they get them almost as fresh as ourselves. Among the most enterprising cultivators of fruit in that district, at the present time, are: Mr. George Smeed, Mr. William Murton, Mr. William Walter, and Mr. Barling. When the Tithe Act was passed, in 1836, orchards and market gardens were treated like hops, and an extraordinary charge was put upon them, as long as they were so cultivated. CHAP. XXVII.

The Weald of Kent, from its soil and defective drainage, is not so well adapted for the cultivation of fruit, especially cherries, which thrive best in sharp and well-drained soils. Cherry trees grow slowly in stiff, wet lands, where the trees gum and soon decay. The only ancient cherry orchard that I am acquainted with in this locality stands on the rock, at the edge of the Weald, in Great Chart. The property is called Chilmington, and was formerly held by the Twysdens; it now belongs to Major Toke, and is occupied by Mr. Alfred Kingsnorth.

Among men of eminence who lived in or adjoining the Weald during this century may be named the highly gifted family of the Fletchers, who sprang from Cranbrook. The grandfather, Richard Fletcher, was among the first ordained by the martyr, Bishop Ridley, and the first of the pastors of Cranbrook after the restoration of

Men of
eminence in
the Weald.

The Fletchers.

* Sir Egerton Brydges contributed to the Kentish portion of Nichols' edition of Fuller's "Worthies," and he remarks [1811], "The cherry gardens and orchards are much diminished in Kent even in my time."

CHAP. XXVII. Protestantism. He appears to have been appointed to the living in July, 1559.* This Richard had a son Richard, who became Bishop of London, and was the father of John Fletcher, the dramatist,† whose name is generally associated with Francis Beaumont. Richard, the grandfather, had also another son, Giles, LL.D., who "did valorous and varied service to his country," and is described by Fuller as "a most excellent poet." He married Joan Sheafe, the daughter of a wealthy clothier of Cranbrook, by whom he had two sons celebrated also as poets, viz., Phineas and Giles. Phineas Fletcher was born in Cranbrook in 1582, and he appears to have had through life a strong attachment to the place of his birth.

Men of
eminence from
the Weald.

Vol. III., p. 210.

Among his poetical miscellanies we find :—

" Ah ! might I in some humble Kentish dale,
For ever eas'ly spend my slow-past houres,
Much should I scorn fair Eton's pleasant vale ;

And would my luckie fortune so much grace me,
As in low Cranebrook or high Brencchley's hill,
Or in some cabin near thy dwelling place me,
There would I gladly sport and sing my fill."‡

Sir Anthony
St. Leger.

Sir Anthony St. Leger, of Ulcombe, lived in this century, and after Henry VIII. had assumed the title of King and supreme head of the Church of Ireland, Sir Henry was appointed his first Viceroy.§

Thomas
Goldwell.

Thomas Goldwell, of Great Chart, a Benedictine monk, was presented by Queen Mary to the Bishopric of St. Asaph ¶ A.D. 1555. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he was deprived of his Bishopric, and proceeded to Rome, where he died about 1581.

* He was also Rector of Smarden. He died 12th July, 1585, and a tablet is erected to his memory in Cranbrook Church.

† He came by his death in an extraordinary manner at forty-nine years of age. The want of a new suit of clothes detained him in London, A.D. 1625, and before they were finished he caught the Plague and died.

‡ Such of my readers as wish to know more of the Fletchers and their poetry I must refer to the Rev. A. B. Grosart's "Fuller's Worthies Library," in which the Editor acknowledges the assistance rendered to this publication by Mr. William Tarbutt, of Cranbrook.

§ Among other Laws which he made in Ireland, was one, in correction of a prevalent abuse, that "no children should be admitted to Church Livings !" — *Fuller*, vol. i., p. 498.

¶ Fuller erroneously states he was Bishop of St. David's. — Vol. i., p. 495,

Sir Henry Sidney, of Penshurst,* son of Sir William Sidney, was brought up with Edward VI., and sent Ambassador to France, though not fully twenty-one; he married Mary Dudley, sister of the Earl of Leicester, and was a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who appointed him President of Wales and Deputy of Ireland, and made him Knight of the Garter. He was buried at Penshurst.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Sidneys.

Fuller,
Vol. I., p. 489.

Hasted,
Vol. I., p. 412.

Sir Philip Sidney, the son of Sir Henry, was also born at Penshurst in 1554, and gave early proof of remarkable talent. He was nominated King of Poland, but declined the honor. He quitted the Court for the Camp, and was mortally wounded at Arnheim at the age of thirty-four, when assisting the States in Flanders against the Spaniards. Camden, in recording his great ability and good qualities, is, in common with all his contemporaries, quite enthusiastic.† In Sir Philip Sidney was combined the patriotism of the statesman, the heroism of the soldier, the enchanting refinements of the musician and the poet, and the calm resignation of the Christian in the hour of death, and thus says Motley, "this gentle and heroic spirit took its flight."

United
Netherlands,
Vol. II., p. 57.

Chief Baron Sir Roger Manwood, the great authority on Forest Laws and the founder of the Sandwich School (who has often been referred to in this work), died in 1592, and was buried at Hackington, near Canterbury. His monument consists of a bust of alabaster and a skeleton on a mattress.

Being still without a standing army, the counties of Kent and Sussex, in August, 1599, were called upon to supply "for the army of Kent 10,000 foot and 680 horse," and letters were written to provide for the quartering and supply of victuals for these numbers.

Hist. MSS.
Com., 3rd
Rep., p. 51.

The office of Sheriff of Kent during the reign of Queen Elizabeth was served by the following gentlemen residing

* His sister, Frances Sidney, founded Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

† The celebrated oak in Penshurst Park, called "The Bear's Oak," was, it is believed, planted at his birth. It measured upwards of twenty-two feet in circumference.

CHAP. XXVII. in or on the borders of the Weald, and some of them served it more than once :—

THOMAS WOTTON, of Boughton Malherbe.	SIR THOMAS VANE, of Badsell, in Tudely.
SIR WARHAM ST. LEGER, of Ulcombe.	THOMAS WILLOUGHBY, of Bore Place, in Chiddingstone.
SIR JOHN TUFTON, of Hothfield.	SAMPSON LENNARD, of Chevening.
SIR RICHARD BAKER, of Sissinghurst.	ROBERT BING, of Wrotham.
JOHN MAYNEY, of Biddenden.	SIR EDWARD WOTTON, of Boughton Malherbe.
WILLIAM ISLEY, of Sundridge.	SIR ROGER TWYSDEN, of Roydon Hall, East Peckham.
JOHN LENNARD, of Chevening.	
WALTER MAYNEY, of Spilsill, in Staplehurst.*	

* His descendant sold this estate to Mr. John Sharpye, a clothier, who resided here, and died in 1613.—*Hasted*, vol. iii., p. 60.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—TUNBRIDGE—WYE, AND ITS PURCHASE BY THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA—A ROYAL SURVEY OF ALDINGTON AND ITS DENES, LYMINGE, MARDEN, &c.—CREATION AND LIST OF KENTISH BARONETS—ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCESS HENRIETTA MARIA AT DOVER AND CANTERBURY, AND MARRIAGE OF CHARLES I.—SIR DUDLEY DIGGES—SIR JOHN COLEPEPER—FOREST EXACTIONS—ABOLITION OF MONOPOLIES AND PATENT OFFICES, AND SIR JOHN COLEPEPER'S SPEECH THEREON—ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND SPANISH FLEETS IN THE DOWNS—THE LONG PARLIAMENT—SIR EDWARD DERING, BART.—SYMPATHY OF THE WEALD WITH THE PURITANS.

THIS century includes the last three years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the reigns of King James I., Charles I., the Commonwealth, Charles II., James II., and William and Mary (except the last two years), in the following order :

CHAP. XXVIII.

James I.....from 24th March, 1603, to 27th March, 1625.

Charles I ... ,, 27th March, 1625, to 30th Jan., 1649.

[Commonwealth, from 30th Jan., 1649, to May 8th, 1660.]

Charles II. from 30th Jan., 1649, to 6th Feb., 1685.

James II. from 6th Feb., 1685, to 11th Dec., 1688.

William and Mary, 13th Feb., 1689, to 8th March, 1702.

When King James ascended the throne in 1603, he was regarded by the English as an alien ; but, in spite of this, and though unrecognised by the will of Henry VIII., he was the undoubted heir of Egbert and of William the Conqueror.

A.D. 1603.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Greenwich was the favourite place of resort of James I.* and Charles I., and they expended large sums there. The Palace at Eltham was neglected, Sir Christopher Hatton being one of the latest keepers of it.

The partiality which James I. naturally evinced towards his own countrymen was not likely to endear him to the men of Kent, and the royal visits to this county became few and far between.

We will return to the Weald, and proceed to trace the descent of some of the chief manors of the county, of which the principal denes still continued to be held; but I will first notice Tunbridge, which, with its castle, manor, and extensive territory, became now divided and subdivided. The Castle seems to have ceased to be regularly occupied after the fall of the Duke of Buckingham, A.D. 1521, from which time it has gradually mouldered away to its present condition, as shown on the cover of this volume. It now belongs to Mrs. Jerminham, and we behold only the ruins of bygone greatness.

The son of Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Essex, was in 1613 restored in blood, but his mother, who had the chase and manor of South Frith, in Tunbridge, in dower, conveyed it in marriage to her third husband,† Richard de Burgh, Earl of Clanricarde, who thus became possessed of this part of the Lowy, and built there a large mansion called Somerhill, which was not completed until the latter end of the reign of James I. Lord Clanricarde was created by James an English Baron and Viscount by the titles of Baron Somerhill and Viscount Tunbridge, and was afterwards made Earl of St. Albans by Charles I.‡ His son and heir warmly espoused the cause of the King, and Somerhill was in consequence sequestered by the Parliament in 1645. They had, by an ordinance of

Tunbridge.

Ante, pp. 428,
431, 432.

Parl. Seques.
MS., 5, 497,
fo. 138, 146.

* The Princesses Mary and Sophia, the daughters of James I., and Prince Charles, the eldest son of Charles I., were born at Greenwich, but all died infants.

† Her first husband was Sir Philip Sidney.

‡ He frequently resided at Somerhill, and was buried in Tunbridge Church, A.D. 1636.—*Hasted*, vol. ii., p. 340.

May 26th, 1648, voted £10,000 a year to Essex, their general, and as this had not been regularly paid, they assigned Somerhill to him for life, but he died the next year, and they took the estate into their own hands. Soon after the execution of Charles I. they granted it to Sergt. Bradshaw, President of the High Court of Justice, who died possessed of it in 1659.* He was succeeded by a natural son, but on the restoration of Charles II., Somerhill and the South-Frith Estate were delivered up to the only daughter of the Earl of St. Albans. Numerous severances by sale followed. The mansion was held by the Woodgates during the last century, and now belongs to Mr. Julian Goldsmid, M.P. for Rochester.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Wye, I have already stated, was given with Tunbridge by Queen Elizabeth to her relative, Lord Hunsdon. In 1606 his lordship's grandson suffered a recovery of it, and I only notice this document to disprove the assertion, so frequently made, that there were no slaves in Kent. Here, so late as the beginning of the 17th century, is an instrument to which Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Treasurer (the Earl of Dorset) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (the Earl of Dunbar), the learned Sir Edward Coke (the then Attorney General), and Sir John Doderidge (the Solicitor General), were all parties; and after describing the Lordship of Wye as late belonging to Battle Abbey, and afterwards to Sir Edward Fynes, Lord Clynton and Saye, it sets out the rights attached to the manor, including fairs, markets, tolls, wrecks of the sea, "*bondmen and bondwomen, and villeins, with their sequels,*" &c. I admit that these are in a deed termed "general words," and had no doubt been copied from time to time from earlier documents; but what I contend for is, that *there was a time* when "bondmen and bondwomen, and villeins" formed

Wye,
Ante, p. 478.

Slavery
in Kent.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 258.

* He was buried in Westminster Abbey, but in the following year his body was taken up and hanged at Tyburn, from the morning until sunset, and then buried under the gallows. His head was cut off and set up on Westminster Hall.—*Wood's Ath.*, vol. xi., p. 150, quoted by Hasted.

CHAP. XXVIII.

part and parcel of this Royal Manor and other Kentish manors, and were disposed of as chattels.

Henry Carey, the Lord Hunsdon here mentioned, was created Viscount Rochford in 1621, and Earl of Dover in 1628; and in 1639 he sold the manor, lands, and vicarial tithes of Wye, to Heneage, the second Earl of Winchilsea,* ancestor of the present owner, who purchased it for £18,000 to add to the Eastwell estate. The earl appears to have been duped by the agents employed in the transaction to the extent of £1,500, and he commenced a suit against them in the Star Chamber, which I conclude ended in a compromise, as I cannot trace any proceedings beyond the filing of the Bill.

Aldington.

Ante, p. 505.

The manor of Aldington, which we have seen was acquired by King Henry VIII. in the exchange with Archbishop Cranmer, was held by his successors down to the reign of Charles I. The last Royal Survey of this manor that I have met with appears to have been made on 12th September, 1608 [6th James I.], by Sir Edward Hales, Thomas Scott and Henry Heyman, "the Surveyors of all the lands of the Crown in Kent," and John Hereye, by virtue of a commission from the Court of Exchequer. Fifteen of the tenants were sworn, who deposed that there were no copyhold or customary tenants of this manor; that there were forty-four [twelve and thirty-two] denes, members of it; and that there were no commons.† The demesne lands, which included the Park, exceeded 1,000 acres. Attached to the Aldington

* James I. created Lady Elizabeth (the widow of Sir Moyle Finch, Knight and Baronet, in testimony of his merits) Viscountess Maidstone, and Charles I. conferred on her the title of Countess of Winchilsea, and on her heirs male Earls of Winchilsea. Her second, but eldest surviving son, Sir Thomas Finch, became the first Earl of Winchilsea and Viscount Maidstone. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Heneage, who assisted in the restoration of Charles II., and as this family claimed to be descended from Henry Fitz-Herbert, Chamberlain to Henry I., Charles II. created this earl Baron Fitzherbert, and appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Kent and Governor of Dover Castle. He died in 1689, having been married four times and having had issue twenty-seven children, sixteen of whom lived to maturity.—From the Finch pedigree, by John Philpott, Ruge Dragon.

† This is to be accounted for from the fact that nearly all the lands held of this manor were situate in Romney Marsh and the Weald.

manor house were no less than five kitchens, nine barns, six stables, seven fodder houses, and eight dove houses. It also records that the eminence on which the buildings stand, without shelter and not far from the sea, would always necessitate a large outlay for repairs.

CHAP. XXVIII.

We have here evidence of subinfeudation, or the holding of lesser or inferior manors of the chief Lord, for the manors of Hall [Scott's Hall] and Thevegate, in Smeeth and Aldington, with the chief mansions which were then standing, are returned with Mersham Park as appendant to Aldington. The tenants of the manor exceeded 200, and included eighteen Kentish knights and All Souls and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford; their respective holdings amounted to 6,000 acres, extending over no less than twenty-three parishes in a direct line from Elmsted to Lydd,* and all this territory was *exclusive* of the forty-four denes scattered about the Weald of Kent.† Among other peculiar terms used in this Survey we meet with a payment of "cotterell"‡ to the farmer [collector], 2s., for which the tenant had common on the Forwood and also upon Brabourne Lees; again, "for Rusteroft, § 12*d*. yearly." And for divers "*curtes*" called Ruffin's Hill, in Aldington, which, on the authority of Bishop Kennett, I take to be small inclosures.¶

Subinfeudation.

The extent of the manor of Aldington.

The Courts Leet appendant to the Manor of Aldington were equally important and almost co-extensive with the Court Baron. They included the Hundred of Bircholt Franchise, the upper half Hundred of Street, the Hundred

Ante, p. 295.

* The abutments are generally given; thus we meet with "le Wall," or Dymchurch Wall.

† The forty-four denes will be set out, with others, in a Table in a future chapter.

‡ The "cotterellus" was in absolute villeinage, his person and goods being anciently disposed of at the pleasure of the lord (*vide Kennett's Glossary* and *Cowel's Interpreter*), but I take the payment here made for "cotterell" to be in lieu of some customary service, as all the tenants of Aldington held in free socage.

§ Probably for menial services rendered for the *Terra Rusticorum*.

¶ In a previous rental the Bedell or Serjeant of this manor is charged 4*7* 1*4*s. for "salt rent."

CHAP. XXVIII. of Ham, the Hundred of St. Martin's, Ivychurch, and the Hundred of Longport in Romney Marsh.

Lyminge. The Manor of Lyminge with its denes we know formed part of the exchange between Henry VIII. and Cranmer; the Archbishop at first reserved the patronage of its Church with the annexed chapels of Stanford and Paddlesworth, but whether Henry VIII. was not satisfied with his bargain, or from some other cause, Cranmer had afterwards to give up the advowson, &c., to the King, who granted both to Sir Anthony Aucher,* then of Otterden.

Ante, p. 504.

Court of
Aug. Surv.,
Portfo. I., p. 13.

The estimated extent of Lyminge Park (now belonging to Mr. Drax) at this time was three miles; and we read "Item, there be of fallow deer of all sorts sixty." "Also there pertaineth to the Manor of Lyminge twelve dennys [denes], which pay yearly £12 10s. 7½d."

The advowson having been once separated from the Manor, could not be again appendant. The Rev. Canon Jenkins is now the owner of the advowson, and the devisees of the late Mr. Stephen Kelcey are the owners of the Manor.

p. 501.

Marden (appendant to Middleton), with its forty-two denes [twenty-eight and fourteen], is noticed at length in the last chapter. The Crown continued to hold them until 1607, when James I. granted them to Sir Henry Brown and another in fee, subject to a reserved annual fee-farm rent of £126 6s. 8d. They were soon afterwards purchased by the Earl of Pembroke, who in 1648 settled them upon his son. They ultimately passed into the hands of the late Sophia Elizabeth Baroness Wenman, who in 1862 severed and sold off the Manor of Marden. The present owner of the Manor of Milton (Middleton) is Mr. Herbert Wykeham, and the present owner of the Manor of Marden is Mr. Edward Hussey, of Scotney Castle, so that East Farleigh is, I believe, the only

* He was Master of the King's Jewels. Henry VIII. appears to have been very generous to him; his subsequent grants in the Weald included lands in Headcorn (the site of the Priory of Modynden and Plushenden), and lands in Sutton Valence, Marden, and Boughton Monchelsea. Sir Henry Aucher was slain at the siege of Calais, A.D. 1557.

manor in Kent belonging to the Crown which possesses a dene in the Weald. CHAP. XXVIII.

I think I have now noticed a sufficient number of manors in support of what I have been throughout contending for, and I therefore need not here refer to Teynham, Lenham, Charing, Chilham, Little Chart, Shere-land in Pluckley, Ashford, and other manors still holding denes in the Weald, or lands which were formerly denes, as they will be set out in a tabular form hereafter.

It was during the reign of James I. (May 22nd, 1611) that a new title of honour (intermediate between a baron and a knight) was created,* that of Baronet, for the purpose of raising money for the army in Ulster, to be conferred by patent upon certain terms and conditions on 200 of the gentry of three descents, who possessed lands of the yearly value of £1,000. The patents were offered at £1,095, the estimated charge of thirty soldiers during three years; but only seventy-six of these titles were at first granted.† In 1612, however, more were issued, and by the end of this reign they amounted to 205.

Creation of
Baronets.

Among the creations connected with Kent during the seventeenth century were:—

A.D.		
1611-25†	SIR MOYLE FINCH, of Eastwell.	1622 175 WILLIAM MEREDITH, of Leeds Abbey.
60	SIR JOHN TUFTON, of Hothfield.	1626 209 SIR EDWARD DERING, of Surrenden Dering.
63	SIR HENRY BAKER, of Sissinghurst.	1627 217 THOMAS STYLE, of Wateringbury.
66	SIR WM. TWYSDEN, of Roydon Hall.	223 WILLIAM COLEPEPER, of Aylesford.
67	SIR EDWARD HALES, of Woodchurch.	1641 307 JOHN MANEY, of Linton.
1620 138	SIR THOMAS ROBERTS, of Glassenbury.	310 WILLIAM BOTELER, of Teston.
1621 155	SIR ISAAC SIDLEY, of Great Chart.	341 NORTON KNATCHBULL, of Merham Hatch.
154	JOHN RIVERS, of Chafford, Penshurst.	344 HENRY HEYMAN, of Somersfield.
		1642 373 SIR WILLIAM COWPER, of Ratling Court.

* Rapin, vol. ii., p. 185, says the Earl of Salisbury (the Lord Treasurer) was the originator of this device, while other writers assert that it was a project of Sir Anthony Shirley, who was promised a good recompense by Lord Salisbury, but never had it.—*Lingard*, vol. vii., p. 91.

† Sir Nicolas Bacon, of Redgrave, in Suffolk, was the first.—*Rapin*, vol. ii., p. 185.

‡ The marginal numbers refer to the general order of the creation.

CHAP. XXVIII.	1642 395 SIR RICHARD HARDRES, of Hardres.	1663 733 ROBERT BARNHAM, of Boughton Monchelsea.
	408 STEPHEN LENNARD, of West Wickham.	1666 779 MAURICE DIGGES, of Chilham Castle.
1043 432	SIR EDWARD WALDEGRAVE, of Hever Castle.	783 SIR THOMAS TWISDEN, of Bradbourne.
1660 506	BASIL DIXWELL, of Bromes- bourne.	784 SIR ANTHONY AUCHER, of Bishopsbourne.
	526 ROBERT HALE, of Beakes- bourne.	1674 822 ROBERT FILMER, of East Sutton.
	534 EDWARD HONYWOOD, of Evington.	1677 836 THOMAS DYKE, of Sussex, now Lullingstone, Kent.
	569 HUMPHREY MILLER, of Oxen- hoath.	1678 847 SIR HENRY OXENDEN, of Dean.
	571 JOHN BEALE, of Maidstone.	1682 873 TIMOTHY THORNHILL, of Olantigh.
	588 JOHN FAGG, of Whiston, Sussex. Now Mystole.	1684 883 GEORGE CHUTE, of Hinxhill.
1668 737	SIR JOHN MARSHAM, of Cux- stone.	1685 894 ROBERT GULDFORD, of Hempsted.

The creations of Kentish Baronets during the 18th Century were Thomas D'Aeth, of Knowlton (1716); Brook Bridges, of Goodnestone (1718); Sir Charles Farnaby, of Kippington (1726); Horatio Mann, of Linton (1756); Peter Dennis, of St. Mary's and Blackmanstone, Romney Marsh (1767).

James I. died 27th March, 1625, in the sixtieth year of his age. His death is supposed to have been hastened by habitual intemperance; though there was some suspicion that he had been poisoned.

A.D. 1625.

Charles I. was in his 25th year when he ascended the throne. He lost no time in ratifying the treaty which had been previously entered into for his marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France, youngest daughter of Henry IV. She was accompanied from her brother's court by her mother, Queen Maria de Medicis, and her sister-in-law, Queen Anne of Austria, and was received by King Charles at Dover, at the head of the English nobility.

The following interesting account is given of their first meeting at Dover:—

Ellis's Orig.
Letters,
Vol. III.,
pp. 196, 197.

"The Queen arrived at Dover, Sunday, about 8 in the evening; lay there in the Castle that night, whither the King rode on Monday morning from Canterbury, came thither after ten of the clock; and she then being at meat, he stayed in the presence till she had done, which she, advertised of, made short work, rose, went unto him, kneeled down at his feet, took and kissed his hand. The King took her up in his arms, kiased her, and talking with her, cast down his eyes toward her feet (she seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulders), which she soon perceiving, discovered, and showed him her shoes, saying to this effect: 'Sir, I stand upon mine own feet. I have no helps by art; thus

high I am, and I am neither higher nor lower.' She is nimble and quiet, black-eyed, brown-haired, and, in a word, a brave lady."

CHAP. XXVIII.

The contract for the marriage was publicly renewed in the Palace of St. Augustine, Canterbury, June 12, 1625,* and the royal couple repaired to Whitehall, and thence to the Palace of Hampton Court.

During the unhappy reign of Charles I. there was one continued struggle between the nation and its Sovereign for the ascendancy. The King, being refused the necessary supplies, endeavoured to raise them, and to rule without the aid of Parliament, as an absolute monarch, while opposed to him were two powerful bodies known as Presbyterians and Independents; the former sought only to humble him, and limit his powers, while the latter were intent on suppressing the Monarchy, and with it the Established Church.

The Kentish men who first came to the front, though on opposite sides, were Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Colepeper. The former had acquired Chilham Castle, with its honor, manor, and twelve denes in the Weald, and had rebuilt the mansion. He was reputed an accomplished politician and an elegant writer,† and was selected the year after the accession of Charles I. as one of the eight managers to conduct the impeachment against the all powerful favourite, the Duke of Buckingham.‡ In the quaint language of the time he "spoke the prologue," which was not without vigour and eloquence. He compared Buckingham to "a prodigious comet." Two days afterwards Sir Dudley was called out of the House, taken into custody, and confined in the Tower; the Commons

Sir D. Digges.

Sir J. Colepeper.

Ante, p. 512.

* Charles I. was possessed of a fee farm rent of £10, charged on Leeds Castle, which formed part of the Queen's dowry.—*Rymer, Fed.*, vol. xviii., p. 709.

† He had long been an opponent of the Court, and by way of punishment he was sent in 1621, to Ireland, on a revenue commission; not an unusual proceeding at that time.—*Rushworth's Coll.*, vol. i., p. 55.

‡ The Duke's numerous employments are all set out in this impeachment; they included the offices of Lord Warden, Chancellor, and, Admiral of the Cinque Ports and the members thereof, and Constable of Dover Castle, which he was charged with obtaining by purchase from Lord Zouch.

CHAP. XXVIII.

refused to proceed with any business until he was released, and the King was compelled to yield.*

The House of Commons having resolved not to suffer any of their members to be questioned until they themselves had considered the charges, were thus enabled to make a good front against the King, who, to save his favourite Buckingham, and to screen himself, dissolved the Parliament.

Sir J. Colepeper.

About the same time Sir John Colepeper, a descendant of the Bedgebury family, had purchased Leeds Castle, and represented Kent in Parliament. He became a great favourite of Charles I., who conferred several honours upon him, and subsequently raised him to the peerage by the title of Baron Colepeper.†

The Forest Laws.

From the peculiar nature of the holding of its chief forest (Andred) from the earliest times, this county no doubt suffered less from the oppression and exactions of the forest laws than any other. Still the right of the King to timber for all public purposes was maintained until the time of the rebellion, and was a fertile source of exaction. The purveyors of the Crown during this reign extorted money by threatening to fell ornamental trees in the avenues of mansions, whilst many almost obsolete laws were revived to assist in replenishing an exhausted exchequer. Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the boundaries of forests, and the neighbouring land-

Barrington's
Anc. Stat. p. 7.

* The patriotism of Sir Dudley Digges, though it had stood the test of imprisonment, dissolved in the sunshine of the Court. His services were secured to the Crown by a patent granting him the Mastership of the Rolls in reversion (*Lingard*, vol. vii., p. 175). As Lord of the Manor of Chilham he acquired some land by escheat, and by a codicil to his will he directed it to be let to some honest tenant at £20 per annum beyond the quit rent, and the Lord of the Manor of Faversham, or the Mayor, with the advice of four of the jurats, and the Lord of the Manor of Chilham, or the Vicar and four freeholders, were to choose a young man and young maiden, between sixteen and twenty-four, of good conversation, "to run a tye at Chilham, and the runners were to receive £10 each." He died in 1638, and was buried at Chilham.

† Lord Colepeper remained abroad with Charles II. during his exile, and the Parliament, in 1632, declared all his estates forfeited for treason. He died in 1660, and was buried at Hollingbourne. — *Scobell's Collections*, Part II., p. 156.

owners were required to establish their titles; indeed, it was supposed that considerable portions of every shire in England except Kent, Surrey, and Sussex would be claimed as belonging to the Crown. Large sums thus found their way into the Treasury from fines levied and compositions for alleged trespasses on the rights of the Crown. Sir Christopher Hatton was fined £12,000, and others, even greater sums, for encroachments in the forest of Rockingham.

A large Spanish fleet appeared off the Land's End in September, 1639, on its way to the Low Countries. It was pursued by a Dutch fleet under Tromp, when the Spanish admiral took shelter in the Downs. Tromp affected for a few days to respect the maritime dominions of the King of England, but having obtained reinforcements, he declared that if Charles did not send away the Spanish fleet he must attack them where they lay. Orquendo (the Spanish admiral) said he was only waiting for a supply of powder to come out and give battle. Tromp offered to sell him 500 barrels at the usual price. The Spaniard declined the offer, and was attacked and defeated by the Dutch with the almost complete destruction of his fleet, while the British ships under Admiral Pennington looked quietly on during the commission of this outrage on the honour of the nation.*

A proclamation of the King's in 1689 abolishing certain monopolies and patent offices which had been very grievous to the people, gave general satisfaction, and his faithful subject, Sir John Colepeper, one of the members for Kent and a great favourite, was desirous that this generous act should not be forgotten; so immediately after the assembling of the House in November, 1640, he delivered the following speech, which was taken down by Rushworth himself as it was spoken. It deserves to be

CHAP. XXVIII.

A.D. 1639.

Engagement
between the
Dutch and
Spanish fleets
in the Downs.

Sidney Papers,
Vol. II., p. 612.

Rushworth,
Vol. III., p. 885

Abolition of
Monopolies.

A.D. 1640.

* It is somewhat remarkable that with the apology which the Dutch Ambassador delivered to the King on this occasion, there was a proposal for a marriage between the Prince of Orange and the King's eldest daughter; the offspring of this union being fated to dethrone his son and dynasty.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Sir John
Colepeper's
speech.

Rushworth.
Vol. III., p. 917.

perpetuated as a good specimen of the oratory of a loyal Man of Kent anxious to save his Sovereign and his country from the impending revolution. He was always considered a moderate Royalist.

"Mr. Speaker,—I have but one grievance more to offer unto you, but this one comprizeth many. It is a nest of wasps or swarm of vermin which have over-crept the land; I mean the monopolies and pollers of the people. These, like the frogs of Egypt, have gotten possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them. They sup in our cup [patent of £4 per tun on wine]; they dip in our dish [licence to dress meat in taverns]; they sit by our fire [tax on coals]. We find them in the dye-fat wash-bowl [patent for soap], and powdering-tub [tax upon salt]. They share with the butler in his box [patent for card and dice]. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot [beavers, felts, &c.]. Mr. Speaker, they will not bate us a pin [patent for pins]. We may not buy our own clothes without their brokerage. These are the leeches that have sucked the Commonwealth so hard that it is almost become hectical. And, Mr. Speaker, some of these are ashamed of their right names. They have a regard to hide the brand made by that good law in the late Parliament of King James; they shelter themselves under the name of a Corporation; they make by-laws which serve their turn to squeeze us and fill their purses: unface these, and they will prove as bad cards as any in the pack. These are not petty-chapmen, but wholesale-men. Mr. Speaker, I have echoed to you the cries of the kingdom; I will tell you their hopes. They look to Heaven for a blessing upon this Parliament. They hang upon His Majesty's exemplary piety and great justice, which renders his ear ever open to the just complaints of his subjects. We have had lately in his speech a gracious assurance of it. The other great affairs of the kingdom and this our grievance, of no less import, may go hand in hand in preparation and resolution. Then by the blessing of God we shall return home with an olive branch in our mouths, and full confirmation of the privileges which we received from our ancestors and owe to our posterity, which every free-born English man hath received with the air he breathed in. These are our hopes, these our prayers."

Unhappily the King did not possess many such counsellors and faithful advisers as Sir John Colepeper.

The members elected for Kent in the Long Parliament,* which assembled 8rd November, 1640, were Sir John Colepeper and Sir Edward Dering.†

* The members for Kent for the four preceding Parliaments were Sir Edward Hales and Sir Edward Scott, Sir Thomas Finch and Sir Dudley Digges, and Roger Twysden and Norton Knatchbull.

† He was eldest son of Sir Anthony Dering (one of the 133 Knights created by King James I. on his first arrival in London), and evinced a strong dislike for Romish practices and an aversion to ceremonialism.

As soon as it became evident that an appeal to arms was inevitable, the Earl of Essex (who had been elected one of the committee of fifteen to take into consideration the defence of Parliament and the safety of the Kingdom) was appointed Captain General of the forces to be raised for the public defence.* Before a sword was drawn Parliament assumed to itself the nomination of the lords lieutenant, and sheriffs of counties, and thus constituted a temporary executive government.

CHAP. XXVIII

Sir Edward Dering commenced his parliamentary career as a vehement Church reformer. On the 1st December, 1640, the inhabitants of the Weald forwarded through Mr. Richard Robson, of Cranbrook, a petition against Episcopacy, and in an unguarded moment, and at the instigation of others, the Baronet introduced "a Bill for the abolition of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, with all their Officers," which made him very popular with the Puritans; but he soon became alarmed at the proceedings of his associates, and all his popularity was at an end; for to waver, especially in those days, was to be lost. By way of justification, he then published a collection of his speeches in Parliament with a running commentary; but this the House voted to be against its honour and privilege, and ordered the book to be burnt by the common hangman. He was also declared disqualified for that Parliament, and the Speaker was ordered to issue his writ for a new election for Kent. All this passed without opposition, and Captain Augustine Skinner was returned in his stead. It was next moved that he should be sent to the Tower, which was carried by eighty-five to sixty-one. He remained in custody a week, when he was

Sir Edward
Dering, Bart.

He was knighted by King James, and created a Baronet 1st February, 1626. He married the eldest of the nine daughters of Sir Nicholas Tufton, afterwards first Earl of Thanet.—Bruce's Preface to "Proceedings in Kent in 1640," Ed. by the Rev. L. B. Larking.

* Among all classes, even to the meanest soldier, the Earl was the most popular of the nobility at this time. He, however, entertained distrust of those who had placed him in command, and though he wanted to check the King he wished to preserve him, and was not qualified to take the lead in perilous times, or he might have put an end to the war soon after its outbreak.—*Godwin*, vol. i, p. 34.

CHAP. XXVIII.

discharged on his own petition. He retired to Surrenden Dering, and in the following month he succeeded in inducing the grand jury of Kent to agree to an ante-Hampden and Pym petition to the Commons. He was summoned before the House, and appeared, but subsequently fled. With a view to his arrest, the House issued an order to close the ports; and shortly afterwards carried up to the House of Lords an impeachment against him for endeavouring to set the county of Kent against the Parliament.* He then openly joined the King, raised a troop of horse at his own expense, and was present at the setting up of the Royal Standard at Nottingham, in August, 1642. His estates were now sequestered; Surrenden was four times plundered by the Parliamentary soldiers, and his woods felled.† The Parliament, on 30th January, 1644, issued an ordinance permitting persons who had been in arms against them to return to their homes upon taking the Covenant and paying a composition for the restoration of their estates, and Sir Edward, who seems to have been a feeble minded man, was the first to avail himself of it. He was not permitted to return to Surrenden until his composition was settled, so he had to take refuge in one of his dilapidated farmhouses. A local committee returned the value of his estates at £800 per annum, and £1,000 was assessed as the composition required, which Parliament confirmed on 27th July, 1644; "but before that day Sir Edward had passed beyond the jurisdiction of sequestrators, for he had found a quiet resting place in the church of Pluckley." Parliament relinquished the claim for the composition money, and the young heir was admitted to the estates without any payment.‡

* Tradition says that to elude the vigilance of an officer of the Parliament, Sir Edward donned a surplice and read prayers in a neighbouring church, before a congregation of his friends and neighbours.

† It is said, on the authority of Nalson (vol. ii., p. 249), that on the death about this time of Dr. Isaac Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, Sir Edward applied to King Charles for the vacant Deanery (one of the very dignities which he had endeavoured to abolish), but he did not obtain it.

‡ I am indebted to Mr. Bruce's Preface to "Proceedings in Kent, 1640," for the above particulars, no doubt furnished him by the late Rev. L. B. Larking.

There can be but little doubt that the sympathy of a majority of the inhabitants of the Weald of Kent was with the Parliamentary party. Tunbridge, at the commencement of the civil war, was called "a wavering town." Thomas Weller,* the lessee of the Castle (which he surrendered for the use of the Parliament, and it was further fortified), aided the Deputy Lieutenants, and was appointed one of the Treasurers for the district of the fund to be raised for the maintenance of the Army. In 1642 a landing of the supporters of the King took place at Rye, and directions were given to intercept them in crossing the Medway at Tunbridge.† Weller was also ordered to seize the horses of all "malignants" between Tunbridge and Maidstone. In July, 1648, there was a rising of the Royalists at Sevenoaks; but the great Kentish rising did not take place until 1648, and of this I propose to speak in the next chapter.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Weald
sympathized
with the
Puritans.

* He was the grandson of Alexander Weller, of Cranbrook, who is buried in the south aisle of Cranbrook Church. Alexander was persecuted for his religious opinions by Sir John Baker, of Sissinghurst, Queen Mary's Chancellor of the Exchequer, who still bears in that neighbourhood the name of "bloody Baker."

† The guard was to consist of four men by night, and four by day, who were to receive 6d. per day, and the like sum by night.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE RISING OF THE KENTISH ROYALISTS IN 1648.

CHAP. XXIX.

A.D. 1648.

PASSING over the struggles between the King and his opponents from 1642 to 1647, which ended in the surrender and confinement of Charles, we find that the grand jury of Essex assembled on the 22nd of March, 1648, when they drew up a petition to the two Houses of Parliament praying that the King might be restored to his rights, and the army disbanded. A similar petition, but couched in stronger language, was adopted in Surrey, and the Kentish people acted in accordance with their ancient renown, though the result on this, as on previous occasions, proved that their zeal and valour were not tempered with discretion.

Riot at
Canterbury.

Before I record the rising of the Royalists in Kent in 1648 it will be necessary to refer to the riot which occurred at Canterbury in the previous year.

8th June, 1647.

The Parliament had issued an ordinance against keeping festivals and fast days, which they denounced as "vain and superstitious observances." Notwithstanding this, the usual service on Christmas Day was performed in St. Andrew's Church, Canterbury, by the Rev. Mr. Allday, the rector. The Mayor, however, (Michael Page, a Puritan) endeavoured to enforce the ordinance; he walked through the city and tried to prevail on the citizens to open their shops, it being market-day (Saturday). An uncivil reply from one tradesman irritated his Worship, and he struck the offender in the face. A mob was

soon collected and the Mayor was thrown into the kennel.* CHAP. XXIX.
A riot ensued and fire-arms were resorted to. The mob A.D. 1648.
held the city and neighbourhood in awe for several days,
seized the magazine, and committed many violences.
Rushworth gives the following account of the tumult :—

"They broke into divers houses of the most honest and religious in the town, broke their windows, abused their persons, and threw their goods about the streets. Monday their number increased to above a thousand ; two or three hundred kept together ; they sent abroad for the country to come in, blockt up passages, seized upon the magazine and arms in the Town-Hall, made use of the arms for themselves and party, kept courts of guard in four or five places, examined passengers. Two scouts were sent from Dover to observe Passages, and to inform the Mayor that Captain Temple would send him fifty horse for assistance, but the Mayor could not be met withal, the tumult was so great. At last the cry was "For God, King Charles, and Kent."

The rioters were at length appeased by the entreaties of Sir William Man† and others.

The Parliament, at the instigation of the Mayor, sent to Canterbury about a month afterwards Colonel Hewson's regiment of foot, who marched in as conquerors, took down and burnt some of the gates of the city, and pulled down parts of the wall. They arrested Sir William Man and other officials, and conveyed them to Leeds Castle,‡ where they were confined for more than two months, when they were released on bail ; the poorer portion of those committed suffered great privations.

On the 27th of January, 1648, the Committee of Kent reported to the House the suppression of the riot, and a special commission was opened on the 11th of May at the Castle of Canterbury for the trial of the offenders ; but the grand jury ignored the bill, though care had been taken to select only those who were supposed to be well

* I am indebted for much of this narrative to a curious work by Matthew Carter, a zealous Royalist, entitled "A true Relation of that honourable though unfortunate Expedition into Kent, Essex, and Colchester in 1648," in which the author bore a part. A second edition appeared in 1789. Both were published at Colchester.

† He was a descendant of an ancient Canterbury family who resided at a house in Watling-street, now occupied as the offices of Messrs. Wightwick, Kingsford, and Wightwick.

‡ Parliament had seized Leeds Castle and converted it into a prison.—*Hasted*, vol. ii., p. 476.

CHAP. XXIX.

A.D. 1648.

affected to the Parliament. The jury were ordered to reconsider their verdict, but again returned with an "Ignoramus" on the bill. Still the Judges refused to discharge the prisoners until they had heard from the Parliament. This illegal proceeding brought matters to a head, and the grand jury at once adopted petitions to both Houses, testifying alike their loyalty to the King, and their independent spirit. They were immediately signed by 200 leading men of the county, assembled in Canterbury; copies were dispersed for signature, which were to be forwarded to Rochester on the 29th May, and those who could attend the presentation were to assemble at Blackheath the following day.

Sir Henry Heyman, of Somerfield, Sellindge,* and Sir Michael Lucy, apprised the House of Commons of the Kentish proceedings, and the Speaker immediately dispatched letters to the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices, directing them to take the necessary steps to prevent the intended assemblage, and to secure the castles, garrisons, and towns of the county; in consequence, the standing committee of Deputy-Lieutenants met at Maidstone, and issued an order to suppress the petition, and the intended meeting to present it. Among the signatures to this order were those of James Oxenden, Richard Beale, and Lambert Godfrey.† This produced from the petitioners a vindication and an answer. Upon which the Deputy Lieutenants ordered the trained troops and companies to assemble at different places appointed in the county; only twenty men met at Maidstone, and about ten at Barham Downs, but not one officer nor any colours. A messenger who was sent to Canterbury to ascertain whether any troops were assembled there, was surprised by a guard as soon as he entered the gates of the city, who dismounted him, and he had to return on foot to Barham Downs.‡

The men of Kent now published a manifesto, describing

Carter's
Relation,
p. 18, 2 Ed.

* He was Lieutenant of Dover Castle during the Commonwealth.

† He was Recorder of Maidstone, and is buried in All Saints' Church.

‡ Charles had by proclamation prohibited Kent and the other Home Counties from raising troops without his consent.

themselves as "the knights, gentlemen, clergy, and free yeomen of Kent; the most free people of this late flourishing nation, by the wisdom of our ancestors delivered from the laws of the Conqueror;" in which they declare the innocency of their intentions, and that they would prosecute their petition with their lives and fortunes regardless of the committee of the county appointed by Parliament, whom they charge with increasing the taxes of the county to maintain their own private luxury and pride, and usurping a power over the estates and fortunes of the freemen of Kent not granted to them by Parliament; and they finish by expressing their determination to have recourse to arms, knowing well the justice of their cause.

CHAP. XXIX.

Carter, p. 26.

The King had long had some expectation of assistance from Kent, but no rising was intended until after the army of the Parliament had departed for the North to oppose the Scots. It, however, so happened that a Mr. L'Estrange,* belonging to a good family in Norfolk, was on a visit to his friend, Mr. Edward Hales,† then about twenty-four years of age. As his grandfather (Sir Edward) was still living, a residence of no pretension had been erected for him at the east end of Tunstall Green, which became a rendezvous of the Royalists, where good fellowship (according to Clarendon) prevailed; "a vice," he remarks, "then generally spread over Kent." A rumour was circulated that the fleet stationed in the Downs was prepared to declare for the King. The ships were visited, and the report confirmed. L'Estrange was a man of enterprise and wit, and advised Mr. Hales to put himself at the head of his own county. Thus flattered, this young and inexperienced gentleman called his neighbours and friends together, and invited them to assist

Book XI.

* He was a staunch Royalist, and having been taken prisoner in Norfolk, was condemned to die, but was afterwards set at liberty.—*Clarendon*, Book xi.

† He was the son of Sir John Hales by Christian, daughter of Sir James Cromer, and grandson of Sir Edward Hales, the first Baronet. Sir Edward had survived his son Sir John, and was then living. This family was originally seated at Hales Place, in Halden, and had large possessions in the Weald. The first Baronet was buried at Tunstall in 1664.

CHAP. XXIX.

A.D. 1648.

him in promoting a rising. They met, and at the instigation of L'Estrange, and without any royal commission, accepted Mr. Hales as their General,* who stood high in public estimation, and succeeded in raising a large but undisciplined force in the Weald and neighbouring parishes. Warrants to the constables of the different hundreds were issued by L'Estrange, inviting the inhabitants in his Majesty's name to assemble at a time and place appointed, and adopt measures for the relief of the King and for his release, he being still in confinement at Carisbrook Castle. †

Carter, p. 26.

They then proceeded to seize all the arms deposited at Scott's Hall, Ashford, Faversham, &c., whilst some of the committee of the county and its deputy lieutenants took refuge in the house of Sir Peter Ricaut, at Aylesford.‡ The Royalists, strengthened by reinforcements from Wye, Ashford, Rochester, and Gravesend, pursued them, and the house was delivered up, with a considerable supply of arms and ammunition.§

Canterbury.

The next step taken by the Parliament was to send down Captain Lee and another member to Rochester with a promise of indemnity if they would lay down their arms, but these messengers were placed in confinement. The arms and ammunition at Canterbury were seized by the

* This movement was no doubt a rash one, as the result proved. Clarendon says that the Kentish Royalists, relying on the support of the fleet, declared themselves too soon, and before they were prepared for such an enterprise.

† When the Parliament first heard of this rising, and saw warrants signed by L'Estrange, they were told by the members for Kent and Sir E. Hales (who were present at the time), that there was no such gentleman in the county, so they took no notice of it; but when they saw the declarations that were published, and were assured that young Hales (whom his grandfather had threatened to disinherit) was their general, they became alarmed, and sent two or three troops of horse into Kent to suppress it. The officer in command soon returned and informed the House that they dared not advance, as the enemy were much stronger than they were, and were increasing daily.—*Clarendon*, Book xi.

‡ He was the owner of the Friars or Priory, once the residence of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and was buried in Aylesford Church. He had ten sons; the youngest, Sir Paul Ricaut, Knight, was a great traveller.

§ The motto chosen by the Kentish Royalists was "*Regis et Populi Libertatem.*"

Royalists, who assembled there on the 28rd of May and published their "remonstrance," and immediately opened subscription lists for loans; and commissioned Colonel Robert Hammond to raise a regiment of infantry at beat of drum, and Colonel Hatton to raise a regiment of horse. Hammond soon collected about 800 well armed men, and Hatton about sixty horse. The East Kent Royalists encamped on Barham Downs, and Sir Richard Hardres, of Hardres Court, and Sir Anthony Aucher, of Bourne Place, Bishopsbourne, were despatched with 140 trained men to Sandwich, where they found the gates shut and the town guarded. Having demanded admission, the Recorder, on behalf of the Mayor, inquired whether Sir Richard Hardres was one of the party, and on finding he was, he promised that the gates should be opened. The authorities of Sandwich not appearing very enthusiastic in the cause of their Sovereign, and pleading poverty, were deprived of their commissions; their arms and ammunition were seized, and with a waggon loaded with powder, match, and ball, the Royalists marched to Dover,* where they found Hammond with more than 500 infantry and Hatton with 200 cavalry, drawn up before the Castle, then held by the Parliamentarians. The Royalists, who had two other trained companies and carts with scaling ladders, spades, &c., were well received at Dover, but the garrison in the Castle refused to surrender. It was then besieged by the trained bands of the town and three other companies collected from the neighbourhood; they drew up some large guns from the beach, which they mounted on the adjoining hill, but they only succeeded in battering down some of the outer walls. The Royalists were more successful with the fleet in the Downs, and had no difficulty in getting the sailors to declare "for the

CHAP. XXIX.

Carter, p. 29.

Barham
Downs.

Ib., p. 35.

Sandwich.

Dover.

* At this time a young man who called himself the Prince of Wales took up his quarters in Sandwich. Some waited on him to kiss his hand, others gave him money; as usual, plenty of people were found who were easily imposed upon. The Mayor sent a messenger to the House with the news, when the impostor was taken to Canterbury and afterwards committed to Newgate.—*Rushworth*, vol. vii., p. 1121; *Carter*, p. 39.

CHAP. XXIX. King and the gentlemen of Kent." They also got possession of Deal, Sandown, and Walmer Castles. Quitting Deal, they again visited Sandwich; their recent successes induced the Mayor and Corporation to look more favourably on their cause, and they presented them with £200. They then marched on to Canterbury, described by Carter as a "factious city," and thence in an orderly manner to Rochester,* where they were joined by Sir John Roberts and other deputy Lieutenants, who now signed the petition for the restoration of the King, though before averse to do so. Here the leading Royalists were assembled from all parts of the county, and deputations arrived from the inhabitants of Essex and Surrey offering to make common cause.

p. 56.

Rushworth,
Vol. VII.,
p. 1122.

The Parliament now began to be alarmed, and ordered that all the defaulters of musters in Kent should be punished, and that the committee of the county should put a stop to all tumultuous proceedings. They also passed an ordinance recognizing the right and privilege of the subjects of England to present their grievances by way of petition to Parliament, but restricting the number of the persons who presented them to twenty. "Tumultuous petitioning by numbers" had been one great means of establishing their power in former years, but they prohibited it when turned against themselves. On the following day another ordinance was issued declaring to be traitors all malignants and Papists who did not depart from London and twenty miles of it within two days.

The Earl of
Thanet.

The Earl of Thanet† at first made common cause with Mr. Edward Hales and the Royalists, and from his property and influence he appears at the commencement of the outbreak to have induced about 1,000 of the gentry and inhabitants residing about Ashford, Hothfield, and Charing to promise to take up arms and assemble at the shortest notice against the Parliament. He now separated

* There was a colony of the Dutch at Rochester at this time, who raised and paid two Royalist companies.

† This was John, the second Earl, who succeeded his father in 1631.

himself from them, and was accused of acting "a very mean part." Influenced by his friend and cousin, the Earl of Pembroke, he waited on the committee at Derby House* and explained to them how he believed the grievances complained of in Kent might be removed. The committee reported the result of this interview to the House, and they empowered the Earl to go home to attempt to "quiet the rioters" by informing them that a few of their number might present their petition, that there was no truth in the report that Parliament intended to execute two Royalists in every town in Kent by way of example, and that upon laying down their arms and returning home they should be indemnified. The Earl proceeded to execute his commission, and succeeded in drawing away some of his neighbours from the side of the Royalists. Their leaders wrote a reply and forwarded it to the Earl. In this letter they assured the committee that their sole object was to preserve "the ancient and inviolate freedom of the county and not to offer violence to the Parliament." It is signed by the under-mentioned parties :—

THOMAS PEYTON,
JOHN DARELL,
THOMAS PALMER,
JAMES HALES,
THOMAS HARDRES,
THOMAS GODFREY,

GEORGE NEWMAN,
JAMES NEWMAN,
THOMAS COURTOF,
EDWARD WHITTON,
WILLIAM HUGESSEN,
RICHARD LEE, JUN.,

JAMES DARELL,
RICHARD WILKINSON,
EDWARD ROBERTS,
PHILIP WARD,
THE MAYOR OF RO-
CHESTER.

CHAP. XXIX.
Carter, p. 57.

24th May, 1648.

Carter, p. 62.

Opprobrious epithets were of course heaped upon the Earl of Thanet, who was called "an apostate," "a Jewish lord," "disloyal to his King," and "treacherous to his country;"† but in justice to his memory it should be observed

* This was the committee for military matters; it met at Derby House, by St. Paul's, where is now the Herald's College. Other committees, which were really Government Departments, met in the Halls of the City Companies.

† The Earl of Thanet did not continue throughout the Commonwealth a supporter of the Parliamentary party. Having deserted them, his estates were sequestered, and the composition he paid in 1654 was £9,000, the largest amount entered in the List of Sequestrations. He died 7th May, 1664, and was buried at Rainham.—*Memorials of the Tustons, Earls of Thanet*, p. 60.

CHAP. XXIX. that the rising at this time had no recognised leader
 A.D. 1648. acting under the commission of the Sovereign, and the officers in command of the Kentish trained bands though ardent were undisciplined, and, with such a leader as Mr. Hales, wholly unfit to meet the veterans of Fairfax in the field.

On 24th May the House received information that "the rioters of Rochester did much increase, and had secured some shipping and the ammunition of the county and plundered houses." Each succeeding day the House was kept informed of the proceedings in Kent; horses of great value had been seized by the Royalists, and they had advanced towards London as near as Greenwich and Deptford. The number of the committee at Derby House was increased, and the forces in the Tower and at Whitehall were placed at their disposal. An order was issued for victualling Dover Castle. The Earl of Warwick was appointed Lord High Admiral and the navy placed under his command. Cromwell being still in Wales, the business of "reducing Kent" was left solely to Lord Fairfax,* who the same day collected 8,000 horse and foot on Blackheath. The undisciplined Royalists, without an efficient commander, had now (May 30th) reached Dartford, when an order reached them from the House of Commons desiring them not to proceed in a tumultuous manner to London with their petition, but to treat with General Lord Fairfax and the Committee of Kent. Mr. Hales was still the General in command and Sir Thomas Peyton† the Lieutenant General; they wrote to Fairfax as suggested by Parliament, and desired to treat with him. In his reply, written from Blackheath the same day, he declined this offer, but assured them that if they would lay down their arms and disperse, he had no doubt but that mercy would be extended to them and their property. The next day a second letter was addressed to the General, from Rochester, signed by "Phil. Masils, Major, and Edward Hales,

* Thomas Lord Fairfax succeeded his father in 1646. He assisted in the restoration of Charles II., and died in 1671.

† Of Knolton, Kent.

by appointment of the gentry of the county," in which they tell Fairfax that

"We invade not your right, but stand firm to secure our own, which is neither tumult nor rebellion. We are determined to stand and fall together, being rendered incapable of any fear save only of relapsing into our former slavery."

The Royalist troops were now ordered to return to Rochester, leaving a guard at Stone Bridge, near Gravesend, with a view to secure that passage. Here and at other places on the road skirmishes took place, where each party fought stoutly and many were slain. These skirmishes are thus recorded by Rushworth, in a letter dated from Meopham, 1st June, 1648:—

CHAP. XXIX.

A.D. 1648.

Vol. VII.
p. 1135.

"His Excellency, with four regiments of horse and three of foot, with some loose companies of Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment, marched from Eltham (where they lay in the fields thereabouts the night before), to Crayford Heath, where the said forces were drawn up to a rendezvous; and after that marched through Dartford, and then drew up on an heath two miles from the town, where his Excellency had intelligence that a party of Kentish had fortified and barracadoed a bridge which led to Gravesend. A commanded party was sent forth under the conduct of Major Husbands, about 300 horse, who mounted about 100 foot behind them. When they drew towards the bridge the enemy fired thick upon them; our men, notwithstanding, fell on, and the horse swam through the water and so got over; by this time the enemy perceiving in what danger they were, fled; Major Child, who commanded them and was very active, hardly escaped, having his horse shot, whereupon he forsook it; his son was shot in the back and taken. There were about twenty slain in the place, divers wounded, and thirty taken prisoners; many escaped by hiding themselves in the corn fields and houses. The enemy's party consisted of the countrymen thereabouts, the seamen, and some London apprentices. One Mr. Phips was very active in setting on the countrymen.

"After this, Major Husbands advanced with a party two or three miles beyond Gravesend, and had afterwards orders to march to Malling, towards which the army marches this morning from Meopham, a very small village (where the Lord General quartered last night, and his forces about it in the fields), and will make an halt near Malling, where orders will be given out. His Excellency has sent forth a Proclamation for the prevention of disorders in soldiers, or the taking of plunder in their march, horses or goods, and to restore what have been so taken. There are very few men to be seen in the towns through which we march, but only the women making sad moan, fearing the ill success their husbands are like to have. The enemy are very numerous, given out to be ten thousand at least, amongst which a great part cavaliers. Their principal ringleaders are Sir Gamaliel Dudley, Sir George Lisle, Sir William

CHAP. XXIX. Compton, Sir Robert Tracy, Colonel Leigh, Sir John Many, Sir Thomas Peyton, Sir Thomas Palmer, Esquire Hales (reported to be General Sir James Hales), Sir William Many, Sir John Dorrell, Sir Thomas Godfrey, Sir Richard Hardresse, Colonel Washington, Colonel Hammond, Colonel L'Estrange, Colonel Culpepper, Colonel Hacker, Mr. James Dorrell, Mr. George Newman, once a Colonel for the Parliament, and Mr. Whelton, Treasurer for the Parliament.

A.D. 1648.

"This day we hope to be over the river at Maidstone, or Aylesford, and to force the enemy to fight or swim, for we have left a strong party of horse, foot, and Dragoons to make good the pass at Rochester whilst we fall on the other side the river and make good Maidstone and Aylesford."

Fairfax lost no time in despatching Major Gibbon and a party of horse round by the Weald of Kent to relieve Dover Castle, forcing Sir Richard Hardres to retreat to Canterbury.

The Kentish Royalists had now no alternative but to either lay down their arms or fight. It was considered that Mr. Hales was unequal to the command,* and it was arranged that the Earl of Holland† should at the proper time take it. With this object, the Earl had formed a party of officers who, like himself, had served both King and Parliament, and who were hanging about London to avoid suspicion. Consulting, therefore, with them, and finding that the Earl of Norwich‡ was willing to undertake the command, a blank commission was filled up by which all Kent was committed to him, "with power to

Clarendon,
Book XI.

* Mr. Hales, conscious of his own inefficiency as a General, and stung with the threats and rage of his grandfather (Sir Edward) on the one side and of his wife's mother on the other side, embarked with his wife and friend, Mr. L'Estrange (who had lost credit with the Kentish people), for Holland, resolving to return and join the Royalists, which he did. — (Clarendon, B. XI.) This statement does not agree with Carter's (p. 71), who says that Mr. Hales left head-quarters for only one night in order that he might supply himself with money and other necessities for a longer march; that he rode home with Sir Henry Aucher, and the misfortunes of the next night prevented their return.

† He was the brother of the Earl of Warwick, the Parliamentary Admiral, and had espoused and forsaken their cause more than once already.

‡ George Goring; he was well known and beloved in Kent as a jovial companion, but had had no experience in war. He was a page of James I., Vice Chamberlain to the Queen of Charles I., and created Lord Goring in 1623 and Earl of Norwich in 1644. He was a steady adherent to the Royal cause. After the King's death he was found guilty of bearing arms against the Parliament, but his life was spared, by the casting vote of the Speaker. — *Rapin*, vol. ii., pp. 551, 574.

lead them any whither as the good of the King's service should make requisite." With this he hastened into Kent, and found a better armed body of horse and foot than he expected; sufficient in point of numbers to meet any army likely to be brought against them. Matthew Carter, the author of the "True Relation" (who afterwards accompanied the Earl of Norwich to Colchester, and was made a prisoner on its surrender), received his commission at this time as Quarter Master General. CHAP. XXIX.

The troops collected in Kent on each side appear to have been about equal. There were of the Royalists in rank and file and armed about 7,000 infantry, quartered in and about Rochester. The cavalry were scattered about the county, and their numbers could not be so easily ascertained. About 8,000 more troops stationed at Canterbury, Maidstone, Sittingbourne, Sandwich, and Dover never joined the head-quarters at Rochester. The army of the Parliament comprised about 8,000 horse and foot, besides some odd companies.

We now arrive at the memorable storming of Maidstone by the army under Fairfax, on 1st June, 1648. Lord Clarendon, though he devotes 200 pages to the year 1648, is silent about this affair, and his other remarks in connexion with Kent at this time are very meagre. I will, therefore, give the reader the best accounts of it I can, viz., one a report from the victors, the other from the vanquished.

The storming
of Maidstone.

Referring to the proceedings of the previous day the Parliamentary writer states, "We found that the Lord had struck them with the spirit of fear, for they fled before us."

The General having held a Council of War, it was resolved, though the previous marches had been long, and the troops had been quartered in the fields at night, to advance with his whole army to Maidstone. He accordingly marched at once, crossed the Medway at Farleigh bridge, and fell suddenly on the Royalists with overwhelming force, for they appear to have kept but a negligent guard.

CHAP. XXIX.

A.D. 1648.

The same writer in describing this engagement in a letter written from Maidstone proceeds :—

"About seven o'clock this evening [June 1st] orders were given for the storming of Maidstone, and after some exhortation to the soldiers to prepare them for this great and desperate service they began to shout out and with much violence to storm. . . . We forced an entrance into the town, and then we thought that the difficulty of the service was over ; but by this time the Royalists had drawn in 800 more to their assistance under the command of Sir William Brookman,* which made them up complete 2,000, and had so lined the streets in the several houses and had placed so much case shot in every street, that the result became very questionable till almost twelve at night. Though I have been a member of the army ever since its first going out, and have seen desperate services in several stormings, the like service I have not seen before ; every street in the town was got by inches, but the Lord completed the victory for us."

The Royalist account of the engagement as given by Quarter Master General Carter is as follows :—

p. 72.

"In the night the Lord Fairfax, with his whole body marching down towards Maidstone, and finding the river slightly guarded about Farleigh Bridge, beyond the town two miles, easily got over, and with a strong party fell upon the town before those within it were alarmed ; in which town were parts of Sir John Maynies and Sir William Brookman's regiments, which never came to the rendezvous, consisting of about 800 men.

"The enemy being possessed of that passage marched over with their whole body, they in the town not having true intelligence all the day before of them, and fell upon their out-guards so violently that within a short space those in the town were forced to fight upon extraordinary disadvantages ; the enemy so far exceeding them in number, and the army quartered at such a distance, they could not retreat nor have relief time enough to assist them. However, their courage was such as made their enemies know they fought with men well satisfied in the justice of their cause, not to be daunted or startled at the appearance or apprehension of death, though in never so grim a shape, but rather like true-born heroes, contemning all danger, and death itself, so they might but bury their misfortunes in the wounds of the furious and oppressive enemies ; who thinking them no other than a number of men huddled together in a tumultuous manner, because of their being so suddenly gotten together (the whole body being raised within ten days), fell on them with so much violence, as if they had been lions, and would have devoured them in an instant, or like a boisterous whirlwind, scattered

* Sir William Brookman, of Beachborough, Knight, had been appointed Sheriff of Kent by Charles I. in 1643, but the Parliament conferred the office on one of their own party, Sir John Honywood, of Evington, Kent, who also held it the two following years.—*Philippott*, p. 35. Mr. Frederick Brookman, the present owner of Beachborough, is a descendant of Sir William.

them before them like dust; but contrary to their expectations, instead of finding a prey they met with those that were more likely to make a prey of them, whose bold resolutions soon daunted their fury: and these tumultuous disorderly fellows (as they termed them) they found orderly enough to oppose them; and although newly raised, yet of courage equal to the oldest soldiers, selling their lives and liberties at as dear a rate as ever men did; few of them falling without first dispatching twice as many of the others.

"This unexpected engagement became very hot, each party contending which should express most valour; the one defending their lives, and disputing their fortifications, which were only bare and thin hedges, with as little thought of danger or security as if it had been an impregnable fort. The foes also behaved themselves as gallantly as if they did not think of a possibility of being beaten. In short, this overpowered party so bravely defended their ground that they had beaten off their enemy in such a manner that the Lord Fairfax, finding his party in great disorder even upon a retreat, alighted from his horse and came himself with them to encourage them on, who were so daunted by the unexpected courage of these defendants that their disorder had like to have much endangered their whole body.

"But at last a fresh party pouring their shot upon them, they were beaten off from their hedges, and forced to dispute the loss of ground from place to place against an extraordinary disadvantage; the enemies broke in upon them on all sides, and showed but little remissness in their execution when they had an opportunity to make home charges upon them; all this while they left not their courage with their ground, but disputed the loss of every foot with as much resolution as if but beginning to engage, from street to street, porch to porch, often falling upon the enemy's horse with only their swords in such a gallant manner as if as prodigal of their bloods as they were of their blows, which they distributed in a plentiful manner on every one who dare stand to receive them, insomuch that they often put them to retreat by their bold encounters; but being still overpowered by the numerous reserves which continually advanced on them, were forced to continue their retreat till at last they came to the church-yard, and from thence to the Church, quitting not any place dishonourably or unhandsomely: so that they made the engagement so really hot and difficult that I am confident the victors themselves would have wished to have rather been without that victory than to have purchased it at so dear a rate. But this party after a long fight were drawn to so hard a push as to be forced to capitulate, none coming to their assistance or relief, unless it were a few scattering men, who hearing they were engaged left their quarters without orders and huddled into this crowd of confused destruction, which they were overwhelmed in."

Fairfax, though suffering from gout in his right foot, distinguished himself in this engagement, and he and his men described the Royalist army as "truly valiant." Beside Kentish men, there were Royalists from several

CHAP. XXIX.

A.D. 1648.

other counties including men of rank, as well as seamen, watermen, and London apprentices; but they fought well, and their veteran opponents confessed that what they got was by inches and dearly bought.

Among those engaged at Maidstone on the side of the Parliament was Colonel William Springett, a member of a family connected with Sussex as well as Kent. He was a vehement Puritan, who raised in and about the Wealds of Sussex and Kent a regiment of foot to the number of 800 without beat of drum.*

Carter, p. 68.

The Earl of Norwich has been censured for remaining at Rochester and not attempting to relieve the gallant defenders of Maidstone, but it should be remembered that he had not been appointed to the command many hours when the assault took place, and he had advised that the men should be quartered in a field on the banks of the Medway, ready to receive the enemy; but instead of this, their officers permitted them to disperse in the neighbouring parishes to recruit them after some weary marches, so that Maidstone was lost before any assistance could possibly be rendered.

The Royalists
at Rochester.

The morning after the engagement the Royalist army at Rochester mustered in Frindsbury Fields, where a council was held; and in the hope of either relieving Maidstone (for its fall was not then known) or meeting Fairfax, they marched through Rochester, but had not proceeded above two miles towards Maidstone when intelligence reached them of the fall of the town, so they returned; and with a view to secure Canterbury and the towns in East Kent, Colonel Hatton was ordered to return with his horse, and meeting Major Osborne's troop proceeding from Ashford to Sittingbourne he charged them, when Major Sumner was killed and one or two other officers wounded. Colonel Hammond was ordered to remain with his regiment at Sittingbourne, and Sir

Carter, p. 78.

* An interesting memoir of this family will be found in the *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XX., p. 34, which describes this Kentish outbreak as "a rising in the Vale of Kent of many thousands,"

Richard Hardres and Colonel Wyles were also sent into East Kent. CHAP. XXIX.

Another council was held at Rochester, when some advised that the army quartered in West Kent should remain there and prepare for an attack from Fairfax, but the majority were in favour of proceeding towards Dartford, in the hope of assistance from Surrey and Essex.

On the 5th of June a letter was read in both Houses from Lord Fairfax,* enclosing certain papers taken from the enemy at Maidstone, disclosing their designs, which were ordered to be printed and circulated, and the thanks of the House tendered to the General for his great services. The same day the House voted Lord Goring a rebel for raising forces in Kent and Essex against the Parliament.

Rushworth,
Vol. VII.,
p. 1131.

I need not pursue this ill-concerted rising further; it will be sufficient to state that the skill and alacrity of Fairfax defeated all the projects of the Men of Kent and their coadjutors. This rising having signally failed, a large body of the men raised in the county (contemporary writers differ as to the number) crossed the Thames under the command of the Earl of Norwich, expecting the Essex Royalists to join them.† This did not occur, so they marched to Colchester and gallantly stood a siege, but were ultimately obliged to surrender.

Even after their defeat at Maidstone the Royalists did not at once abandon the hope of capturing Dover Castle. Sir Richard Hardres had 2,000 men before it besides cavalry. He had fired 500 shot against it, and had seized the block houses, and the ordnance, powder, match, and other ammunition; but Colonel Rich and Colonel Hewson being despatched to relieve it, on their approach the siege was abandoned, and the Colonel reported

* In this letter Fairfax recommends the case of the widow of a Captain Price, who lost his life at Maidstone, to the notice of the Parliament. They ordered the arrears of his pay, with a gratuity of £200, to be paid to his widow and family.

† Rapin says that the Essex Cavaliers were on the point of aiding Kent if Fairfax had not been so valiant.—Vol. II., p. 551.

CHAP. XXIX.

Rushworth,
Vol. VII.,
p. 1135.

to Parliament that he "had Sir Richard Hardres and those who fled with him in pursuit." The Royalists "stayed not their coming," but made for Sandwich; that town, however, was not in a position to receive them and they hastened to the Castle at Canterbury. General Ireton and Colonel Barksted were ordered to proceed there with their regiments, but on reaching Faversham they were met by two commissioners, when certain articles were agreed to for the surrender of the castle and city. This was communicated to Parliament by Fairfax in a letter dated 12th of June. The lives of the soldiers quartered in Canterbury were spared, but 8,000 arms, some good horses, and twenty-four colours were delivered up to General Ireton. The Parliament, which now needed all their forces in Essex, where Colchester was stoutly defended, appointed the following Sunday as a day of thanksgiving "for the great mercy in reducing Kent."

Sir Thomas Peyton, of Knolton, one of the Kentish Generals, was taken at Bury St. Edmunds, and committed to prison by the House. The others were ordered to be sent beyond the seas, except those who had deserted the army of the Parliament, who were to be tried by martial law.

Cromwell's
Letters and
Speeches,
by Carlyle,
Vol. I.,
pp. 348, 355.

On the 14th of June, Cromwell writes from before Pembroke to Lenthall, the Speaker of the House, "We much rejoice at what the Lord hath done for you in Kent," and again from the same place on the 28th, he writes to Fairfax, "I do not know that I have had a letter from any of your army of the glorious successes God has vouchsafed you."

State Papers,
Dom. 1648.

Rushworth,
Vol. VII.,
p. 1150.

Fairfax remained no longer in Kent than was necessary to raise the siege of Dover. Having given directions to the Earl of Warwick for the fortification of Upnor Castle he marched into Essex, where he was joined by Sir William Honywood with 2,000 horse and foot.

On the 8rd of July an ordinance was passed in the House of Commons for raising £14,000 from the estates of such of the Royalists in Kent and Essex as had joined

in the insurrection, which was followed by another for sequestering the estates of the Kentish delinquents.* CHAP. XXIX.

The whole county was thus subdued by the Parliament, except the castles of Deal, Walmer, and Sandown, which at the time of the defection of the fleet had fallen into the hands of their opponents, who still held them.

In the meantime the Prince of Wales† had assumed the command of the fleet, and having detained some merchants' vessels which had arrived in the Downs, he wrote to the Lord Mayor offering to release them if the City of London would send him £20,000. On the 4th of August the House took this letter into consideration, and passed a resolution declaring that all who aided Prince Charles by sea or land were traitors and rebels.

The three castles of Deal, Walmer, and Sandown were now closely besieged by the army of the Parliament, and Prince Charles, hoping to raise the siege, landed 500 soldiers and 800 seamen, with their officers, to encounter the forces under the command of Colonel Rich and Colonel Hewson, and Major Husband's horse, who were entrenched at Deal.

The Prince's party effected a landing on the 14th of August, and proceeding by Upper Deal, selected the marshes for their action and retreat. Being discovered, 800 musqueteers and 100 horse were suddenly prepared for service. Major Husband, unwilling to attack them in the marshes, feigned a retreat, which induced them to advance on firmer ground; the horse at once flanked them, and were almost in their rear when the musqueteers advanced and charged, and put the Prince's party in disorder. Nearly 200 were slain on the spot, many of them men of rank and position, and 100 prisoners were taken; among them were the Commander-in-Chief (Major General Gib-

The engagement at Deal.

Rushworth,
Vol. VII.,
p. 1228.

* The composition finally ordered to be paid was one-fourth of the value of their estates.

† One of the Prince's frigates was seized near Margate, and a packet of letters from the Prince forwarded to the House. One of them authorised the captain of the frigate to seize and sink all vessels aiding the Parliamentary cause.

CHAP. XXIX.

Surrender
of Deal,
Sandown,
and Walmer
Castles.

State Papers,*
Dom. 1648,
No. 78.

Mr. Hales.

son), Sir John Boys, Major Burrridge, Major Denn, &c. The loss on the other side was comparatively small, at least, such is Major Husband's report to the Parliament.

Within a few days after this engagement Prince Charles proceeded with the fleet to Yarmouth, and the Earl of Warwick, the Parliamentary admiral, sailed to the Downs, when the three castles of Deal, Sandown, and Walmer surrendered, and were ordered by the Parliament to be put in repair. A correspondence also took place respecting the dangerous state of Dover Castle.

During the months of May and June, 1648, all Kent had become the seat of war and pillage, but by the end of August the Parliament was successful in every part of the county, while the King was still in confinement in Carisbrook Castle.*

Thus ended the rising of the Kentish Royalists in 1648. The attachment of Mr. Edward Hales to their cause impelled him on his own security to raise £80,000 for his ill-fated sovereign; and, though he survived his grandfather, and succeeded in 1654 to the baronetcy and extensive Kentish estates, in consequence of the pecuniary obligations he had incurred for the King he was never able afterwards to reside in England. He married Anne, the fourth daughter of Thomas Lord Wotton, of Boughton Malherbe, who died without issue male; and Mr. Hales, in right of his wife, succeeded to his Canterbury estates. He died abroad, leaving an only son, Edward, who, following the example of his father, proved, as we shall find, an influential and zealous adherent of James II.

* If the Prince of Wales, instead of remaining in the Downs, had appeared before the Isle of Wight, some writers conceive that the King would have recovered his liberty.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.—THE COMMONWEALTH.—KENTISH MANSIONS, &c., PLUNDERED.—HOTHFIELD PARK.—SURVEY OF THE SEVEN HUNDREDS IN THE WEALD.—RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—SHEERNESS.—DUTCH FLEET IN THE THAMES.—THE DOVER TREATY.—JAMES II. A ROMAN CATHOLIC.—CASE OF SIR EDWARD HALES (THE YOUNGER).—THE KING'S ABDICATION, DETENTION AT FAVERSHAM, RETURN TO LONDON, AND FLIGHT TO ST. GERMAIN.

THE insurrections in Kent and Essex having been crushed by the skill and promptitude of Fairfax, and those in Wales by the surrender of Pembroke Castle to Cromwell, the revolutionary storm increased, and at length burst on the devoted head of King Charles. The terrible sentence pronounced by Serjeant Bradshaw, the President of the High Court of Justice, was read by Andrew Broughton, the clerk of the court, from a scroll of vellum. This Broughton was either a native or inhabitant of Maidstone. His residence was in Earl Street, and he practised as an attorney there. He was Mayor of Maidstone in 1659, and removed from his office at the Restoration. The medical man (Thomas Trapham) who embalmed the King's body was also an inhabitant of Maidstone, and when he had sewed on the head brutally remarked that he had "sewed on the head of a goose."

CHAP. XXX.

30th May,
1649.

Ante, p. 521.

Newton's
Maidstone,
pp. 134, 136.

Ib., p. 137.

I can only speak generally of the riots and destruction of property in Kent which took place during the latter end

CHAP. XXX.

of the reign of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. The victors, now under no control, were wildly roving over the county. The deer in the Royal Parks, including those at Eltham and of the Kentish loyalists, were slaughtered and consumed; the Cathedrals at Canterbury and Rochester and many of our parish churches were desecrated and plundered, while the mansions were not spared. We have seen that Leeds Castle became a prison. Surrenden Ante, p. 532. Dering was four times plundered by the Parliamentary soldiers. East Sutton, the residence of Sir Robert Filmer,* who had exasperated the King's enemies by employing his pen in the defence of the rights of the Crown, Vol. II., p. 418. was (according to Hasted) plundered ten times. Soldiers were despatched to search and ransack the house of Sir Thomas Peyton, at Knolton.

Lady Mary, the widow of Thomas Lord Wotton, of Ante, p. 458. Boughton Malherbe, was at this time residing at St. Augustine's Palace;† it was twice plundered by the populace, and a large picture representing Our Saviour's Passion was taken from the mansion and burnt by order of the Puritan mayor.

Hasted,
Vol. IV., p. 662.Hothfield
Park, A.D. 1649.

Ante, p. 540.

It may not be uninteresting to such of my readers as reside in the south-eastern borders of the Weald of Kent, to know that John, the second Earl of Thanet, during the latter end of the reign of Charles I., fenced in and made a park of Great and Little Ripton, in Ashford (which the family had acquired by purchase of Sir Michael Sondes, of Throwley, in the reign of Elizabeth) and Sandhurst, with the warren, and all the woodlands adjoining. This park was at least seven miles in circumference; but it was found to be "so far from the mansion at Hothfield, and so near the town of Ashford, where in the late rebellious times soldiers were always quartered, who could not be kept from killing the deer and disturbing the park

* In consideration of his father's sufferings and loyalty Sir Robert Filmer's second son was created a Baronet by Charles II.

† The green adjoining St. Augustine's Palace derived its name from her.

(added to which there was the inconvenience of the London road crossing through the midst of it), that the Earl disparked it about the year 1655, and turned it again into farms."*

CHAP. XXX.

During the Commonwealth, Surveys were ordered to be made, not only of the Crown lands of "Charles Stewarte, late King of England," but also of the possessions of the Church, with a view to the sale thereof, and also to the abolition of all offices belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church. The returns of the Crownlands, as far as the Weald of Kent is concerned, included "the Seven Hundreds,"† commonly called the "Seven Hundreds of Cranbrooke."‡

Parl. Surveys.
Kent, No. 3.

The Seven
Hundreds.

The emoluments are thus described :—

"All that the common fine money, chief rent, sheriff's aid money, or tything silver, or by what name or names else distinguished, due and payable by the several townships within the Hundreds, commonly called or known by the names of the Hundreds of Cranbrooke, Blackborne, Selbritten, Rolvenden, and Great Barnfield."

Ante, Vol. I.,
Chap. XXXII.

The Survey further states that there belongeth to each Hundred a court leet, where the constables and bors-holders are elected, and all nuisances are amerced by the steward and jury, which court is held wherever the Lord or steward may appoint. Also, a Court Baron, usually held every three weeks, at Cranbrook, where plea is holden of any sum under 40s.

The Manor of Newenden is also returned as late part of the Royal possessions. The Survey states that a yearly Court Baron and Court Leet were held at Newenden, and that the quit rents amounted to £4 10s., and the other payments to 80s. per annum.

Newenden.
Parl. Surveys,
Kent, No. 44.

* I am indebted for this information to an ancient terrier of the Kent estates of the Earl of Thanet, kindly lent to me by Mr. Edward Norwood, of Charing.

† At this time reduced to six, by the transfer of Tenterden to the Cinque Ports.

‡ I am induced to think that the Seven Hundreds then enjoyed a separate and distinct civil jurisdiction, for I find the justices of this district made a return of their proceedings in regulating ale-houses, punishing rogues, and binding apprentices. Indeed, the rapid growth of the population of Cranbrook and the adjoining hundreds must have made it necessary.

CHAP. XXX.

There are several returns of the possessions of the Church in the Weald, including the Rectory of Tenterden, let on lease to Sir Edward Hales, Bart.; also, the Rectory of Cranbrook, let on lease to John Roberts, Esq., who was liable to the repair of "the Market Cross of Cranbrook."

Restoration of
Charles II.

Pursuing my outline of the early history of the county, I will next notice the restoration of King Charles II. His Majesty, accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of York (James II.) and Gloucester, landed on the beach at Dover on the 25th of May, 1660, where General Monk as the head of the nobility and gentry of Kent and the neighbouring counties waited to receive him. Charles embraced Monk as his benefactor, and bade him walk by his side; and the General acted as his escort to Whitehall.

Dover.

Canterbury.

The King's progress to London bore the appearance of a triumphal procession; he did not rest at Dover, but "without stay went to Canterbury, being accompanied with General Monke and most of the nobility and gentry of England. Such a show on Barham Downe was never seene, and never the like occasion I hope." The King and his brothers took up their abode at St. Augustine's Monastery.* The road throughout the journey was thronged with crowds of people anxious to testify their loyalty. At Rochester, the Mayor and Corporation received the King with great demonstrations of joy, and presented him with a silver basin and ewer. Charles rested that night at Rochester, at the house of Colonel Gibbons. The army received their King on Blackheath. According to Clarendon, the King had not proceeded farther than Canterbury when he complained that Royalty with its pomp and joys brought with it its disgusts also, for the Cavaliers lost no time in reminding him of the sacrifices they had made, and preferring their claims for office and reward.

Arch.
Cantiana,
Vol. V., p. 123.

Rochester.

History of
Rochester,
p. 7.

Two eminent eye-witnesses, of adverse opinions and

* Hasted says they remained at the late Palace of Lady Wotton, in St. Augustine's, three nights. [?]-Vol. IV., p. 433.

feelings, have recorded their impressions on the King's entry into London: the royalist Evelyn, and the republican Ludlow. The contrast is interesting :

CHAP. XXX.

"29th May, 1660. This day His Majesty Charles II. came to London after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being seventeen years. This was also his birth-day, and with a triumph of above 3,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy, the way strew'd with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine, the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners, lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet, the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, myriads of people flocking even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the City, even from two in the afternoon till nine at night."

Diary of
John Evelyn,
Vol. I., p. 309.

While Ludlow says—

"Most of those who had attended this entry, finding the streets through which they had passed to be full of people, returned to the City by way of Holborn, by which means I had a view of them from the house where I then was. And I confess it was a strange sight to me to see the horse that had formerly belonged to our army now put upon an employment so different from that which they had at first undertaken, especially when I considered that for the most part they had not been raised out of the meanest of the people, and without distinction, as other armies had been; but that they consisted of such as had engaged themselves, from a spirit of liberty, in the defence of their rights and religion; but having been corrupted under the tyranny of Cromwell, and kept up as a standing force against the people, they had forgotten their just engagements, and were become as mercenary as other troops are accustomed to be."

Mem. II., 20.

The plots and disturbances that followed the Restoration are foreign to my subject, except that the shelter given by the Dutch to the Republican refugees eventually produced a war between England and Holland, in the course of which the whole nation suffered a deep humiliation, though the immediate blow fell on Kent.

The Castle of Queenborough had been destroyed by the Parliamentarians, and thus the Thames, the Medway, and Chatham Dockyard were left wholly unprotected. Charles II. saw this, and as a temporary measure he erected a small fort at Sheerness; but when the Dutch war of 1665 broke out it was feared that this might be insufficient; a fort royal was therefore determined on, and the King, who really possessed habits of business, though he seldom

Sheerness.

CHAP. XXX.
A.D. 1667.

The Dutch
Fleet in the
Thames.

Lingard,
Vol. IX., p. 72.

The Dover
Treaty.

exerted them, undertook to superintend the work; and in the beginning of 1667 he took two journeys to Sheerness in the depth of winter for this purpose. Its completion, however, was neglected.

De Ruyter appeared with a Dutch fleet of seventy sail off the Nore in the month of June, 1667. He occupied the mouths of the Thames and the Medway with his ships, razed the fort of Sheerness to the ground, and committed fearful havoc upon the ships and arsenal at Chatham. Albemarle, indignant, but not disheartened, hastened to Upnor Castle, where the night was employed in mounting guns and collecting ammunition. In the morning the batteries were manned with volunteers from the navy, but the return of the tide exhibited a sight most galling to the pride of Englishmen—the Dutch fleet advancing triumphantly up the river.

The Dutch admiral levied contributions as a conqueror upon our county, and caused dismay to the Capital. Being beaten off by Sir Edward Sprague at Gravesend, he returned to the open sea, menaced Harwich, and then proceeded in triumph to Holland. This disgrace sunk deep into the heart of the Monarch and his subjects.

Next in order I must notice the secret treaty between the Kings of France and England, which has acquired the name of "The Dover Treaty," because it was finally concluded there in May, 1670. Charles was attached to his sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, and Louis, anxious for some alteration in it before it was finally closed, arranged that she should pay a short visit to her brother at Dover. The Duke of York left London with the King to attend this meeting, but on the road he was sent back to take care of the Metropolis. Henrietta failed in her object, and it was now signed and sealed. By this disgraceful document Charles bound himself to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and to join the French King in a war against Spain. To assist Charles in suppressing any English insurrection the King of France was to grant him an aid of two millions of livres, and

provide an armed force of 6,000 men.* For this treaty Charles himself is chiefly answerable. CHAP. XXX.

The last visit that this King paid to Kent was, I believe, on 30th June, 1688, when, accompanied by his brother, the Duke of York, he landed at Kingsgate, in the Isle of Thanet, en route to Dover. Hence the name, Bartholomew's Gate (by which it was formerly called), was changed to Kingsgate. Macaulay,
Vol. I., p. 212.

Kingsgate,
Isle of Thanet.

Charles II. died 6th Feb., 1685, an avowed Romanist. He had no issue by his Queen, Catherine of Portugal, though he left several illegitimate children. Death of
Charles II.

During this reign the arts improved and trade met with encouragement, while the wealth and comforts of the people increased. It has been justly remarked that "whatever were the vices or personal failings of the King, he never forfeited the love of his subjects." He built the western part of the noble Palace at Greenwich, which when completed was turned into a Royal Hospital for seamen, long so renowned, but which of late has been converted to other uses. He also founded the Observatory in Greenwich Park, which still serves its original object.†

As early as the second Sunday after his brother's death James II. gave open but honest proof of his attachment to the Church of Rome by ordering the folding doors of the Queen's Chapel to be thrown open, that his presence at Mass might be noticed by the attendants in the ante-chamber. At once Protestantism was seen to be in danger, and a religious storm arose, which spread throughout the kingdom, and soon drove this ill-advised monarch from the throne. James II.

Lingard,
Vol. X., p. 61.

The King had conferred honours and offices on several Roman Catholics, and among them on Sir Edward Hales (the son of our hero of 1648), who was the Colonel of a Sir Edward
Hales.

* Of this treaty much has been said, but little known; what became of the copy transmitted to France has never been ascertained. A counterpart was confided to Sir Thomas Clifford, of Chudleigh, and his descendant, the late Lord Clifford, permitted Dr. Lingard to publish it in his *History of England*.—Note BBBB., Vol. IX., p. 92.

† Chelsea Hospital, for invalid soldiers, also owes its origin to him.

CHAP. XXX.

Ellis's Correspondence,
Vol. I., p. 44.

Lingard,
Vol. X., p. 103.

regiment of infantry.* Now by the Test Act passed in the previous reign [25 Charles II., A.D. 1678], he was prohibited under a penalty of £500 from holding this commission until he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which as a Roman Catholic he could not do. Here and in other similar cases the King claimed the right of dispensing with this provision, and rather than lose the services of Sir Edward Hales he did so. The public disputed this right, and to bring the matter to an issue, proceedings were instituted against the Kentish Baronet by his coachman (Arthur Godden), to recover the penalty of £500. The trial took place at the assizes at Rochester, and Sir Edward† was convicted. He pleaded his dispensation under the Great Seal, and the Judges of the Court of King's Bench were appealed to, who gave judgment for Sir Edward, they being of opinion that the King could in particular cases dispense with penal laws.‡

James II. continued to propagate and even enforce his Romanising opinions, not only upon the Judges and other officers of the State, but also upon the bishops, clergy, and universities, until the nation became clamorous. But that which filled up the measure of his offences was the prosecution, trial, and committal to the Tower of the seven bishops. Among other lucrative posts held by Sir Edward Hales, was that of Lieutenant of the Tower. As an apostate he was not disposed to treat his prisoners with kindness, and learning with indignation that the sol-

A.D. 1683.

* He had been converted to Popery, but, when questioned, had affirmed that he was a Protestant with a solemnity which did little credit to his principles. His disguise was no longer necessary. Sir Edward publicly apostatized, and was rewarded with the command of a regiment.—*Macaulay*, Vol. II., p. 84.

† On referring to the State Trials, Vol. VII., p. 611, I find that in these proceedings Sir Edward Hales is described as of Hackington [St. Stephen's, Canterbury], which had *now* become the family residence.

‡ The decision of the Judges, in common with many others during this reign, has been much censured, but it may be fairly questioned whether this particular one was contrary to the then existing law. In the "Declaration of Rights" which followed the landing of the Prince of Orange, it was asserted that the exercise of any such power was illegal; and, accordingly, in the Bill of Rights it was provided that the King should not in future do it unless authorised by Act of Parliament.

diers on guard were drinking the health of the bishops, he ordered the officers to see that it was done no more: they, however, could not prevent it. But among the marks of respect shown to the imprisoned fathers of the Church which annoyed the King most was a visit of condolence from ten Nonconformist ministers.

CHAP. XXX.

Rapin,
Vol. II., p. 777.

The Prince of Orange, on the 8rd November, 1688, invited by men of character, and influence, entered the British Channel with a large fleet,* and anchored between Calais and Dover, waiting for reinforcements. The landing of the Prince's army took place at Torbay on 5th November (a remarkable coincidence), and he slowly advanced towards London.

The King preferred flight to deposition, and early on the morning of the 11th December, dressed in a plain suit and a bob wig, he descended the back stairs at Whitehall, accompanied only by Sir Edward Hales† (who appears to have had great influence over the King), Sheldon (one of the royal equerries), and a French page. A hackney coach conveyed them to the horse ferry at Millbank, and as they crossed the Thames the King threw the great seal into the river.‡ At Vauxhall they found horses in waiting, and, with the aid of relays provided by Sheldon, they reached Elmley Ferry, between Milton and Faversham, by ten in the morning. A custom-house hoy had been engaged to convey them to France, but, the ship wanting ballast, they were forced to run her ashore near Shellness, so that a tide was lost.

Lingard,
Vol. X., p. 189.

Macaulay,
Vol. II., p. 553.

The reader shall have first Rapin's plain account of the attempted flight, and then one from the more modern and romantic pen of Lord Macaulay.

"The vessel," says Rapin, "not being able to sail immediately by reason of a tempestuous wind, Sir Edward Hales, one of the King's

Vol. II., p. 781.

* Rapin, the historian, was on board the fleet, consisting of between 500 and 600 ships, and says he was wonderfully struck with the sight.

† Macaulay describes him as the most unpopular man in the realm. As a blind, he had been a few days before dismissed from his office of Lieutenant of the Tower.—*Clarendon's Diary*, Nov. 29th, 1688.

‡ After remaining there many months, it was accidentally caught by a fishing net and dragged up.

CHAP. XXX.

Kennet, p. 535.
Burnet, p. 769.

Vol. II., p. 569,
quoting
Clarke's Life
of James II.,
Vol. II., p. 251,
and a Letter in
the Harl.
MSS., 6852.

attendants, sent his attendant to the post-office at Faversham. His livery was known by a man, who told others that Sir Edward was not far off. The footman was followed to the seaside and seen to make signs to some people on board a bark, whereupon the fishermen and other persons of Faversham immediately boarded the vessel where the King was. Sir Edward was soon known, and the King being took for his chaplain had many indignities put upon him. When searching the King they found 400 guineas and several valuable seals and jewels, which they took from him. Among the people who crowded into the ship there happened to be a constable who knew the King, and throwing himself at his feet begged him to forgive the rudeness of the mob, and ordered restitution to be made of what had been taken from him. The King received the jewels and the seals, but gave the 400 guineas among them. After this he desired to be gone, but the people by a sort of violence conducted James to a public inn in the town. Here he sent for the Earl of Winchilsea, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, who prevailed on him not to leave the Kingdom, but to return towards London."

"Midnight," says Lord Macaulay, "was approaching before the vessel began to float. By that time the news that the King had disappeared, that the country was without a Government, and that London was in confusion, had travelled fast down the Thames, and wherever it spread had produced outrage and misrule. The rude fishermen of the Kentish coast eyed the hoy with suspicion and with cupidity. It was whispered that some persons in the garb of gentlemen had gone on board of her in great haste. Perhaps they were Jesuits: perhaps they were rich. Fifty or sixty boatmen, animated at once by hatred of Popery and love of plunder, boarded the hoy just as she was about to make sail. The passengers were told they must go on shore and be examined by a magistrate. The King's appearance excited suspicion. 'It is Father Petre,' cried one ruffian; 'I know him by his lean jaws,' 'Search the hatchet-faced old Jesuit,' became the general cry. He was rudely pulled and pushed about. His money and watch were taken from him. He had about him his coronation ring and some other trinkets of great value, but these escaped the search of the robbers, who indeed were so ignorant of jewellery that they took his diamond buckles for bits of glass.

"At length the prisoners were put on shore and carried to an inn. A crowd had assembled there to see them; and James, though disguised by a wig of different shape and colour from that which he usually wore, was at once recognized. For a moment the rabble seemed to be overawed: but the exhortations of their chiefs revived their courage; and the sight of Hales, whom they well knew and bitterly hated, inflamed their fury. His park was in the neighbourhood, and at that very moment a band of rioters was employed in pillaging the house and shooting the deer. The multitude assured the King that they would not hurt him, but they refused to let him depart. It chanced that the Earl of Winchilsea,* a Protestant, but a zealous royalist, head of the Finch family, and first cousin of Nottingham, was then at Canterbury. As soon as he learned what had

* Lingard says that James had appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Kent.—Vol. X., p. 181.

happened he hastened to the coast, accompanied by some Kentish gentlemen. By their intervention the King was removed to a more convenient lodging, but he was still a prisoner. The mob kept constant watch round the house to which he had been carried, and some of the ringleaders lay at the door of his bedroom. His demeanour, meantime, was that of a man, all the nerves of whose mind had been broken by the load of misfortunes. Sometimes he spoke so haughtily that the rustics who had charge of him were provoked into making insolent replies. Then he betook himself to supplication: 'Let me go,' he cried, 'get me a boat. The Prince of Orange is hunting for my life. If you do not let me fly now, it will be too late. My blood be on your heads. "He that is not with me is against me."' On this last text he preached a sermon half an hour long. He harangued on a strange variety of subjects: on the disobedience of the Fellows of Magdalen College, on the miracles wrought by Saint Winifred's well, on the disloyalty of the black coats, and on the virtues of a piece of the true cross which he had unfortunately lost. 'What have I done?' he demanded of the Kentish squires who attended him. 'Tell me the truth. What error have I committed?' Those to whom he put these questions were too humane to return the answer which must have risen to their lips, and listened to his wild talk in pitying silence."

CHAP. XXX.

As soon as the flight of the King was known, his chief adherents, apprehensive of the consequences, prepared to follow him, while large bodies in London, under pretence of searching for arms, burst into the houses of the Catholics and plundered them. Chapels were burnt or demolished; and outrages were committed by sea and land, until plundering the defenceless became almost a trade, especially among the fishermen on our coast. Thus large bodies of the populace were in arms, and captured the same day, at Ashford, the Earl of Salisbury (a convert to the Church of Rome); and in the Isle of Thanet they apprehended Sir Charles Hales and the Earl of Peterborough (another convert to Rome). Both Earls were carried to the Tower.* Coaches containing mere alarmists, some disguised as servants, as well as those flying to the Continent from justice, were stopped and searched. One of them that entered Faversham contained Jenner, one of

Lingard,
Vol. X., p. 182.

* Lord Macaulay, Vol. III., p. 510, calls Salisbury an idiot and Peterborough a dotard. The Commons decided that as both had joined the Church of Rome both should be committed for high treason and impeached. Sir Edward Hales, of humbler station but of better understanding, was also committed as a traitor.

CHAP. XXX.

the Judges of the Common Pleas, Graham, a Commissioner, of Excise, and the King's Solicitor, Burton; and they were detained as prisoners. Messengers were dispatched to Ashford, Canterbury, and Maidstone for additional guards, as a rescue was feared. The gates of the city of Canterbury were closed.

Tindal,
Vol. I., p. 22.

Two gentlemen of Kent were dispatched to the Prince of Orange, at Windsor, to inform him of the capture of the King. The Prince ordered Zuylestein to proceed in quest of him and desire him to stay at Rochester, but missing his way, the message was never delivered.* In the meantime James wrote to Whitehall to inform his friends that he was a prisoner in the hands of the rabble at Faversham. This letter, dispatched by a poor countryman, was read at the Council Chamber, and an order was issued that the Earl of Faversham should proceed to the King with 200 of the Life Guards to protect his person. Lord Faversham, acting under the advice of Sir Basil Dixwell (who commanded under the Earl of Winchilsea the troops quartered there), left his troops at Sittingbourne to prevent a collision with the Faversham fishermen and proceeded to the King, who resolved to return to the Capital. This change in his mind, it is said, was brought about by the Earl of Winchilsea, who we have seen in his interviews strongly advised James to lay aside his design of quitting England. The King was at this time a guest of the Mayor (Captain Thomas Southouse), in Court-street, guarded by soldiers and sailors.† While Sir Edward Hales and the other prisoners were detained in the Court Hall, James, accompanied by Lords Faversham, Hillborough, Middleton, and Yarmouth, proceeded to Sittingbourne and thence to Rochester, where he rested that night, and arrived at Whitehall the next day. A few

Lingard,
Vol. X., p. 183,
quoting Life of
James II.,
pp. 259, 261.
Clarendon's
Diary, p. 226.

* The accuracy of this statement is questioned.

† Ten other Roman Catholic prisoners and three Protestants were detained at Faversham until the 30th of December, when some were conducted to the Tower, others to Newgate, and the remainder released. Among the former were "John Labon [Leyburn], *Bishop of Canterbury*, Mr. Gifford, *Titular Bishop of Oxford*, and two priests." [?]*—Jacob's Faversham*, p. 212. Leyburn and Gifford were vicars apostolic,

hours after he had quitted Faversham Sir Edward Hales was removed to the gaol at Maidstone, and afterwards to the Tower, where he was confined eighteen months. On his release he proceeded to France and was received with great favour by James II., who created him Earl of Tenterden and Viscount Tunstall. He died in France A.D. 1695.* The arrest of King James gave a check to the ambitious views of the Prince of Orange, and his arrival in London embarrassed the Prince's partisans. To get rid of the King, they ordered him to quit the Palace and take up his abode at Ham, at which he was alarmed, and asked to be permitted to return to Rochester. This was readily granted, as it was seen to be the first step in his flight. On the morning of the 18th of December he proceeded in the royal barge, under an escort of Dutch troops to Gravesend, and slept there. The next day he arrived at Rochester, and after spending four days there (a week according to some writers) without being under any restraint, he quitted that city in the dead of night on the 22nd, having stolen out at the back door of Sir Richard Head's house; he went through the garden to the shore of the Medway and embarked for France. A tedious voyage of two days brought him to Ambleteuse, and he proceeded thence to St. Germain's, where he joined his wife and child, and was received by Louis with munificence and sympathy.

CHAP. XXX.

Macaulay,
Vol. II., p. 593.

* Hasted, Note (u) vol. ii., p. 577, under 'Tunstall' says, "I have been well assured that his son, Sir John Hales, was offered a Peerage by George I., but as the Baronet claimed the title, &c., according to the above creation, it was deemed an affront to the Crown, and no more was thought of it."

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONTINUED.—PLOT AGAINST THE LIFE OF WILLIAM III.—THE CLOTHIERS AND WOOL SMUGGLING.—THE IRON WORKS AND ROADS IN THE WEALD.

CHAP. XXXI.

A.D. 1689.

BEFORE the end of January, 1689, a Convention Parliament assembled, which, taking into consideration the flight of James, first pronounced the Throne "vacant," and next adopted a Resolution that "William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, should be King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and of the Dominions thereunto belonging, during their lives and the life of the survivor of them." Accordingly, they were proclaimed 18th of February, 1689. The Scottish Parliament took similar steps soon after. But each of the two great parties which sought to rule the nation soon became dissatisfied with their new Sovereign, and a re-action of public feeling followed; many of the clergy refused to take the oaths required of them, and among other plots, one was formed for William's assassination. Sir George Barclay, a Scotchman, was despatched from St. Germain's to England to organize the scheme, and his proceedings afford us some information respecting the smuggling so extensively carried on along our coast at this time. Sir George hastened to the coast with £800 in his portmanteau, and embarked on board a privateer which was employed by the Jacobites as a regular packet-boat between France and England. This vessel conveyed

Plot against the life of William III., aided by a smuggler in Romney Marsh.

him to a desolate spot on the shore of Romney Marsh. About half a mile from the landing place dwelt a smuggler named Hunt, who had no other neighbours than a few lookers.* His dwelling was well situated for a contraband traffic; the silks and lace landed here were carried through the Weald by pack-horses; but since the revolution Hunt had discovered, says Lord Macaulay (who bases his statement on a deposition of Hunt) that of all cargoes a cargo of traitors paid best, and a clandestine Post with London was established. Twenty picked men made their way from France through Romney Marsh to London by his aid, to take part with Sir George Barclay in this plot; which, however, was fortunately discovered, and the principal offenders were brought to justice. Writers are divided in opinion as to whether or not it had the sanction of King James.

CHAP. XXXI.

Vol. II., p. 650.

Let us now return to our Kentish woollen manufacture, and consider its state and condition during the seventeenth century.

The Clothiers.
Ante,
pp. 321, 479.

Before I do this I must notice a curious draft of a Bill † among the Records in the House of Lords, intituled "An Acte for the Mayntenance of Cloathing within the Parish of Cranbrooke, in the Countie of Kent, and within eight miles of the same Parish." It appears to have been brought in about 1592-3, and I propose to insert an abstract of it, as it attributes the depression then existing in the clothing trade to the ironworks in this locality, and strangely mixes up the two manufactures.

Hist. MSS
Commission,
Third Rep.
pp., p. 7.

It recites that—

"The trade of making and dyeing cloth has, for a long time, employed the poor people within twenty miles of Cranbrooke, and the greatest number of the inhabitants thereabouts have lived thereupon. It is now feared, that unless speedy remedy be provided, the said trade will fall into decay, by reason of the great spoil of woods, lately made within the said circuit, chiefly by iron-works or mills lately erected, which has caused a great scarcity of wood—oak, beech, and ash trees being cut down 'without all respect.' That there is and will be a great lack of

* A local term for shepherds and herdsmen.

† It passed the Second Reading in the Lords, but proceeded no further. The Commons' Journal is wanting for this period.

CHAP. XXXI.

The cloth
trade in the
Weald.

timber for building houses, ships, &c., which will result in the decay of such occupations as carpenters, shipwrights, wheelwrights, and many others. For remedy whereof, it is enacted, that no new iron or steel mills, nor any house for the manufacture of glass, within the parish of Cranbrooke, or eight miles thereof, shall be erected. None but the present owners, or their descendants, to continue existing iron-mills. Mill-owners to use for fuel proper trees, and such only as shall grow upon their own land. Repeals certain provisos in Acts 35 Hen. VIII. and 1 Eliz. (for the preservation of timber), which *except* the Weald of Kent from the benefit of these statutes. Recites Act of 23 Eliz., against the use of 'a deceitful kind of stuff called logwood, *alias* blackwood,' in dyeing, and enacts heavier penalties against offenders. Further recites Act of 5 and 6 Edw. VI., for the true making of woollen cloths, and limits length and breadth of Kentish cloths, and also of Northern cloths, in order that the one may be distinguished from the other."

This Bill no doubt expressed the opinion of many of the landowners of the district, an opinion held by Evelyn a century later; but it may be questioned whether the manufacture of iron had any more to do with the decay of the cloth trade than Tenterden steeple with the Goodwin Sands, especially as no iron works of any magnitude were carried on in and about Cranbrook. The cloth trade suffered more from the restrictive legislation of the Stuarts, especially by the ill-advised prohibition in 1616 of the export of undyed or white cloths, which had hitherto comprised the great bulk of the manufactured exports. This was soon followed by the emigration of between 2,000 and 3,000 Kentish and other clothworkers, who went in a body to the Palatinate, and there established woollen manufactories. Though the clothing district of the Weald was little exposed to the ravages of the civil war, we may well believe that its trade suffered, and at the Restoration it was found to be in a declining state. The export trade was ruined by the heavy duties imposed by the Dutch; and the steps taken to revive it, as by prohibiting the export of wool, and ordering shrouds to be made of sheep's wool only, failed to produce any useful effect.

I have already stated that the ample supply of fullers' earth in the vicinity must have been a strong incentive for the settlement of the Flemish clothiers in and about Cranbrook, and I have also referred to the fulling mills,

Henry VIII. appears to have once possessed two of these, called Bradford mills, with other property in Horsmonden, which formerly belonged to Sir Thomas Poynings; they were let to a fuller named Walter Sycotte, of Cranbrook.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Augmentation
Off. Kent,
Eliz. Roll,
6, No. 50.

Of the habitations of the numerous workmen located in the district we have probably no remains; nor is this much to be wondered at. With an abundant supply of clay and timber, they could secure shelter and warmth, and as there is not, I believe, a known vestige of these dwellings, we may conclude that what was "sufficient for the day" satisfied them. The residences of the employers with their gable ends were more substantial; and beside the factories attached to them, they possessed large and lofty halls for the deposit of their stock. Willesley House, in Cranbrook, the ancient residence of the Westons, and now of Mr. G. B. O'Neil, the artist, enables us to form some notion of their extent and construction; others may be seen in the same parish, and at Goudhurst, Biddenden, Headcorn, and elsewhere in the Weald.

Their
dwellings and
habits.

The domestic habits of these mechanics were peaceful and they were a contented happy race; still they entered warmly into all religious controversies at home and abroad, and could boast of the suffering of many a martyr in his struggles for a free and open Bible. Much of this prosperity and contentment was due to the liberal treatment which the Flemish settlers originally experienced at the hands of Edward III. His invitation was not based on a narrow, selfish, and bigoted policy. He wanted his subjects to learn to manufacture at home the wool they grew, rather than send it abroad, and that they might be properly taught, he treated their foreign teachers liberally, and protected their persons and property. Intermarriages followed, and before a century elapsed all distinctions between the two races had disappeared.

What a contrast to the cruel treatment which the Irish

* They were held of the Crown by a family named Brattell, in 1592, and were accidentally burnt down, but afterwards rebuilt.

CHAP. XXXI. experienced from their English rulers. Intermarriages between the English and Irish were forbidden, and even the Irish Roman Catholic clergy could not hold any preferment in their own unhappy country. Can we be surprised at what has followed?

The leading
Manufacturing
Families of
the district.

I will now name a few of the influential families who had established themselves in the Weald as manufacturers of broad-cloth. Roger Pattenson, who came out of Yorkshire, purchased Ibornden, in Biddenden, and died in 1638. The family of the Hendens, whose seat it is supposed was originally Hindon, in Woodchurch, removed to Biddenden Place. Sir John Henden served the office of Sheriff in the reign of Charles I., and was also Bailiff of the Seven Hundreds. Robert Gybbon purchased the Hole estate, in Rolvenden. His son John carried on the business on the death of his father, and the estate continued in his descendants down to the middle of the 18th century. They were liberal benefactors to Benenden and Rolvenden. Another branch of the family was settled at Frid, in Bethersden. The family of Wilmott were also clothiers in the district at this time, and possessed property at Bethersden. Also the Hovendens, of Frizley, and the Holdens, of Hawkrigde, in Cranbrook, and John Horsmonden, of Goudhurst, who was a benefactor to that parish. Then there were the Maplesdens, of Rolvenden and Marden. The family of James Skeats for three generations were also influential clothiers, and carried on business at Westcross, in Tenterden, and served the office of mayor of that town in 1648, and on two other occasions. They appear to have been highly respected. In an old day or waste-book of Mr. Skeats, still preserved, there are entries from the carriers' accounts, shewing that he sent to London in 1632, fifty pieces of cloth; in 1633, forty-three pieces; in 1634, thirty-eight and a half; in 1635, forty pieces; but in 1636 only twenty-six pieces! This waste-book also contains entries of the wages paid, the charges for fulling the cloth, and the dyeing of the wool; also for dye, olive oil,

carriage, &c. Other papers connected with this family afford interesting information respecting the social state of the Weald at this time, as they were executors to many of their neighbours.*

CHAP. XXXI.

The interesting and instructive paper on the ancient cloth trade of Cranbrook, read by Mr. William Tarbutt at the annual meeting of the members of the Kent Archaeological Society, held in that town in July, 1878, records some of the business transactions of the Hovendens of Frizley about the same period. According to the registers of deaths, the masters and workmen employed were called clothiers, broad-weavers, narrow-weavers, hammermen, pack-carriers, &c., the manufactured goods being at this time conveyed to London and other markets by pack-horses.

Dr. Fuller, whose "Worthies of England" was written about the middle of this century, under the manufactures of Kent writes, "Though clothing be diffused through many shires of England yet it is as vigorously applied here as in any other place, and Kentish cloth at the present keepeth up the credit thereof as high as before."

Vol. I., p. 479.

In Canterbury the cloth-market was for many years held in St. George's Street, near the White Friars; and the lane now known as Iron-bar-lane was described as "Venella,† quæ ducit à cloth market versus Burgate." This lane was also sometimes called "Thorough-hall-lane."

Somner,
pp. 130, 147.

This city continued to be one of the most important of the wool staples or markets, and was known as such to the French manufacturers of the seventeenth century.

In close connexion with the manufacture of cloth is the supply of wool, of which I will next speak.

Wool.

An abundant crop of acorns in days of yore was, we

Vol. I., p. 70.

* I am indebted to the late Mr. Edward Talbot, formerly of Tenterden, for the above information respecting this family. Mr. Talbot was a native of Leeds, and as a youth remembered that before the factory system was generally adopted, there were many districts in Yorkshire where cloth was manufactured in the same way as it appears to have been done by the Skeats at Tenterden in the 17th century.

† A narrow or strait way.

CHAP. XXXI. have seen, considered of more importance than the trees on which they grew, so the fleeces of the sheep had been hitherto deemed of more value than their carcasses. But the several Statutes passed in this century controlling the exportation of wool deteriorated its value by encouraging the grazier to adopt a higher system of feeding, whereby better mutton and more wool were produced, though the latter was inferior in quality and fineness.

Royal proclamations of James I. prohibited from time to time the exportation of wool, but it was not until the reign of Charles I. (April 17th, 1630) that the absolute prohibition was seriously determined on; and this in the first instance seems to have been done more as a source of revenue to the King, who granted licenses to favoured persons, than to satisfy the demands of the manufacturers. After the restoration in 1660 the export of wool was again strictly prohibited, as well as fullers' earth. The Plague of 1665 added to the depression in this and other trades.

These prohibitory laws and proclamations encouraged, as might have been expected, the smuggling of wool, and it was carried on to a great extent. From Romney Marsh at this time the greatest part of the fleeces were smuggled out of the country, being put on board French shallops by night, with well-armed crews to guard them.* Within two years 40,000 packs of wool were landed in Calais alone from the coasts of Kent and Sussex; for Romney Marsh men were not content with exporting their own wool but bought it in the Weald, conveyed it to the coast and shipped it off, while all attempts to secure a conviction of the offenders were defeated. These smugglers† were not men in the humbler walks of life, but persons of property, and even some who had the administration of justice at this time, which does not appear to have flowed in a very

Smuggling in
Sussex, by
W. D. Cooper,
Sussex Arch.,
Vol. X., p. 74.

* Andrew Marvel, writing in 1677, describes the owners as a *militia*, who in defiance of all authority so convey their wool to the shallops that the officers dare not offend them.

† Wool smugglers were called *Owlers*, because, I conclude, their work was usually performed at night. Others say that the smugglers imitated the hoot of the owl as a signal to their confederates.

pure channel. Consequently, very few convictions took place; the coast-men set the law at defiance, openly carrying the wool at shearing time on horses' backs to the sea shore, where French vessels were ready to receive them, and attacked fiercely anyone who ventured to interfere.

This "wool-running" or smuggling on our south-eastern coast during the seventeenth century was not confined to Romney Marsh, and is thus described in the "Historical Sketch of Wool and Woollen Manufactures of Great Britain :"—

"In 1670 Canterbury and Dover were represented as villanous dens infested with atrocious smugglers, and the bold shore of Kingsdown was then, as since, a favourite place of embarkation and debarkation. The shoals and tortuous channels which embarrassed the mouth of the Stour, and covered the approaches to the Sandhills and Sandwich, were peculiarly favourable to contraband trade. And all these facilities were enhanced by the fogs and storms of the whole coast, which, whilst they served to cover the operations of the smugglers, interrupted the vigilance of the cruisers by creating dangers which could be lightly regarded only by the experienced, bold, and skilful smuggling seamen, prompted by the incentive of large and rapid gains. These gains were double. The French and Dutch bid high for wool; the enormous duties levied upon French and Dutch liquors in England left a large margin for illicit importation, and those commodities found a ready sale in this country. Regardless, therefore, both of the dangers of the coast and of the penalties imposed upon them, the smugglers went on smuggling. The French bought the wool, and wondered. The smugglers smiled, drank, and sold brandy freely. Public morality and revenue suffered. The clothiers continued to growl; Parliament and the Council issued more decrees; and the world wagged on."

CHAP. XXXI.

p. 110.

By an Act of 1674 (13 and 14 Charles II., c. 18) it was declared felony to export wool. Even this did not put a stop to smuggling, for the French boasted that their cloth-workers could always obtain sufficient supplies from England as well as Scotland and Ireland.

Mr. W. Durrant Cooper's article on smuggling in Sussex gives the following amusing account of an attack in Romney Marsh on a Mr. W. Carter, a revenue officer, in 1688:—

Suss. Arch.,
Vol. X., p. 75.

"Having procured the necessary warrants, he repaired to Romney Marsh, where he captured eight or ten men who were carrying the wool on horses' backs to be shipped, and desired the Mayor of Romney to

CHAP. XXXI.

Wool
Smuggling.

commit them. The Mayor—wishing, no doubt, to live a peaceful life among his neighbours—admitted them to bail. Carter and his assistants retired to Lydd, but that town was made too hot to hold them—they were attacked at night; adopting the advice of the Mayor's son, they next day, December 13, came towards Rye. They were pursued by some fifty armed horsemen till they got to Camber Point; so fast were they followed that they could not get their horses over Guilford Ferry; but, luckily, some ships' boats gave them assistance, so that the riders got safe into the town, which had been 'put into much fear,' and 'had they not got into the boats,' says one of the witnesses, 'Mr. Carter would have received some hurt, for many of the exporters were desperate fellows, not caring what mischief they did.'"

Eight years later (1696) a milder punishment for smuggling wool and fullers' earth out of the country was inflicted, and by the Statute of 9 and 10 William III., c. 40 (1698), the offenders in Romney Marsh are especially mentioned, for sec. 3 of this Act recites that

"It is a common practice in Romney Marsh and other places adjacent for evil-disposed persons to shear their sheep and lodge wool near the sea side; and sometimes to bring wool out of the country more remote [the Weald], and by fraud and force in the night time the said persons do cause the same to be transported to France." And it was enacted that every owner of wool shorn or housed within ten miles of the sea shore in Kent or Sussex, should make a return within three days after the shearing of the number of his fleeces and where housed, and a similar notice on the sale previous to its removal, under a penalty of forfeiting the wool and 3s. per pound for the wool so transported. The Act then recites that it is also a practice in the said Marsh for persons not resident in it to buy up great quantities of wool and transport it out of the Kingdom, and it provides that no one living in Kent and Sussex, within fifteen miles of the sea, shall buy wool without entering into a bond not to sell it to any person within fifteen miles of the sea, under a similar forfeiture and penalty. There are other provisions against the export of wool and fullers' earth which it is not necessary to notice here.*

The passing of this statute appears to have been treated as a dead letter, for in the very next year (April 25th, 1699), Henry Baker, the supervisor of the district, in a communication to the Treasury, states that in a few weeks there would be shorn in Romney Marsh (besides the adjacent parts of the level), about 160,000 sheep whose fleeces would amount to about 8,000 packs of wool, "the

* Strange as it may appear, this Act reflecting on the illicit practices of "the Marshmen" was not repealed until 1856. The Churches in the Marsh were often used by the smugglers as temporary storerooms.

greatest part whereof will be immediately sent off hot into France, it being so designed, and provisions in a great measure already made for that purpose." The only immediate result was that the wool grown in our marshes was sent some fifteen miles up the country, and thence transported to the sea and shipped. CHAP. XXXI.

From a return published by the Court of Exchequer, we find that the cost of thirty-six riding officers* in Kent appointed under these several acts for preventing the export of wool, yarn, fullers' earth, &c., exceeded that of any other county. In Kent sixty-five packs were seized, and only eight condemned; in Sussex twenty-six were seized, and twelve condemned.

Then as to *import* smuggling. Ample facilities we have seen were offered to carry it on with impunity.

Ante,
pp. 567, 573.

Pursuing the course adopted in Chapter XXVII., we will pass on to consider the state of our Wealden iron works during the 17th century.

The Iron
Works,
Ante, p. 433.

We have seen that the manufacture of iron, subsequently the source of so much wealth to this nation, had at this time become a very unpopular business. The trade, however, continued in a flourishing condition during the reign of James I.

Sussex, during the early part of the 17th century, appears to have been the principal seat of the iron trade. It is computed there were 800 charcoal blast furnaces in England at this time, nearly one half of which were established in that county.

Nicholl's
History of the
Ironmongers'
Company.

The great waste of timber was again brought under the notice of the Government, and led to the appointment in 1636 of two surveyors to ascertain how many iron mills and furnaces were in use, the woods that supplied them, and their situation and distance from the different iron works. Thus, what with the interference of Parliament and of the Government of the day, the civil war, and the

* The annual allowance for each officer and his horse was only £60.

CHAP. XXXI. strong prejudice of the landed proprietors, the manufacture of iron began to languish; and at the close of the reign of Charles II. a great part of the iron in use was imported from abroad, and the whole quantity made annually in England seems not to have exceeded 10,000 tons.

But few changes in the process of smelting (according to the best authorities) had as yet taken place, with the exception of the bellows, consisting of a skin bag distended and compressed by the hands, and a better constructed furnace. John Ray, an observant naturalist, describes the process of smelting in the Weald in 1674:—

The iron mine (ore) was to be found (he says) at a depth varying from four to forty feet. There were several sorts, which the iron-masters mixed that they might melt to advantage. When the ore was brought in they placed rows of it alternately upon charcoal, and then set them on fire to molify the ore, so that it might be broken before it was put into the furnace. They then beat it into small pieces and put it into a furnace charged with charcoal, which melted it in about twelve hours. The bottom of the furnace was made of sand stone, and the rest of the furnace was lined with brick to the top. Every six days they call a *founday*, in which space they make about eight or ten tons of iron. The hearth, by the force of the fire constantly blown, grows wider, so that if it will at first make a sow of 600 pounds, at last it will make 2,000 pounds. The lesser pieces of 1,000 or under they call *pigs*." If the hearth was made of good stone it would last forty foundays, and the fire was never suffered to go out. The cinder-like scum swam upon the melted metal in the hearth, and was let out once or twice before a sow was cast.

The Rev. E.
Turner on
Cowden.
Sussex
Arch. Coll.,
Vol. XX., p. 93.

The iron stone appears to have been found in the middle of a stratum termed "The Wadhurst Clay," which furnished two thin bands from one to two feet in thickness, but which were not continuous layers. The method of mining was to sink a shaft down to the iron stone, remove as much ore as was within reach, and then to fill the shaft up and dig a second; hence the remains of these mine pits are frequently found close together in considerable numbers. Other traces of the old works may still be discovered by the scoriæ, now overgrown with ferns and mosses, lying by the side of the old hammer-ponds, where a stream was dammed up until it acquired power to drive the hammer in the forges.

Cowden,* in this county, still preserves its Spood, or Cinder-lane, and iron slag abounds in its vicinity. Large iron works were carried on here, the hammer-ponds of which still remain. The principal masters were the Knights and Tichbornes, the descendants of both of whom are now Baronets.

CHAP. XXXI.

Cowden.

There were forges and furnaces also at Ashurst, Bidenden, Cranbrook, Goudhurst, Hawkhurst, Horsmonden, Lamberhurst, and Tunbridge.

Skillets and other culinary articles were manufactured at this time at Lamberhurst and other places in the district by a family named Rummens, who travelled the country with them. Iron grave-slabs and hand-irons were also manufactured, many of which may still be seen.

Suss. Arch.,
Vol. II., p. 196.

Among the numerous instances of great success and rapid accumulation of wealth from the iron trade in Sussex I may mention the family of Gale. From Mr. Blencowe's memoir of them we learn that Leonard Gale, the father, was born in 1620, at Sevenoaks, his father being a blacksmith residing in Riverhead Street, his mother, the daughter of one George Pratt, a yeoman of Chelsford.† Leonard Gale, who was a Puritan, appears for a time to have carried on his father's business of a blacksmith at Riverhead. He then removed into Sussex, and, without following him in his laborious and successful career, I will briefly state that Mr. Walter Burrell, one of the iron-masters in Sussex, having ridden to Sevenoaks to inquire into Gale's character, was so satisfied with the report that he told him he should "go partners with him in all his works." I refer to these memoirs chiefly to show that though the iron works in Kent at this time were few

Ib., Vol. XII.,
p. 45.

* The Parochial Account Books of Cowden, commencing A.D. 1598 and ending in 1714, are esteemed a great archæological treasure by the present Incumbent, the Rev. Thomas Harvey. Copious extracts from them by the Rev. E. Turner will be found in Vol. XX. of the Sussex Arch. Coll., p. 91. There is also a very pleasant paper on "Cowden and its Neighbourhood," by Mr. Blencowe, in Vol. I. of *Archæologiæ Cantianæ*.

† His father, mother, and all the other members of the family, with one exception, died of the Plague, which they took at Kemsing.

CHAP. XXXI. in number when compared with Sussex, some of the
 Cowden. Kentish ones bore a high character. Those of Cowden perhaps ranked among the highest. Gale thus advises his family :—

Suss. Arch., "If you can get one of the Cowden* furnaces it will be very well, for
 Vol. XII., p. 51. I do assure you that if I were but forty years old I would, by God's help, get a good estate by this employment, for I have within these twenty years cleared near £300 per annum out of that very forge; and I never would have left my forge but that my men would work no other sows but Cowden, and they made me pay 20s. for every ton of sows more than I could have them at some other furnaces, which was a great hindrance to my gains; I therefore let them my forge."

Gale sent his son, also named Leonard, to a private tutor at Hever, and gave him a liberal education. He went to Oxford and was called to the Bar, and the son of the Sevenoaks blacksmith was afterwards returned in 1710 as one of the members for East Grinstead.

Price of Iron
 in the 17th
 Century.

From a waste or day-book† kept by this Walter Burrell and his brother John between 1686 and 1652 I am enabled to state the price at which the iron manufactured at this time in the Wealds of Sussex and Surrey was sold, and we may suppose that there was no material variation in the price in Kent. The different sales (which appear to have been extensive) varied from 10 to 100 tons, and the price does not fluctuate much; the lowest sum per ton during ten years was £15 10s., the highest, £17 12s. 6d. This book also contains entries in 1686 of the carriage of iron from the Tilgate furnace, "which my brother Thomas did work," to the Holmsted forge, at 2s. 6d. per ton; 6d. per ton extra appears to have been charged for the winter carriage. It also contains entries for the purchase and carriage of oak and cord wood.

Fuller makes no mention of the manufacture of iron in Kent, but under Sussex he tells us that a great quantity

* A most destructive flood occurred in June, 1703, which broke down several pond-bays at Cowden and elsewhere, and did great injury to the property of the iron-masters.

† This book has been kindly lent to me by Mr. Thomas Hart, of Reigate. It is a rude production, but I have no doubt that the entries are as correct as if the more scientific system now adopted by our modern and expensive accountants had been employed.

was made there, much of which was exported, and adds, *CHAP. XXXI.*
 "but whether the private profit thereof will at *long running* Vol. II., p. 381.
 countervail the public loss in the destruction of woods I
 am as unwilling to discuss as unable to decide." He then
 expresses a hope that a plan might be discovered for ren-
 dering sea coal useful in the manufacture of iron, but he
 did not live to see it adopted.

The reason I am disposed to give why there were fewer
 iron works in Kent than in Sussex is, not because the ore
 and timber were better or more abundant in the one
 county than the other, for we have just noticed the case of
 Cowden in proof that it was not so, but because the tenure
 by which that portion of the ancient forest constituting
 the Weald of Sussex was held, differed materially from
 that of the Kentish portion. In Sussex the Lay Barons
 held it, sported over it, and cut down the timber and
 underwood at their own pleasure and without any restric-
 tion. Lancaster Great Park, part of the possessions of
 John of Gaunt, stood on the borders of Kent, and by the
 names of the parishes included within it, such as Hart-
 field, Bucksted, Horsted, and Maresfield, clearly indi-
 cated that the district was devoted to the chase. While in
 Kent the heads of the Church and religious houses down
 to the time of Archbishop Winchelsea, who held the See
 of Canterbury at the beginning of the fourteenth century,
 prohibited their tenants from felling the timber in any
 of their woods, and they did not cut down much them-
 selves. Hence the difficulty of obtaining timber and
 underwood in the Weald of Kent for smelting purposes
 caused the iron trade in this district to decline, and this
 led the inhabitants to grub the underwood, which they
 had the right to do on certain terms, and turn their atten-
 tion to the manufacture of cloth and cultivation of the soil
 instead of searching for its ore. Thus we have "Cowden,"
 implying "a pasture in a valley" devoted to the sustenance
 of man, and more useful to him than the wild inmates of
 the forest.

Sussex and
 Kentish Iron
 Works.

Blencowe on
 Cowden and
 its neighbour-
 hood,
 Kent Arch.,
 Vol. I., p. 111.

Ante, p. 334.

It was now discovered that the regions north and west

CHAP. XXXI.

Macaulay,
Vol. I., p. 286.

Smiles's
Industrial
Biographies,
p. 41.

Ib., p. 43.

Ib., p. 42.

Goudhurst.

of the Trent and Severn possessed in their coal beds a source of wealth far more precious than the gold mines of Peru, and that in the neighbourhood of these beds almost every manufacture might be most profitably carried on; hence the history of our Wealden iron trade during what may be termed the era of transition from the use of charcoal to pit coal, is a disastrous one. Several of the ironmasters in the south found it necessary to remove their works elsewhere. Among those who settled in Glamorganshire was Walter Burrell, of whom we have already spoken. In a short time Sussex and Kent had lost one-half of their iron trade. One of the earliest and most enterprising of the new adventurers in the field of iron-working, by substituting coal for charcoal, was Dud Dudley, the natural son of Edward Lord Dudley. His father obtained a patent for him, and he appears to have turned out a quantity of good iron, which he was enabled to sell at £12 per ton. His unfortunate career has been traced by Mr. Smiles and other writers, including Mr. Nicholls, the historian of the Ironmongers' Company. A flood destroyed his chief works, and the woodmen who had previously felled and carted the timber for charcoal, fearing the loss of their occupation, rose in a body on several occasions and destroyed his machinery. The inventor was ruined, and died without disclosing his secret. Other patents were granted which were equally unsuccessful and were cancelled; the trade languished, and the art was not again discovered until the beginning of the next century.

In the meantime all the iron works belonging to the Crown or to Royalists had been destroyed; and after the Restoration, the royal iron works in the forest of Dean were demolished, lest the manufacture of iron should endanger the supply of timber for ship-building.

The gradual removal to the north of some of the leading cloth and iron manufacturers was felt by the increase of the parochial burthens of the Weald. In Goudhurst the cost in ten years was augmented from £80 to £300 per

annum, twenty of the chief families having left the parish. When the spire on the top of the tower of the church was destroyed by lightning on the night of the 28rd of August, 1687, five bells were melted, and other injuries done to the building, so that the inhabitants were unable to bear the cost of the restoration, estimated at £2,745, and a brief was issued to assist them. Goudhurst possessed a market place at this time, which was taken down about 1650.

CHAP. XXXI.

The great fire of London, which broke out early in the morning of Sunday, September 2nd, 1666, destroyed St. Paul's Cathedral, which Pepys thus records: "Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside." The first stone of the new cathedral was laid June 21st, 1675. The choir was opened for Divine service December 2nd, 1697, but the building was not completed until long afterwards. Lome-wood in Nettlestead, a border parish of the Weald,* had a reputation for its timber which grew to a large size, and some of it was used for the dome of the new Cathedral;† while the iron balustrades, to the number of 2,500, which surround it, were cast at the Lamberhurst furnace,‡ at a cost of £11,202. There are seven gates and the entire weight was 200 tons and 81lbs.§ Sir Christopher Wren was strongly opposed to the erection of this fence, the balustrades of which are each five feet six inches high.

The Fire of London.

Vol. III., p. 277.

Longman's Hist. of St. Paul's, pp. 125, 129.

* It once belonged to the Cloister of Black Canons at Tunbridge, and afterwards passed into the families of the Nevills and Roydons, until it came by marriage into the possession of Roger Twisden.

† I learn this from a document in the possession of the Rector, the Rev. F. W. Cobb.

‡ Lamberhurst furnace is situate on the verge of Sussex, bordering Kent, Lamberhurst being partly in each county. It was one of the largest in this part of the Kingdom, and acquired the name of Gloucester furnace from a visit paid to it by Queen Anne and her young son the Duke of Gloucester at the time they resided at Tunbridge Wells. The iron stone which supplied it was dug in the neighbourhood.—*Horsham's Sussex*, vol. i., p. 411, quoting *Top. Lib. Sussex*, p. 175, the compiler of which took the account from the books belonging to the furnace.

§ Smiles, however, in his *Industrial Biographies*, p. 39, says: "The contract was thought too large for one iron-trader to undertake, and it was distributed among several contractors, though the principal part of the work was executed at Lamberhurst." Part of the work was executed at Cowden by a sub-contractor.

CHAP. XXXI. He never designed it, his objections were disregarded, and the fence was erected by the Commissioners. In one of his letters Sir Christopher writes: "As for the iron fence it was wrested from me, and the doing it carried in a way that I may venture to say will be ever condemned." We have been recently told that the wall and railing are to be removed.

Longman.
Ib., p. 140.

Coals.

Immediately after this great fire in London duties were laid upon sea-borne coal to assist in the rebuilding of St. Paul's and fifty parish churches out of the much larger number that had been destroyed.* In 1699 coals sold in London for 18s. a chaldron, out of which 5s. were paid to the King, 1s. 6d. to St. Paul's, and 1s. 6d. metage.

Roads.

It has been truly said that "of all inventions, printing excepted, those which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species." Now, when on our principal thoroughfare from Dover to London there were during this century many parts of the road where the ruts were deep, the descents steep, and the mud lay on each side, so that coaches often stuck fast until a team could be procured to tug them out, and guides and link-boys became necessary as it grew dark, what must have been the state of the roads in the Weald? The carriages there were generally drawn by oxen instead of horses, sinking deep at every step they took in winter time. Thus in Tarbutt's "Annals of Cranbrook Church" a charge of 8s. 6d. is made in the churchwardens' accounts, A.D. 1606, "for six oxen to help the carriers to bring the bells some part of the way, because they did want help, being overloaded." Heavy articles were conveyed by stage waggons at a costly price, and passengers without the means of travelling by coach or on horseback were crowded together in them. We will not speculate on the course of the earliest thoroughfares in the Weald, for it could be only speculation, as nearly all of them weremade after the Romans

Part I., p. 39.

* In 1677 Charles the II. granted to his natural son Charles Lennox Duke of Richmond, and his heirs, a duty of 1s. per chaldron on coals, which continued in the family till it was purchased by the nation.

quitted Kent;* but they were mere soft tracks, until the iron-masters for their own convenience or by compulsion began to harden them with the waste from their furnaces. We can, however, trace some of the early roads in the Weald by the remains of the paved tracks for pack-horses and foot passengers still occasionally met with on the sides. Beyond this I can add but little to what I have already stated in Chapter XXXIII. of my first volume. The manufactures of the clothiers, and even agricultural produce, were carried to market, &c., by pack-horses, and the labours of the iron-masters by tugs and waggons. Before the close of this century stage coaches and public conveyances came into use, though on a limited scale. Confining myself to our own district, I may observe that the coach from London towards the coast of Sussex did not then proceed farther than Tunbridge. Letters by post to Rye were delivered three times a week. A journey from Rye to London occupied two long days. Mr. Samuel Jeake, junior, of Rye (the son, I presume, of the learned publisher of the Charters of the Cinque Ports), tells us that on Monday, May 22nd, 1682, "I rode with my wife and mother-in-law to London for diversion, came thither 28rd, Tuesday; had hot and dry weather." "June 28rd, Friday, we returned from London in the stage coach to Tunbridge, and 24th, Saturday, came to Rye at night." Four years later [28rd January, 1686], he proceeded from Rye through the Weald to London, starting at half-past eight in the morning and reaching Lamberhurst, a distance of only twenty-three miles, about two in the afternoon. He quitted Lamberhurst at three, and about half-past five in the afternoon, while riding in the forest between Woodgate and Tunbridge, by moonlight, with fellow-travellers for

CHAP. XXXI.

Rye through
the Weald to
London.Frewen's
MSS., p. 83,
quoted in
Suss. Arch.
Coll.,
Vol. V., p. 193.Holloway's
Rye, p. 457.

* In the year 1871, while the Ordnance Survey was in preparation, the remains of a road leading from Woodchurch to Hemsted Park and grounds, and supposed to be Roman, was discovered. The material of which it is composed would justify the conclusion, that it was either a Roman road, or led to some of our earliest British iron-works. I confess I am strongly impressed with the belief that while the Romans occupied Britain they troubled themselves very little with the Andred forest, and only traversed the outskirts of it.

CHAP. XXXI.

Rye to Ashford.

Frewen's
MSS., p. 169First Turnpike
Act.

the sake of security, the tracks being bad and uneven, he and another companion were separated from the rest of the party. It was freezing, and he alighted and led his horse until he met with a pretty good track, when he remounted. The next day he travelled from Tunbridge to London by stage coach, the distance being thirty miles, which was performed in ten hours. A few years later we find the Rye attorney recording his experience of the state of the roads between that town and Ashford. He had occasion to go into Kent to pay some legacies, and started 9th April, 1694, from Rye, at eight a.m. "Had good weather overhead, but dreadful and dangerous ways from Appledore to Ashford, yet it pleased God that I went safe through; by reason of the badness of the ways it was near three o'clock in the afternoon before I got to Ashford."

The inhabitants of the Weald then heard very little of what occurred beyond their own narrow district. Intelligence from the outer world reached them chiefly through the packmen, who picked up the news on their journeys to and from the fulling mills and cloth markets, or through the pedlars while they were retailing their goods.*

The first Turnpike Act was passed 15th Charles II. (1668), with a view to relieve poor rural parishes through which great throughfares ran of an unjust burthen, by providing for the erection of toll gates.

* The news that Cromwell was made Protector did not reach Bridge-water until nineteen days afterwards; and prayers were offered for James II. in the Orkneys for three months after he had taken up his abode at St. Germain's; but as he had partisans in Scotland, this might not be entirely owing to the slowness with which news then travelled.—*Smiles' Life of Telford*, p. 36.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CONCLUDED.—THE STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE WEALD.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—PURVEYANCE.—APPAREL.—PUBLIC STATUTES.—TUNBRIDGE WELLS.—MEN OF EMINENCE.—M.P.'S AND SHERIFFS RESIDING IN THE WEALD.

IF the complaints which were from time to time made of the state of the Church of England in Kent, especially in the Weald, towards the middle of the 17th Century, are to be implicitly relied on, it was in a deplorable condition. Bishop Laud, even before he was appointed to the See of Canterbury, was no doubt earnest in his desire to correct the abuses which had crept in here and elsewhere. He found, according to Lord Clarendon, many churches in a state of most indecent slovenliness and ruin, the buildings neglected by the people and the chancels by the parsons. The Communion Tables, placed in the body of the church, were desecrated by common uses; and Puritan divines, under the name of lecturers, preached without authority. He caused several churches to be repaired, adorned, and reconsecrated, with a pompous ceremonial, of which great complaint was made by many. The Communion Tables were removed, placed on a raised platform, and railed in at the eastern end of the church, the interior hung with pictures, and the windows adorned with painted glass. He substituted catechising for lecturing, ordered the surplice and hood to be worn in reading the service, and the gown and not a cloak to be used in preaching in market

CHAP. XXXII.

The State of
the Church.

CHAP. XXXII. towns. These and similar matters were deemed to show
 The Church. Laud's leaning to Rome, and irritated and gave more
 offence than even his high prerogative divinity. The Pu-
 ritan opinions greatly prevailed in the towns of Kent, and
 the people reproached him with introducing corrupt doc-
 trine and idolatrous worship, at which the Protestant
 mind revolted.* It may seem to many of my readers, to
 be of slight moment how the service of the Church is per-
 formed, so that it is done decently and with proper re-
 verence; or how the officiating minister is dressed; but
 for such points as these and other grievances (some of
 them imaginary) the men of that day sacrificed the
 comforts and endearments of life in this and other
 countries, and exposed themselves to famine and disease
 in the wilds of America.

The Clergy in
 the Weald,
 A.D. 1640.

When the Long Parliament assembled in 1640 encour-
 agement was given to the people to make public their
 real or imaginary grievances, and they were not slow in
 doing so. If any of my readers wish to inform themselves
 of the state of the Church in Kent, especially in the Weald,
 and the characters of its ministers, as recorded by its ene-
 mies, I may refer them to the "Proceedings in Kent,
 1640," edited by the late Rev. L. B. Larking. This is a se-
 lection from the papers of Sir Edward Dering, who, it will
 be remembered, was then one of the representatives for
 Kent, and from the opinions he entertained, and the posi-
 tion of his residence, it may fairly be concluded that most
 of the grievances in the Weald would be brought under his
 notice. We find in the volume in question petitions from
 no less than twenty parishes in the district during the
 year 1640. I here give an outline of a few, without men-
 tioning the names of individual clergymen.

Maidstone.

The petition to the House of Commons against the perpetual Curate of
 Maidstone was signed by the Mayor and fifty-two inhabitants. It states

* On the night of the 11th May, 1640, a mob, consisting chiefly of
 London apprentices, attacked Lambeth Palace for the avowed purpose of
 sacking it; but Laud, apprised of their intentions, took measures for his
 defence, and, after a fruitless attack, they vented their hatred by execra-
 tion and ribaldry. The palace was turned into a garrison, and fortified
 with ordnance.—*Laud's Diary*, May, 1640.

that the town was great and populous and contained 6,000 inhabitants, that Archbishop Laud received all their tithes and took no care of the parish, but had put in a Curate, who was also Rector of Boughton Malherbe, and preached only about once a month. The petition concluded by making sundry charges against the clergyman, which, if true, were very disgraceful.

CHAP. XXXII.

The petition to the House from Tunbridge states that it is a great market town, and very populous. That the vicar was non-resident; that having a plurality of benefices he seldom preached there; that he threatened his parishioners for going to other churches, even when there was neither sermon nor catechising in his own church.

Tunbridge.

In Tudely and Chapel there was no resident vicar. Every other Sunday the duty was performed by a layman.

Tudely.

The Vicar of Tenterden was also a prebendary of Canterbury, rector of Acrise, and a non-resident. He prohibited his curate, who was badly paid, from preaching or catechising on Sunday afternoons, and would not allow the parishioners to provide a minister at their own cost. There had not been a resident curate in the parish for six months. The vicar only paid the curate a noble, or 6s. 8d., for the Sunday duties. He exacted excessive fees. He cited ten poor labourers to Canterbury for non-payment of their Easter offerings, and for not receiving the Holy Communion, whereas all of them (except two, who had fled the parish) had done so. Eighty signatures are attached to the petition containing these complaints, and among them are the names of Witherden, Iden, Haffenden, Iggulden, Ashenden, Tilden, Weller, and Boys.

Tenterden.

In Little Chart the parishioners, including Robert and John Darell, with the churchwardens and six other parishioners, complain that the Rector was non-resident; had not officiated six times in three years; that the service was sometimes performed by a drunken minister, and often left unperformed; that complaints had been made from time to time without redress. More than thirty of the parishioners of Smarden complained against the Rector (who held Charing also) for non-residence, and against his curate for drunkenness. The curate is also charged with "being a fighter, not only in his own house, but a breaker of the King's peace, in striking others, both men and women, even at the church door." He had been twice presented for misconduct, but still proceeded "*a malo ad peior.*"

Little Chart.

The Vicar of Yalding also held the Rectory of Clapham, in Surrey. The parishioners petitioned for a resident vicar, and add "we have had noe preaching pastor that hath been conscionable to perform his office faithfully amongst us by the space of thirtie years and upwards, whereby honest hearts are sadded, and others are very ignorant and lewd."

Yalding.

The Vicar of Sutton Valence also held Brencchley, and no service had been performed for three months.

Sutton
Valence.

The Vicar of East Sutton also held Wateringbury.

East Sutton.

The Vicar of Goudhurst held Horsmonden also.

Goudhurst.

The Vicar of Horsmonden was a pluralist, and encouraged ritualism, "pressing the people to observe new gestures in the church."

Horsmonden.

CHAP. XXXII. The Vicar of Rolvenden has grave charges brought against him by twelve of the inhabitants.

Rolvenden.

Woodchurch.

The Rector of Woodchurch is charged with encouraging Popish practices.

Lydsing and
Bredhurst.

I have not referred to the case of the Incumbent of Lydsing and Bredhurst, who states that the petition against him was concocted at an alehouse, and that the persons whose marks were set to it afterwards repudiated it. The Rector of Mersham and Old Romney, also states in a letter to Sir Edward Dering :—

Merham and
Old Romney.

"My fault is only having two livings, and, if that be censured unfit by your honourable House, I shall willingly sacrifice my privat respects to the publicke good ; and, in the interim, as I have beene, so, by God's helpe, I will be carefull of the Cure. This, I am sure, as there is never a living in the Marsh, so, few of that bigness in the Kingdom, better served ; for I allow Mr. Baker, a godly honest man, £20 per annum for serving the Cure, and preaching in the forenoon, and £10 per annum, and the Church dues, for a lecture in the afternoon. Their Communion Table has beene never removed, nor any innovation even so much as proposed to them ; and, for my parte, I never so much as cited one of them to any Court, and am yet to learn the price of a processe."

Now, allowing that some of the complaints contained in these petitions were, as I have suggested, greatly exaggerated, the fact remains that many of the Clergy in this, and, indeed, other parts of the Kingdom were at this time pluralists and consequently non-residents. Oftentimes, I admit, because the livings were miserably poor. Unfortunately this state of affairs continued for nearly two centuries longer, to the great injury of our Church, the baneful effect of which she is now struggling against in districts like the Weald.

It was a frequent practice during the reign of Charles I. to attribute most of the troubles of the nation to the bishops, and Wallington,* in his historical notices of the reign of Charles I., tells us that in the year 1640 there was a soldier quartered at Ashford whose name was *Bishop*, a very peevish man ; so his colleagues dressed him like a bishop, with a gown, white sleeves, and a square cap, and he was accused before a mock tribunal

Vol. I., p. 126.

Ashford.

* Wallington was a royalist at heart, but was grieved at the proceedings of the King and Archbishop Laud.

as the cause of the troubles of the Church and Commonwealth, and condemned to die. His associates while hanging him in jest (he striving with them) nearly hung him in earnest, for he was almost strangled. After this the soldiers entered Ashford church and pulled up the altar rails.* They did the same at Lewisham.

CHAP. XXXII.

Lewisham.

To enable the Puritans of Maidstone at this time to attend a place of worship where their own doctrines were preached, Robert Swinock, one of its inhabitants, purchased the next presentation of Otham, and presented to it, Thomas Wilson, a learned Presbyterian.

Newton's
Maidstone,
p. 132.

The extraordinary career of Samuel Fisher must not be passed over, as he preached, lectured, and disputed in the Weald, at Ashford, and elsewhere in Kent. He was born at Northampton in 1605, in which town his father had served the office of Mayor. He took his degree as M.A. at Oxford, became chaplain to Sir Arthur Haslerigge, and in 1632 was presented to the Vicarage of Lydd.† It was then worth £200 a year (the modus had not been set aside). He held it about nine years, then resigned it, and turned grazier, lecturer, and Baptist preacher. He possessed considerable talent and persuasive eloquence; on one occasion he addressed 2,000 people at Ashford, many of them learned men. He next became a Quaker, and was equally eloquent on behalf of the new sect. Being present in 1656 in the House of Parliament, and hearing the Protector say "people now enjoyed religious freedom," he arose and exclaimed that he had a message from the Lord. He had not spoken two or three minutes when the members exclaimed "A Quaker, a Quaker," and raised a tumult.

Samuel Fisher.

Wood's Ath:
Vol. II., p. 356.

* This act of desecration was committed in almost every church into which the soldiers entered. In common with the bulk of the people at that time, they were opposed to the separation of the minister from the congregation.

† Hasted (Vol. viii., p. 517), says Wood, is mistaken, for Fisher was only lecturer at Lydd. This vicarage is in the gift of the Archbishop, and I believe that the Lambeth entries of institutions do not commence before 1603. In the registry of burials between 1640 and 1650, there is an entry "of a sonne of Samuel Fisher, who was buried not according to the order of the Common Prayer Book."

CHAP. XXXII. Cromwell wanted to hear him out, but the members would not allow it, so he printed his message. He afterwards travelled in France and Italy seeking to make converts from Romanism. He was arrested on three occasions for teaching nonconformity, and confined in three different prisons in London. It is supposed that he died of the plague in August, 1665 *

The Church.

London and the provincial towns petitioned for the abolition of Episcopacy, and in 1642 the Bill passed, but Charles I. withheld his assent. This led to the adoption by both Houses of their resolutions, in the nature of Ordinances, thus setting aside the veto of the King. By one of them they abolished the Episcopal hierarchy of the Church of England. By another they directed the sale of the lands of the Church for State purposes, reserving a decent maintenance for the clergy then living. Soon afterwards it was resolved to abolish tithes, the right to sell benefices and advowsons was to be put an end to, and the people were to elect their own religious instructors.

Ante,
pr. 521, 553.

Journals,
Nov. 27th.

Religious
Persecutions.

Within a fortnight after the death of the King, a council of State, consisting of forty-one members, was appointed. Bradshaw was elected its president, and his relative, John Milton, was appointed secretary for foreign languages. In 1652, Greenwich and other Royal Parks were ordered to be sold, and the produce appropriated to the use of the nation.

I have neither space nor inclination to notice the religious persecutions of this century, but must content myself with remarking that whether among individuals or sects there is no hatred so much to be deplored as that which results from such controversies and struggles. I think it was the late Lord Eldon who remarked that Ecclesiastical tyranny is generally accompanied by political tyranny; the one enchains the minds, the other the bodies of men. During the seventeenth century the

* The different histories of the Puritans, the Baptists, and the Quakers and their sufferings, contain full accounts of his career.

Churchman and the Nonconformist, the Roman Catholic and the Unitarian was exposed, each in his turn, to a dreadful religious persecution. All this I will pass over, and will merely record the names of those Prelates who at this eventful period were successively appointed as the guardians of our National Church, introducing only such local events connected with their high office as deserve notice.

CHAP. XXXII.

Eight Archbishops respectively held the See of Canterbury during the 17th Century, viz.: Bancroft (who succeeded Whitgift in 1604), Abbot, Laud, Juxon, Sheldon, Sancroft, Tillotson, and Tenison. Archbishop Abbot, in 1621, accidentally killed one Peter Hawkins, a gamekeeper, while shooting at a deer with a cross-bow at Lord Zouch's park, in Hampshire. The coroner returned a verdict of unintentional homicide; but the question arose, Was this amusement contrary to the canon law? Some Churchmen thought it was, and it unfortunately happened that among them there were four bishops elect who refused to be consecrated by this metropolitan (Laud being one). To remove this supposed incapacity to discharge the duties of his office, King James granted Abbot a pardon in law, and then obtained from eight bishops his absolution from all censure.

The Arch-
bishops of the
17th Century.

During the next reign Abbot was accused of favouring the Puritans, and had to retire to his manor-house at Ford, near Herne; Charles I., however, afterwards became reconciled to him. He was a liberal man, and built a conduit of stone in the City of Canterbury for the use of the inhabitants. Opinions as to his merits were, as may be supposed, very conflicting at this particular juncture. Lord Clarendon wrote disparagingly of him. It has been said that "his Protestant zeal was a rancorous hatred of all that belonged to the Church of Rome." His successor, Archbishop Laud, met in early life with a kind patron in Dr. Neile, Bishop of Rochester, who presented him to the rectory of Cookstone or Cuxton, in this county, which he afterwards exchanged for Norton,

Laud, a
Kentish
Incumbent.

CHAP. XXXII. near Faversham. He was successively Bishop of St. David's, Bath and Wells, and of London, and was appointed to the see of Canterbury in 1688.

Church
Government.

When the Long Parliament assembled, in 1640, there were three opinions prevalent on the subject of Church Government. The first was that of the King and hierarchy, or those who desired to retain the Church Establishment as it had been fixed in the days of Elizabeth. The next party were those who had studied the models prevalent in Scotland and in some parts of the Continent, and aimed at the abolition of Episcopacy. The third, but inferior party, were for an intermediate course; they wished to preserve the bishops, shorn of some of their pomp and political importance, and to elevate the presbyters so as to give them a share in that authority which was now engrossed by the bishops alone. Laud, who adopted the extreme views and opinions of the first party, in short, a very high ritual, was ultimately cast into prison by the Parliament, and after a prolonged trial he was beheaded on Tower Hill, January 10th, 1645, deserving, perhaps, neither the fulsome praise nor the severe censure that he has received from posterity. He was hasty in temper, and attached to ceremonial; and his zeal for the Church of England made him the enemy of all sectaries. It has been asserted that he had twice refused a Cardinal's hat, of which he acquainted the King. Lingard contends that the whole tenor of his conduct and writings proves that the charges against him of endeavouring to introduce Popery had no foundation; but that there is some reason to believe that in the solitude of his cell, and with the prospect of the block, he began to think more favourably of the Roman Catholic Church.

Character of
Laud.

With the passing of the Act of 1642 Episcopacy may be said to have fallen into abeyance in England for eighteen years. On the restoration of Charles II., William Juxon, Bishop of London, was appointed to the See of Canterbury, but he only held it three years. He found Lam-

beth Palace dilapidated, and he re-erected the great Hall there at a cost of £16,000. Gilbert Sheldon, who succeeded Juxon, had been imprisoned at Oxford during the Commonwealth. He erected the Theatre in Oxford, and was a liberal promoter of learning. He died in 1677, when William Sancroft was appointed to the vacant See, having been previously Archdeacon of Canterbury. He joined six other Bishops in a petition to James II. praying to be excused from ordering the publication in their churches of the King's declaration for liberty of conscience, for which they were all committed to the Tower, tried for libel, and acquitted. When King William and Queen Mary were settled on the Throne, Sancroft and seven other Bishops declined to take the new oath of allegiance, as contrary to the oaths they had already taken to James II. They were consequently suspended, and eventually deprived of their Sees. Archbishop Sancroft was ejected from Lambeth, and retired to Fresingfield, in Suffolk, the place of his birth, where he ended his days. Such a sacrifice of power and possessions for the cause of what he believed to be truth and sincerity is beyond all praise, and should be borne in mind at the present day. John Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, was put in possession of the See in 1691, but he did not hold it more than four years, when he was succeeded by Thomas Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, who was enthroned at Canterbury in 1695. His charities were very extensive, and included a gift towards beautifying the chancel of Cranbrook Church with a carved wood reredos, recently removed for a stone one. He died in 1715.

During the episcopate of Archbishop Bancroft (1604-10) some tithe disputes arose between the parishioners of Staplehurst and their rector, the Rev. Robert Newman, and it was arranged, with a view to avoid litigation, that the Archbishop should arbitrate between them, and articles of agreement were entered into. It would appear that some of the farmers of Staplehurst had found a way, either by driving their cows into another parish before

CHAP. XXXII.

Ante, p. 560.

Staplehurst.

Lambeth MSS.
(Miscellaneous),
Vol. II.,
No. 76.

CHAP. XXXII. they calved, or by buying a cow that had calved elsewhere, never to pay a tithe calf! while others were accused of not giving timely notice of setting out their tithes: these and other disputes were settled by Bancroft's successor, Archbishop Abbot.

Purveyance
and
Pre-emption.

Among the other events connected with this century I may notice the alteration in the law of Purveyance and Pre-emption. By this profitable prerogative the Crown enjoyed the right of buying up provisions, &c., for the use of the royal household at an appraised valuation, without the consent of the owner, and of forcibly impressing carriages and horses for the conveyance of the royal baggage, timber, &c., at a settled price. This prerogative was not exercised in England alone, but prevailed throughout Europe. The Purveyors greatly abused their authority and oppressed the people, while the advantage to the Crown was comparatively small. Money payments were at last substituted, and in the year 1602 Kent, through the mediation of her Justices, compounded with the Board of Green Cloth (so called from the covering on the table) for its purveyance, &c., on payment of £2,100 per annum, which was spread by assessment over the county at large. During the civil war this unjust practice fell into abeyance. Charles II. on his restoration resigned this right, and Parliament in return settled on the Crown an excise duty on beer and liquors.

Creasy, p. 143.

Apparel.

The laws for the regulation of apparel continued to be enforced during the reign of James I., but only as regarded the poorer classes. This is conspicuously manifest from a precept addressed by the Lord Mayor in 1611 to the several London Companies by his Majesty's command, in which his lordship complains of the "abuse growing by excesse of straunge fashions used by many apprentices, and by the inordynate pride of mayde servants and women servantes in their excesse of apparell and follye in varietie of new fashions," and admonishes the Companies "to have a due and special care to see a spedye reformation had in every one of their servantes."

This was followed by an Act of Common Council, setting forth with admirable precision the habiliments to be worn and the rules to be observed by this class of society.*

King James I. granted to Sir John Smythe, Knight, a Court of Record at Ashford, before the Steward, every Tuesday, from three weeks to three weeks. Sir John was the father of the first Viscount Strangford, and was buried in Ashford church.

The bell foundry at Broomfield and Ulcomb, on the borders of the Weald, deserves a passing notice. It was worked by three founders named Hatch (Thomas, Joseph, and William), between 1599 and 1668.† They carried on a very extensive business here, and acquired considerable property in different parts of this county. Joseph was married by licence to Jane Prowde, at St. Paul's, Canterbury, 20th December, 1607. He is described as of Broomfield.‡ He appears to have recast the Cranbrook bells, for in Mr. Tarbutt's "Annals" we find in 1608 a charge for "riding to Hatch about the bells," also for the journey to fetch them; and in 1618 there is this entry: "Paid to Joseph Hatch, for casting the bells, £40." Among other bells they cast Bell Harry, and four others for Canterbury Cathedral, between 1606 and 1686, three for Westgate, Canterbury, in 1608, and one for Brook, near Wye, in 1612.

Sir John Spillman, who is supposed to have erected at Dartford the first English paper mill, was encouraged by Charles I., who granted him a patent and a pension of £200 a year. He is said to have brought over to England in his portmanteau and planted at Dartford two

CHAP. XXXII.

Ashford Court of Record. Ret. R., 3 Ja., p. 25.

The Broomfield and Ulcomb Bell Foundry.

Tyssen, Suss. Arch. Coll., Vol. XVI., p. 163.

p. 37.

Ante, p. 514.

* This singular document, preserved in the records of the Grocers' Company, was printed by Mr. Heath in 1829.

† There was another bell-foundry at this time at Borden, in Kent, worked by John Wilnar.

‡ In his will he describes himself as of Ulcomb, bell-founder, but directs his body to be buried at Broomfield; his tomb is still to be seen there. The house he dwelt in, and "a little house joining to it," were in Ulcomb. Most of the work appears to have been done at Broomfield; the site now forms part of the Leeds Castle Estate.

CHAP. XXXII. lime trees, "perhaps the first that were planted in England," which grew and thrived.

The Court Hall of Tenterden was burnt down March 19, 1660.

Benenden Church.

On the 29th December, 1678, considerable injury was done to Benenden church by a storm of thunder and lightning, and on 17th February, 1678, by "a great fierce wind, when Staplehurst spire was blown down and many houses about the country."*

Staplehurst Church.

Abolition of Military Tenures.

The Long Parliament, by a resolution of 24th February, 1646, originated the abolition of military tenures, including wardships, aids, &c. This, with some additions, was re-enacted soon after the Restoration [12 Charles II., c. 24], by which these tenures were converted into common freeholds, and is deemed by Blackstone "a greater acquisition to the civil property of the Kingdom than even Magna Charta itself." These military tenures, however, as I have shewn, were never so burdensome to the owners in the Weald as in other parts of the country, in consequence of the nature of the holdings and the paucity of the inhabitants.

Ante, p. 177.

Ante, p. 4.

Habeas Corpus Act.

By the Habeas Corpus Act, also passed in the reign of Charles II., the remedies against arbitrary imprisonment became more certain and effectual.

These and other useful enactments make the name of Charles II. figure creditably in our statute book.

Hunter's Life of Evelyn.

While England was at war with Holland, in 1664, Charles II. appointed the learned John Evelyn, the author of *Sylva*, then residing at Sayes Court, Deptford,† a commissioner, to take charge of the sick and wounded between Dover and Portsmouth, and on 3rd October, 1665, we find him writing to Samuel Pepys, complaining that

State Papers, Dom. Chas. II., Vol. CXXXIV., No. 23.

"He cannot find room for the sick and wounded continually sent in; they go from place to place and perish by the way; Chatham and Gravesend can hold no more; all the intermediate villages are peopled with the poor miserable creatures; Greenwich must be spared on account

* My authority for this is an entry among the corporation records of Tenterden. It might have been a pinnacle.

† In 1698 Peter the Great resided at Sayes Court while studying naval architecture.

of the Navy Commissioners sitting there, and Deptford because of the King's yard. He cannot feed and shelter 2,000 prisoners without money. He has contracted with Lord Colepeper for Leeds Castle, if only money could be raised to repair and fit it up. He has deputies and surgeons at Chelsea College, two hospitals in London and nine other towns, besides villages, &c."

CHAP. XXXII.

Leeds Castle was hired, and in the following month the Governor of the Fort at Gravesend (Sir John Griffiths) was ordered to give an account of the Dutch prisoners on board the "Golden Hand" and "Prince William." The letter proceeds, "some have been sent to Leeds Castle." John Richardson was the marshal there, and it appears to have been used as a prison for more than a year. Sir Roger Twysden solicited Evelyn "to spare Maidstone from quartering any of his sick flock."

C.W. Martin's
Leeds Castle,
p. 170.

The memorable plague of 1665, which spread not only over London, but throughout the kingdom, was soon followed by the great fire of London (2nd Sept., 1666). Both occasioned much loss of life, desolation, and misery, but they do not require to be noticed here.

Though Bath was the head of the watering places at this time, Tunbridge Wells, within a long day's journey of London, as we have seen, was not without its attractions.* It is thus humorously described by Lord Macaulay:—

Tunbridge
Wells.

"At present we see there a town which would, a hundred and sixty years ago, have ranked, in population, fourth or fifth among the towns of England. The brilliancy of the shops and the luxury of the private dwellings far surpass anything that England could then show. When the Court, soon after the Restoration, visited Tunbridge Wells, there was no town: but, within a mile of the spring, rustic cottages, somewhat cleaner and neater than the ordinary cottages of that time, were scattered over the heath. Some of these cabins were moveable, and were carried on sledges from one part of the common to another. To these huts men of fashion, wearied with the din and smoke of London, sometimes came in the summer to breathe fresh air, and to catch a glance of rural life. During the season a kind of fair was daily held near the fountain. The wives and daughters of the Kentish farmers came from the neighbouring villages with cream, cherries, wheatears, and quails. To chaffer with them, to flirt with them, to praise their straw hats and tight heels, was a refreshing pastime to voluptuaries sick of the airs of actresses and maids of honour. Milliners, toymen, and jewellers came down

Hist. Eng.,
Vol. I., p. 346,
quoting
Memoires
de Grammont.
"Tunbridge
Wells,"
a Comedy,
1678, and
other Works.

* Among the early writers on the nature and virtue of these waters were Dr. Lodowick Rousee, of Ashford, Kent, A.D. 1671, and Dr. Patrick Madan, A.D. 1687.

CHAP. XXXII.

from London, and opened a bazaar under the trees. In one booth the politician might find his coffee and the *London Gazette*; in another were gamblers playing deep at basset; and, on fine evenings, the fiddles were in attendance, and there were morris dances on the elastic turf of the bowling green. In 1685 a subscription had just been raised among those who frequented the wells for building a church, which the Tories, who then domineered everywhere, insisted on dedicating to St. Charles the Martyr."

Add. MSS.,
5,750, fo. 156.

When Royalty visited these watering places tents appear to have been set up for the use of the Queen and her attendants; for I find an order on the tent-makers to provide "10 tents besides what are at Tunbridge already, for her Majesty's service," also four tents in the Isle of Wight, and three or four at Dover, for the reception of her Majesty.

1 William and
Mary, c. 10.

Next, in chronological order, I must notice one of the earliest and most popular acts passed on the accession of King William and Queen Mary, viz., the abolition of "Hearth or Chimney Money." Along the whole line of road from Torbay to London the poor importuned William to relieve them from it, as it pressed heavily on them and lightly on the rich: a peasant possessing not more than £20 was charged 10s., and a Duke whose estates were worth a half a million paid only £4 or £5. The Act recited that it was "a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure by persons unknown to him."*

Hearth Money.

This was followed by the Act for "declaring the rights and liberties of the subject and settling the succession of the Crown," called "The Bill of Rights."

2 William and
Mary, c. 10.

The next year a free pardon was granted by Act of Parliament to those who had recently incurred heavy penalties for crimes and misdemeanours under the Test and other acts. It was, however, declared that Henry Lord Dover, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Roger L'Estrange, and twenty-eight others therein named, were to be *excluded from* this pardon.

The first Mutiny Act was passed at the commencement

* This tax, like many others, was farmed out.

of this reign, and has been renewed annually ever since. CHAP. XXXII.
 It declared that "the raising or keeping a standing army within the Kingdom in time of peace unless it be with consent of Parliament is against law." The legal distinction between the soldier and the citizen was now recognised.

The term Stock-Jobber was first heard in London about 1688, and the first creation of the National Debt took place in 1692. In the same year the Land-Tax Assessment was revised. 1694 witnessed the establishment of the Bank of England.

In the same year Queen Mary died of small-pox of the most malignant type, and the public sorrow was great and general. This Queen, on the occasion of her visiting Canterbury, presented to the Cathedral the furniture of the Archbishop's throne and the stalls of the Dean and Vice Dean; as well as the crimson velvet covering and cushions of the communion table.* Death of
Queen Mary.

Among the men of eminence who lived in or adjoining the Weald during this century, I may notice Sir Roger Twysden, Knight and Baronet, an antiquary and historian, eldest son of Sir William and the Lady Ann Twysden. He was born at Roydon Hall, East Peckham, in 1597, died in 1672, and was buried at East Peckham. He obtained a license from Charles I. to enclose a park round Roydon Hall, and a grant of free warren. Men of Emi-
nence in the
Weald.

Sir Roger
Twysden.

"He was a scholar and a gentleman, and one of the soundest constitutional writers of this day, and as an antiquary and divine equalled by few of his contemporaries. He lived in personal friendship with most of the eminent literary characters of his time. The collections of manuscripts at Roydon Hall contain the completest memorials of his extraordinary diligence and perseverance, and excite astonishment at his deep reading and research. The unbending fortitude with which he endured the penalties of his loyalty, and the elasticity of mind which upheld him under the severest persecutions, stamp him as a man and a Christian of no ordinary character. In the manuscript Journal* of his sufferings, From a
Catalogue of
the Portraits
at Bradbourne,
pp. 6-9.

* During the reign of Henry VII. the head of the family at Surrenden Dering (Sir Richard Dering, Knight,) gave to the choir of Canterbury Cathedral magnificent hangings in tapestry, which were stolen at the time of the Reformation, and may now be seen on festival days at Aix, in Provence. The family arms, as well as the arms of Archbishop Warham, are emblazoned on it,

CHAP. XXXII. he says that, when confined in the neighbourhood of the Tower by an order of Parliament, unwilling to be idle—"for the mind of man will not endure to be inactive"—he first entertained the idea of searching the records there preserved, thus laying the foundation of his *Decem Scriptores*. His loyalty to his unfortunate sovereign led to his imprisonment. For several years his estate was sequestered, his timber cut down, and he paid a fine of £1,300 before he was restored to his estate, where he lived in retirement."

Sir Wm.
Twysden.

He was succeeded by his son William, afterwards Sir William Twysden, Bart., who lived in the same century, as he was born in 1635 and died in 1697. Great pains were taken with his education; he was sent abroad during his father's imprisonment. He represented Kent in Parliament, and was deemed a "wise and pious man." When the question as to whether the defence of the kingdom in 1685 was to be entrusted to the militia or a Popish standing army, Sir William Twysden spoke with great keenness and amid loud applause against a standing army.

Macaulay,
Vol. II., p. 24.

Sir Thos.
Twisden.

Sir Thomas *Twisden*, also a Knight and Baronet, was the second son of Sir William and Lady Ann Twysden, and brother of Sir Roger Twysden. He also was born at Roydon Hall, January 8, 1602, and died in 1688. He was a lawyer and was sent to the Tower by Cromwell (who had made him a Serjeant-at-Law), for defending, as counsel, the rights of the City of London. He served in the Long Parliament, and was one of the Commissioners for the trial of the regicides in 1660. Charles II. knighted him, and made him one of the Judges of the King's Bench, and created him a Baronet in 1666. Having settled himself at Bradbourne in East Malling, he became the founder of a new family, and dropped the *y* in spelling his name and introduced the *i*. He was reputed a sound lawyer and an upright judge. He married Jane Tomlinson, whose brother, Matthew Tomlinson, buried in East Malling Church, was the colonel in the Parliamentary Army who attended Charles I. daily on his trial and at his execution.

Ante, p. 526.

Bradbourne
Catalogue of
Portraits.

* His Journal is printed in Vols. I. to IV. of the *Archæologia Cantiana*, with notes by the Rev. L. B. Larking, who was connected by marriage with the family.

Edward Jordan, a learned physician, was born at High Halden, and died in 1682.* CHAP. XXXII.
Edwd. Jordan.

Sir Richard Baker, the author of the "Chronicle," was born at Sissinghurst, and died in 1645. Sir R. Baker.

Algernon Sidney, born at Penshurst in 1617, was a younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, by Dorothy, eldest daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. He was a most zealous republican and a great admirer of Marcus Brutus, was implicated in the Rye-House plot, and was tried before Chief Justice Jefferies 21st November, 1683. The indictment charged him with conspiring against the Government, and the life of the King, to which ends he had assisted at several traitorous consultations, and had composed a libel found among his papers. To explain this, I must remark, that one of the works of Sir Robert Filmer, of East Sutton, was entitled "Patriarcha," and Sidney had written a treatise on Government, in reply to it; this, however, had not been published, but was found lying on his table, and there was no evidence that he intended to publish it. He was, however, condemned for complicity in the Rye House Plot, and was executed 7th December, 1688; as he was brother to the Earl of Leicester, he was beheaded, the customary revolting sentence on traitors being remitted. Algernon Sidney.
State Trials, Vol. III., p. 794.

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Benjamin Hoadley, bishop of Winchester, the originator of the Bangorian controversy, was born at Westerham in 1676, and died in 1761. Bishop Hoadley.

Richard Kilburne, author of "a Topographie of Kent," and other works, was born at Hawkhurst in 1605, and died in 1657. Richard Kilburne.

Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, a dissenting minister, the author of "The Credibility of the Gospel Narrative," and other valuable works, was born at Hawkhurst in 1684, and died there in 1768. Dr. N. Lardner.

John Thorpe, physician and antiquary, editor of "*Registrum Roffense*," was born at Penshurst, in 1682, and John Thorpe.

* Hasted, v. iii., p. 105, refers to Wood's *Ath. Ox.* for an account of him.

CHAP. XXXII. died in 1750. His son John published it, and also *Custumale Roffense* as a supplement to the register.

M.P.s for
Kent.

The gentlemen who served the County in Parliament during this century were :—

JAMES I.

Sir John Scott and Sir John Levison.
Sir Robert Sidney (afterwards Viscount Lisle) and George Fane.
Sir Nicholas Tufton and Sir Edward Sandys.

CHARLES I.

Mildmay Lord Burghersh and Sir Albert Morton.
Sir Edward Hales and Sir Edward Scott.
Sir Thomas Finch and Sir Dudley Digges.
Sir Roger Twysden and Norton Knatchbull.
Sir Edward Dering* and Sir John Colepeper.

CHARLES II.

Sir John Tufton and Sir Edward Dering.
Sir Thomas Peyton and Sir John Tufton.
Sir Vere Fane and Edward Dering.

JAMES II.

Sir William Twysden and Sir John Knatchbull.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

Sir Vere Fane(†) and Sir John Knatchbull.

WILLIAM III.

Philip Sydney and Sir Thomas Roberts.
Sir James Oxenden and Sir Stephen Leonard.
Sir Thomas Hales and Thomas Meredith.
Sir Thomas Hales and William Campion.

SHERIFFS.

Sheriffs.

The gentlemen dwelling in and around the Weald who served the office of Sheriff during this century were :—

SIR RICHARD BAKER, of Sissinghurst.	SIR GEORGE FANE, of Burston, Hunton.
SIR EDWARD HALES, of Woodchurch.	SIR THOMAS HAMON, of Brasted.
SIR EDWARD FILMER, of East Sutton.	SIR ISAAC SIDLEY, of Great Chart.
WM. BESWICK, of Spelmonden in Hornsmonden.	SIR WM. CAMPION, of Combwell in Goudhurst.
SIR THOMAS ROBERTS, of Glassenbury, Cranbrook.	JOHN BROWN, of Singleton, Great Chart.
	SIR THOMAS STYLE, of Watlingbury.

* When Sir Edward was expelled by the Parliament, Captain A. Skinner was returned in his place, and John Boys in the place of Sir John Colepeper.

† On Sir Vere Fane being called to the Upper House, Sir Thomas Roberts was returned in his place.

SIR JOHN BAKER, of Sissinghurst.
EDWARD CHOUT, of Betheraden
and Hinxhill.

SIR THOMAS HENDLEY, of Course-
bourne in Cranbrook.

SIR JOHN HENDEN, of Biddenden.

GEORGE CURTIS, of Chart Sutton.

BERNARD HYDE, of Bore Place,
Chidingstone.

SIR JOHN TUFTON (afterwards
Earl of Thanet).

SIR HUMPHRY TUFTON, of the
Mote, Maidstone (uncle of the
Earl).

NICOLAS TOKE, of Godinton.

SIR HUMPHREY MILLER, of Oxen-
hoath, West Peckham.

The office of Lord Lieutenant for Kent was successively held by
HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM (until his attainder), the EARL of MONT-
GOMERY, HENEAGE FINCH EARL of WINCHILSEA, the DUKE of RICH-
MOND,* LORD TENHAM and the EARL of WESTMORELAND, and HENRY
VISCOUNT SIDNEY (afterwards Earl of Romney) were jointly appointed.

The noblemen who successively served the office of Lord Warden of
the Cinque Ports were LORD ZOUCHE, the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM, the
EARL of SUFFOLK, the DUKE of RICHMOND, the EARL of WARWICK,† the
DUKE of YORK (afterwards James II.), the EARL of WINCHILSEA, and
VISCOUNT SIDNEY (created Earl of Romney while he held the office).

Thomas, Earl of Thanet, was nominated, by King
Charles II., Recorder of Canterbury, in 1684.

* He now held Cobham Hall, which, on his death, was sold to pay his
debts.

† The office was put in commission during the Commonwealth.

SIR WILLIAM LEACH, of Wester- CHAP. XXXII.
ham.

SIR JOHN DARELL, of Calehill.

SIR BERNARD HYDE, of Tunbridge.

THOMAS CADWELL, of Rolvenden.

ARCHIBALD CLENKERD, of Sutton
Valence.

SIR ROBERT FILMER, of East
Sutton.

SIR JOHN MARSHAM, of the Mote.

SIR NICOLAS TOKE, of Godinton.

RICHARD GOODHUGH, of Tun-
bridge.

GEORGE CHILDRENS, of Tunbridge.

WILLIAM WOODGATE, of Chiding-
stone.

Sheriffs.

Lord
Lieutenants.

Lord Wardens.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—THE KENTISH PETITION, A.D. 1701.—THE CLOTHIERS, IRON WORKS, ALTERED TENURE OF THE DENES, AND ROADS IN THE WEALD.—ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.—THE CHURCH.—THE HAWKHURST GANG OF SMUGGLERS.—THE GREAT STORM IN THE WEALD OF 1763.—GEORGE III. AND QUEEN CHARLOTTE AT LEEDS CASTLE AND THE MOTE.—MEN OF EMINENCE FROM THE WEALD.—M.P.s AND SHERIFFS FOR KENT.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THIS century includes the last two years of the reign of William III., the reigns of Queen Anne, George I.-II., and the first forty years of the reign of George III., in the following order :—

Annefrom 8th March, 1702, to 1st August, 1714.
 George I.... ,, 1st August, 1714, ,, 11th June, 1727.
 George II. ,, 11th June, 1727, ,, 25th October, 1760.
 George III. ,, 25th October, 1760.

Changes in the Weald.

In the course of the eighteenth century those marked and peculiar features which had for so long a period distinguished the Weald from the rest of Kent almost entirely disappeared ; after noticing the causes which led to this, I will briefly direct the reader's attention to a few of the leading events connected with our county which occurred at this time.

A.D. 1701.
"The Kentish
Petition."

Let me, however, first refer to a petition famous for its day, and known as the "Kentish Petition," which was adopted at the assizes at Maidstone by the magistrates, deputy lieutenants, grand jurors, and freeholders, on

29th April, 1701, and presented on the 8th of May following, imploring the House of Commons to drop their disputes, vote supplies, and comply with the wishes of the King, "whose great actions for the nation could never be forgotten without the blackest ingratitude." The Commons refused to listen to its prayer, and committed to prison William Colepeper and four others of the deputation, who remained in confinement until the adjournment of the House in the following month.* This produced the "Legion Memorial," an energetic document ascribed to Defoe, which denied the right of the House to override the law of the land, and under fifteen distinct heads charged them with tyranny and oppression. The House deemed this of sufficient importance to vote an address to the King calling upon him to protect the public peace, and passed resolutions in answer to the Kentish complaints.

CHAP. XXXIII.

*Annals of
Eng., Vol. III.
p. 169.*

James II. expired at St. Germain's 6th September, 1701; William III. survived him but six months. He died at the age of fifty-two. Queen Anne was thirty-eight when she ascended the throne. She was second daughter of James II., by Anne Hyde, and had married, July 28th, 1688, Prince George of Denmark, who died October 28th, 1708, by whom she left no surviving issue, though she had several children.†

Queen Anne was succeeded by George I. (the Elector of Hanover), on whom the Crown of England had been settled in case Queen Anne left no issue. On his death his son, George II., succeeded him, and on his death he was succeeded by his grandson, George III., who reigned longer than any other English Sovereign, and died January 29th, 1820.

* They were confined in the Gate House. The other four members of the deputation were Thomas Colepeper, David Polhill, Justinian Champneis, and William Hamilton, of Chilston, brother of the Earl of Abercorn, whose mother was eldest daughter of Sir John, afterwards Lord Colepeper.—*Hasted*, Vol. II., p. 441. They were visited and caressed by the Whigs, and considered as Martyrs to the liberties of the people.

† Her hand had been previously sought by George Louis, Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George I.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Clothiers.

Wool and
Woollens,
p. 116.

Scotland, after the Act of Union with England, at the beginning of this century, and the removal of certain restrictions, became a formidable competitor with Kent and other English counties in the manufacture of broad-cloth, serges, &c. The Scotch cloths were better spun and woven, but they wanted the fineness of the wool, and the Scottish manufacturers mixed up the hairy parts of the fleeces in the working, so as to damage the finer fibre of the stuff; their cloths also were ill dyed and dressed. Woollen manufactories were at this time established not only in our own colonies but all over the world, which, though prejudicial to local interests, did not affect the general prosperity of British industry.

All the Kentish and other weaving looms had been hitherto worked entirely by hand. The spinning wheel called the *Saxon* wheel was deemed the best contrivance for woollen yarn, and the distaff and spindle were commonly employed; but several spindles were now so arranged as to be propelled by one and the same action of the spinner. We cannot stop to trace the application of power to spinning, and its wonderful success, not exempt, however, from the trials and failures usually attendant on change and progress.

In 1752 the woollen manufacturers petitioned Parliament against the graziers "loading the fleece with such excessive quantities of pitch and marking stuff to increase its weight, so that its manufacture had been rendered universally difficult and too frequently unproductive."

While Kent was losing its trade in broad-cloth, the manufacture of baize, hitherto carried on to a considerable extent at Colchester, ceased.* Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Rochdale, and the neighbouring towns now laid the foundation of a cloth trade which has since astonished the world; and at the end of this century there was not one clothier left in the Weald of Kent, though there was a worsted manufactory at Hawkhurst carried on by a Mr. Winch, who constantly employed 100 hands in spinning.

Hasted,
Vol. III., p. 70.

* A small quantity was also made at Chichester.

Let us pass on to the iron trade. With this century the manufacture of iron in the Wealds of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey became extinct. One of its three essentials (ore, fuel, and flux,) had failed, for timber in sufficient quantities we have seen could no longer be supplied. The increase in the price of charcoal, therefore, compelled the Wealden iron masters gradually to shut up their works, and many of them and their workmen settled at Merthyr-Tydvil and Aberdare. In 1740 there were not 60 furnaces at work in England, of which Sussex possessed 10, and produced that year 1,400 tons of iron. Kent had 4, and manufactured 400 tons, while in 1796 the furnaces in England had increased to 104; but not one was at work in Kent, and only one at Ashburnham, in Sussex, which furnished 178 tons of iron in that year; this furnace was in use up to 1825, and then "grew cold." Does this foreshadow the fate of our coal and iron fields?

CHAP. XXXIII.

Iron Works.

Nicholls'
Hist. of
Ironmongers'
Company,
p. 163.
Dawkins on
the Wealden
Iron Fields.

Thus ended the iron trade, as well as the manufacture of broad-cloth in Kent; the former, we have seen, was carried on upon a limited scale, as compared with Sussex. Both had existed for centuries, but neither occupation has left many traces behind it. A few iron slabs or tablets in the churches and churchyards; a few chimney backs, and utensils; some of the cloth-halls and residences of the clothiers, the records in the parish registers and churchyards, and a remnant of the cloth in the possession of Mr. Dennett, of Cranbrook, are all that remain.

Ante, p. 577.

The masters (especially the clothiers) held for a time most of the landed property of the district, and were an independent race of men, determined to think and act for themselves: this spirit is still to be met with among their descendants who have settled in Yorkshire and Lancashire. The clothiers were usually called "The Grey Coats of Kent;" they formed a numerous and united body of freeholders, so much so as to be often able to decide the fate of a contested election.

Hasted,
Vol. III.,
p. 48 (w).

Linen was next manufactured in the Weald, and a Linen.

CHAP. XXXIII. considerable quantity of flax was for a time grown here to supply the looms; clauses regulating its cultivation will be found in the old farm leases of the district. This, however, continued only for a short time, and the growth of flax gave place to the cultivation of hops.

Tenure of the Land. Next in order we will notice the altered tenure of the land.

Ante, p. 503. Pannage had ceased, and the annual payments in money to the Lords of the Manors and the owners of the Denes in the Weald, in *lieu* of the Lords' right to the timber growing in the Denes, and of other customs and services (in many cases peculiar to the district), now became general. They were first called White Rents, because they were paid in silver, and to distinguish them from corn rents. Afterwards they were called quit rents (*quietus redditus*), by which the tenant became quiet or quit and free until the rent became due again. This token of subjection, accompanied by the abolition of military tenures, put an end to most of the distinctions of tenure which had hitherto existed between this and other parts of Kent; and nothing remained but *land peerage, and the exemption from tithe of the woodlands in the district, while so cultivated*. This exemption, however, rendered a clear and defined boundary of the Weald necessary, if expensive tithe suits were to be avoided.

General Adoption of Quit Rents.

p. 2.

Boundary.

the causes.

Markham, who wrote in "The Inrichment of the Weald of Kent," tells us that "it hath bin found by divers late Verdicts, upon special and most necessary occasions, that the Weald of Kent is truly M. Lambert's [Lambard] second step in his Perambulation of Kent, reaching from Winchelsey in Sussex, and that hill there, upon the top of River's Hill [Sevenoaks] in Kent; and neither farther towards London, nor shorter towards Tunbridge; which agreeth so perfectly with the former limitations, that both may be received as most true and sufficient."

The "late verdicts" no doubt referred to the causes which had been contested between the clergy and land-owners in his day, respecting the tithe of wood in the

Weald of Kent as well as Sussex and Surrey. I will not try the patience of the reader by noticing them at length, as they may be seen in Volumes I. and II. of Wood's "Tithe Causes," but will merely remark that they all establish the exemption.* This litigation, which commenced before Markham's day, did not end with it. I must, however, notice the unreported cases, extending over almost a century (in which the value of the tithe in dispute was trifling), between the family of Sir Roger Twysden, of Roydon Hall, and the vicars of Wateringbury.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The boundary of the Weald.

The Roydon Hall Tithe Suita.

We will let the great antiquary and historian himself tell the first part of the tale.

"Memorandum.—In the year of God, 1630, at the felling of Ovings Wood, alias Offham Wood, at Westburies, Mr. Warrall, Vicar of Wateringbury, demanded tythe of it, as being out of the Weald, which I affirmed to be in the Weald, and therefore affirmed it ought to pay no tithe; the conclusion was I and my Lady [Sir Roger's mother], whose the wood was, told him wee would never give him ought in the way of a tythe; but out of a gratuity (it being a poor vicarage not worth £20 per annum, as he sayd), she was content to give him a piece of gold of 22s., and so he took it of her in the presence of me and Mr. Scotte, that then served her, upon the 2nd day of December, 1630, and sayd he took it so."

"Memorandum.—Though my mother, the Lady Anne Twysden, gave Mr. Warrall, at the felling of Ovings, alias Offham, that 20 shillings with caution, of which before, yet Mr. Benjamin Cutter coming to be Vicar of Wateringbury, upon the felling of the aforesayd wood, it came to a suit between my son (to whom I had put off my estate) and him, the sayd Mr. Cutter, and a tryal was laid at the Assizes begun at Maidstone the 7th day of July, 1668, where it was tryed the 8th day of the same month and hour in the afternoon, when the Judge being risen, my son had a verdict, not publickly known till the day following; it was divulged in open Court, which cost my son dear, for he thought fit to give the jury being there all night, 2 shillings a man, 24 shillings in all, and a gallon of sack the next day for their morning draught."†

In 1744 the litigation in respect of the same little wood was revived. Bills, cross-bills, and amended bills followed each other in rapid succession. The Rev. John

* Mr. Elton, in his "Tenures of Kent," p. 195 (*w*), states, "Cranbrook, in the centre of the Weald, did not enjoy the exemption." He gives Hasted as his authority, but this is an error.—Vide the Cranbrook Tithe Award.

† This, which would now be termed bribery, was the custom of the age. Even the jurors who acquitted the Seven Bishops received a guinea each from the attorneys of the prelates.—*D'Oyley's Life of San-croft*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The boundary
of the Weald.

Butler, the then Vicar of Watringbury, and Sir William Twysden (the grandson) were now the contending parties. A serious charge was made by the Vicar against the Baronet, namely, the removal after the commencement of the dispute of the parish boundary marks, whereby several acres were transferred from Watringbury to Nettledsted with a view to lessen the income of the Vicar of Watringbury. This the Baronet distinctly denied, and swore that the marks in trees in the meadows called the Stable or Slaughterhouse Meadows, and in his park, had been there for more than forty years; and that some of the trees were more than 100 years old. He also swore that he had felled the wood for upwards of thirty years, and never paid any tithe. Sir Walter Roberts, Sir Philip Boteler, John Kyrill, and John Kenwood, Esqs., appear to have attempted to settle the dispute by arbitration, and called in Mr. Beversham Filmer as their counsel, but to no purpose.* The Baronet got the worst of it, for I find in searching the proceedings of the Court of Exchequer an order, No. 184, in Michaelmas Term, 1746, "for the dismissal of his bill with costs;" and the tithe has been paid ever since.

Linton Place.

It was during this century that the Mann family purchased Linton Place, which possesses a fine view of the Weald. Robert Mann died here in 1751, and in a short time those who succeeded him became the chief holders of the soil of the Weald of Kent. Their purchases extended into Egerton, Headcorn, Staplehurst, Sissinghurst in Cranbrook, Frittenden, Rolvenden, &c. That brilliant wit and favourite of George I. and II., Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield,† held Boughton Place by

* I am indebted to Mr. John Wingfield Larking, of the Firs, Lee, Kent (brother of the late Rev. Lambert Larking), for the loan of these papers.

† The four daughters of Thomas Lord Wotton succeeded to his estates. The eldest married Lord Stanhope, afterwards Earl of Chesterfield, and succeeded to the Boughton Malherbe Estate and considerable property scattered over Kent held by lease of the See of Canterbury. Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden, married the second daughter. The third was married to Sir John Tufton, of the Mote, and the fourth (as already noticed) to Sir Edward Hales.

inheritance from 1726 to 1750; and this also was purchased by the Manns.

CHAP. XXXIII.

In 1756 "The Seven Years War" with France broke out, when the Government hired Sissinghurst Castle, in Cranbrook, for the confinement of French prisoners.

Sissinghurst
Castle.

Some attempt was now made to keep the existing roads in repair, but it was a very feeble one. Far into the eighteenth century the traveller who approached London from the west was in danger, even when he got to Knightsbridge, of sinking up to his saddle girths in mud; and when George III. ascended the throne it may be questioned whether our main thoroughfares were as good as in the time of the Roman occupation of England. When Queen Caroline, the wife of George II., passed from St. James's Palace to Kensington, it took her in bad weather two hours. There were in London no separate footpaths, and open kennels ran down the middle of the streets. At the time that Smollett made his famous journey from Glasgow to London it was performed partly in waggons and partly by pack-horses. The pack-horses went in long strings, one following the other, the leading beast bearing a bell or collar of bells. The earliest merchants in Manchester carried on their home trade by pack-horses, and took in exchange feathers from Lincolnshire and malt from Cambridgeshire and Nottinghamshire. They received their balances in guineas, which they carried with them in their saddle bags, exposed to danger from highwaymen, so that no one thought of taking any long journey without his firearms. The journey was saddened by the constant appearance along the road of gibbets with the bodies of highwaymen hanging in chains, warning the traveller of his perils. At length Manchester had its "flying coach," and in 1760 Sheffield had its "flying machine on steel springs." The Sheffield coach arrived in London on the evening of the third day, and the Manchester one in four days and a half. In 1766 the first Earl of Eldon, as John Scott, made his way from Newcastle-on-Tyne (his native place) to London, in a

Roads.

CHAP. XXXIII.

fly, having spent four days and four nights on the road.

Vol. III., p. 104.

The fairs and markets were often inaccessible during the winter months, and oxen were still employed to draw heavy goods. Hasted, who wrote towards the close of the last century, gives a most dismal report of the roads in the Weald of Kent. He says that in his day even the turnpike road from Tenterden through Bethersden to Ashford was scarcely passable after any rain; thus the traveller's horse frequently plunged through the mud up to the girth of the saddle, and the waggons slid along on the nave. He adds, "the roads were of fifty to sixty feet wide with a breadth of green sward on each side; hedges filled with oak trees hanging over the road, with stone causeways for foot passengers. When they became dry in summer they were ploughed up and laid in a half circle to dry, the only amendment they ever had."

Ante, p. 526.

Sir Robert Guldeford, created a baronet by James II., was the last member of this once distinguished family who occupied Hemsted, and having obtained an Act in the reign of Queen Anne for the disposal of that manor and his lands in Kent for the payment of his debts, the estate was sold to Admiral Sir John Norris,* who sat for Rye; and it is recorded that his coach was drawn from Hemsted to Benenden church by six oxen.

Ante, p. 586.

The defective state of the law appears to have been in some measure the cause of this state of the roads. Gratuitous labour was required, and if this was not sufficient, hired labour was employed, and the expense was met by a parochial rate. The first Turnpike Act already referred to remedied this evil in the main thoroughfares but not in the ordinary highways.

With all these discouragements to travelling, we learn that Kent and other neighbouring counties actually petitioned Parliament against the extension of the turn-

* In 1786 the estate was purchased by Thomas Hallett Hodges, and passed with the Seven Hundreds to the present owner, the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy.—Vide Vol. I., pp. 322, 323.

pike roads into the remoter counties, because labour was cheaper there, and it would make these distant cultivators of the soil formidable competitors in the London markets. By slow degrees, however, reason has triumphed over prejudice, and the tenant farmer in the Weald of Kent is no longer indifferent about the roads or the wear and tear of his horses, waggons, and tackle.

From 1688 until George III. ascended the throne the qualifications mainly looked for in the aspirant for a mitre were, that in politics he should be a Whig, in church matters easy-going and not over strict, or likely to interfere much either with the Government of the day, or society, while the attention of the few who were learned was chiefly given to their studies.

Including Archbishop Tenison already referred to, eight Archbishops held the See of Canterbury during the eighteenth century, viz., Wake, Potter, Herring, Hutton, Secker, Cornwallis, and Moore.

While Archbishop Tenison held the See, an Act for the benefit of poor Incumbents, (2 Anne, c. 11,) now known as "Queen Anne's Bounty," was passed; by it the first fruits of each living, formerly paid to the Pope and afterwards to the Crown, were applied to the relief of the poorer clergy. These spoliations were vested, like others, in Henry VIII. by his Parliament, "with far greater injustice to the clergy and less plausible pretence than the monastic property." The preamble of the Act recites that "a sufficient settled provision for the clergy in many parts of this realm hath never yet been made." Laudable as was the object of her Majesty, who was popularly known as the "Good Queen Anne," perhaps "no fund had ever been more misapplied or wasted as a means of gratifying Court servants and favourites."

Archbishop Wake, who succeeded Tenison in 1715, appears to have been an able divine. He wrote some learned letters on effecting a union between the two Churches of England and France, which drew forth a remark from Pope Clement XI. that it was a pity that the

CHAP. XXXIII.

Smith's
Wealth of
Nations, p. 68.

The Arch-
bishops of
Canterbury
during the
Eighteenth
Century.

Prof. Brewer
on Tithes and
Endowments,
pp. 96, 97.

CHAP. XXXIII.

writer was not a member of his (the Pope's) Church. He was a liberal man, and expended £11,000 in restoring the palaces of Lambeth and Croydon.* He died in 1737, and was succeeded by Potter, Bishop of Oxford. This Archbishop wrote several classical and theological works, and died in 1747. He was previously Dean of Rochester, Bishop of Bangor, and Archbishop of York; he was partial to the palace at Croydon, and expended large sums on the gardens there, and also on those at Lambeth; his contemporaries spoke well of him. On his death in 1757 another Archbishop of York, Matthew Hutton, was translated to Canterbury. In his early life he accompanied George II. to Hanover; he did not hold the See of Canterbury many months, and died March 19th, 1758, without ever having resided at Lambeth. He was succeeded by Thomas Secker, the son of a Protestant Dissenter residing at Sibthorpe, in Nottinghamshire. He applied himself to the study of physic, went abroad and took his doctor's degree at Leyden, and then proceeded to Oxford. He became Bishop of Bristol, and held with it a Stall at Durham and the Rectory of St. James's; he drew up his Lectures on the Catechism for the use of that parish, and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1758;† he appears to have been a charitable and tolerant man, and died in 1768, when Frederick Cornwallis was promoted to the See. He was a son of Charles, fourth Baron Cornwallis, and was a kind and amiable man, though not deeply learned.

Jesse's Life of
George III.,
Vol. II., p. 56.

George III., though opposed to Catholic emancipation, was in all other respects friendly to religious toleration whenever he considered it consistent with his coronation

* An unfortunate dispute and correspondence took place after the death of Tenison, between his executors and his successor, Wake, respecting the dilapidations at Lambeth and Croydon. The sum claimed was £23,500, and the amount paid in November, 1716, pursuant to the decision of the Chief Justice and the Dean of the Arches, was £2,800. — Hasted, Vol. IV., p. 754.

† Horace Walpole in his *Memoirs of the Reign of George II. and III.* p. 107, says, "Secker did not want parts or worldliness." He baptised, married, and crowned George III. — Jesse, Vol. I., p. 100.

oath. On one occasion, when a Right Reverend Prelate complained to him of the Dissenters and of the "great disturbance" which they made in his diocese, the King thus silenced him: "Make Bishops of them, my Lord, make Bishops of them." "But, sir," was the reply, "we cannot make a Bishop of Lady Huntingdon." "No," said the King, "but see if you cannot imitate the zeal of these people; I wish," he added, "there was a Lady Huntingdon in every diocese in my kingdom."*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Life of Lady
Huntingdon,
Vol. II., p. 282.

It is generally supposed that Lady Huntingdon was the cause of the following remarkable letter being addressed by George III. to Archbishop Cornwallis:—

"The King to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"My good Lord Prelate,—I could not delay giving you the notification of the grief and concern with which my breast was affected at receiving authentic information that *routs* have made their way into your Palace. At the same time, I must signify to you my sentiments on this subject, which hold those levities and vain dissipations as utterly inexpedient, if not unlawful, to pass in a residence for many centuries devoted to divine studies, religious retirement, and the extensive exercise of charity and benevolence. I add, in a place where so many of your predecessors have led their lives in such sanctity as has thrown lustre on the pure religion they professed and adorned.

Jesse's
George III.,
Vol. II., p. 58.

"From the dissatisfaction with which you must perceive I behold these improprieties—not to speak in harsher terms—and on still more pious principles, I trust you will suppress them immediately, so that I may not have occasion to show any further marks of my displeasure, or to interpose in a different manner.

"May God take your Grace into his Almighty protection.

"I remain, my Lord Primate,

"Your gracious friend,

"G. R."

Archbishop Cornwallis died in 1783, when John Moore, a native of Gloucester and of humble origin, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury. In early life he was tutor to two of the sons of the Duke of Marlborough, and travelled with them to Rome; he first became Bishop of Bangor, and was afterwards translated to Canterbury.

The Dissenters were now becoming a large and influential body, and were not disposed, especially in the

The Church
and Dissent

* This was Lady Selina Shirley, daughter of Earl Ferrers. She married Earl of Huntingdon, and died in 1791.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Weald, to let the clergy "have it all their own way." We have an instance of it in the beginning of this century, in the case of the poor persecuted Rector of Wittersham, the Rev. Theophilus Dorrington, who thus discloses his troubles to Dr. Hody, at Lambeth Palace :—

14th Sept.,
1700.

"REVEREND SIR,

Wittersham.

"I told you that I find myself here in a nest of Dissenters, the governing part of whom are Anabaptists, and they are also the governing part of my parish, and have many years had the upper hand here, to the great detriment of the established religion and the oppression of the small remainder of Church people, who are fewest in number and smallest in wealth and power.

Lamb. Lib.,
1,942, No. 163.

"I have set myself as bound to cure the dissension if I can, by justifying our baptizing of infants in my morning sermons and in private conferences. I have also endeavoured to bring my parish, in the management of their public affairs, to the order established by law, that I might relieve the Church people and deliver the small ones from being influenced by the favour or displeasure of the greatest, who are Dissenters. I have set myself, by order of the Justices of our Division, to enquire into the licences of the many teachers that hold meetings in my parish, which is haunted, as I may say, by a great number of them, and they have sometimes three or four several meetings in a day. This is thought requisite to secure, if possible, *the wretched people in this obscure corner of the world from being seduced altogether from the Protestant religion and their allegiance by Popish priests and Jesuits.* And it must be observed that this is a corner which, by its nearness to Romney Marsh, and by virtue of the accessibleness of our coast, lies but too conveniently to hold a correspondence with France, which also they have been almost all accused of.

"What I am doing, as you may imagine, provokes the utmost rage of the party against me. As, therefore, I have fled to the assistance of the civil magistrates, and have, I thank God, found them disposed to take the established religion here into their care, so I find myself forced to give his Grace the trouble to beg his favour and protection to myself.

"The occasion of my writing this is, that I am privately informed one of our overseers, a Dissenter, designs to attempt the giving me trouble for my absence this summer from my parish. I think, therefore, I must desire of his Grace that he would be pleased to signify in a word or two under his hand, that I did give him the trouble to inform himself of the unhappy occasion of my stay at London, and the favour to express his allowance of it, that I may have this to show at our next visitation, which will be soon after Michaelmas, and may save, if possible, a cold, dirty winter's journey or two, which in this country must hazard my health at least, and would itself be a severe punishment. In truth, I staid two months at London by reason of my wife's illness, and brought her back at last not well, and I wish it does not prove too soon.

"You will have an opportunity to show this to his Grace in a little time,

and if you obtain the favour I desire, I beg you as soon as may be to direct it to be left for me at the Post-house at Tenderden; for if it goes any other way, it may be long ere I receive it, if I do at all."

CHAP. XXXIII.

Shortly after this letter was written violent debates occurred in Convocation, when the terms High and Low Church came into use, mainly as distinguishing the opponents and favourers of a comprehension of Dissenters, in which Dr. Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, took part on the side of the High Church and as a partisan of the Stuarts.*

Annals of
England,
Vol. III., p. 178

In the birthplace of Archbishop Moore [Gloucester] dwelt Robert Raikes, the philanthropic proprietor of "The Gloucester Journal," the real founder of Sunday Schools.† He was honoured with an interview with George III. and Queen Charlotte in 1786, and one of his most zealous followers was the once celebrated Mrs. Sarah Trimmer, who assisted the King and Queen in establishing a Sunday School at Windsor.

Jesse's
George III.,
Vol. III., p. 11.

Porteus,‡ Bishop of London, next took up the good work, and George III. became a zealous supporter of the Bishop's benevolent efforts on behalf of Sunday Schools.

At this time many of the clergy did not appear to consider that their flocks had any further claim upon them beyond the performance of the public services of the Church; and, as might be expected, these were too often discharged in a hasty and slovenly manner. Miss Hannah More speaks of visiting a parish of 200 inhabitants,

* He was banished by Act of Parliament, and died in France in 1732, but his body was interred in Westminster Abbey.

† Miss Hannah Bill, of High Wycombe, it is said, seeing Sunday after Sunday the children driven out of the churchyard by the beadle, first collected them for Sunday instruction, and that Mr. Raikes only followed in her track; while others contend that the Sunday School system originated at Ashbury, in Berks, with the Rev. J. Stock, the curate, in 1777. He collected the children of the poor in the church, and gave them instruction between the services. Being removed in the following year to Gloucester, he there became acquainted with Mr. Raikes, who at once saw the value of the "innovation," as it was deemed, and gave it such hearty support as to be usually considered its founder.

‡ The Bishop died May 13th, 1809, and was buried in Sundridge churchyard, one of the prettiest churchyards in the district. The Bishop had a residence in this parish.

- CHAP. XXXIII. in which there was but one Bible, and that was used to prop up a flower pot.
- The Gaol at Maidstone. A petition was presented to Parliament in 1785, setting forth that the gaol for keeping felons for the Western Division of Kent as well as the prison near the Market Place in Maidstone were too small, and could not be enlarged; and the petitioners prayed that the Justices might be empowered to purchase a proper site and build a gaol on it for debtors as well as felons; and that they might apply part of the stock of the Western Division for that purpose. The sanction of Parliament was obtained the following year.
- Hasted, Vol. II., p. 111. (d).
- Assizes at Canterbury. The last assizes that were held in Canterbury was in 1741. One had been held in 1787, to try the master and mistress of the City Workhouse, John Bell and his wife, for embezzlement.
- Tunstall. In January, 1788, 624 *broad pieces of gold* were discovered at Tunstall, near the ruins of the ancient mansion of the Hales family. A lady then living well remembered the concealing of them after the defeat at Maidstone in 1648. She also stated that jewels were deposited at the same time at the same place, then called Gascoyne Walk, but they never could be found. Sir John Hales claimed the money, not only as Lord of the Manor, but from the supposition that his ancestor had hid them during the civil war.
- Treasure Trove.
- Hasted, Vol. II., p. 582.
- Smuggling. The oft-repeated adage, that if there were no receivers there would be no thieves, equally applies to smuggling. It is to be feared that during the seventeenth century persons of position and influence gave encouragement to import as well as export-smuggling, and thus in a great measure became responsible for the loss of life, or liberty, of many poor ignorant men, who, for the sake of gain and drink, abandoned their honest employment, and turned night into day, until, like the poachers, they became thieves, and even murderers. Import-smuggling, so far from being diminished during the eighteenth century, grew into a recognised occupation, while the smugglers

became more bold and violent. The Government of the day were compelled to take prompt and decisive measures to check smuggling and its consequences, and at last £500 was offered as a reward for *each* conviction, which was only to be obtained on the evidence of accomplices and approvers.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Many of my readers have no doubt read "The Smug-gler," by G. P. R. James. He tells us in the introduction, that of all counties the most favoured one for smuggling was Kent. Its geographical position, its local features, its variety of coast, were all in their turn taken advantage of. Sussex was not without its share of facilities, nor did its inhabitants fail to improve them, but they were at a greater distance from the opposite coast, and their contraband trade could not be compared to that which was carried on from Romney Hoy to the North Foreland.

Smuggling
in Kent.

The fine level of "the Marsh," a dark night, and a fair wind afforded a capital opportunity of landing a cargo and conveying it rapidly across the Weald. The dense woods, parks, farm buildings, and even churches and churchyards were all at one time or another made use of as places of concealment. The smugglers assembled in large numbers, and were resolute and determined men, while the officials and cultivators of the soil too often connived at their illicit proceedings. The seizures bore no proportion to the gains, and about the middle of the eighteenth century smuggling appears to have become a very successful occupation. The land smugglers travelled in companies, sometimes amounting to thirty and upwards, and defied the civil and military authorities, until at last they became the terror of the inhabitants on the southern coast.

The most formidable was known as "The Hawkhurst Gang," and was a long time a pest to the Weald, until the year 1747, when many of the inhabitants of Goudhurst signed a declaration expressing their abhorrence of the conduct of the smugglers, and their determination to oppose them. A young man named Sturt,* a

The
Hawkhurst
Gang of
Smugglers.

* He afterwards became Master of the Goudhurst Workhouse.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The
Hawkhurst
Gang of
Smugglers.

native of Goudhurst, who had lately received his discharge from the army, placed himself at the head of "The Goudhurst Band of Militia." The smugglers were resolved to try their strength with these Volunteers, preparations for a conflict were made, and arms and ammunition provided on each side. At a time appointed, the smugglers made their appearance, headed by their captain, one Thomas Kingsmill, *alias* Staymaker, a native of Goudhurst.* Shots were exchanged, and one of the smugglers fell; but it was not until two more lost their lives and others were wounded that the smugglers withdrew. They were pursued by the Volunteers. Kingsmill escaped for the time, but some were apprehended. Bernard Woollett, of Cranbrook, one of the three who were killed, was shot in Goudhurst churchyard.† The two pistols and blunderbuss belonging to them were sold in 1847 to Mr. E. Hayward, of Bethersden, for £10!

Shortly after this adventure the Dorset smugglers met with a reverse. A revenue cutter captured on 22nd September, 1747, a boat from Guernsey with upwards of two tons of tea and thirty-nine casks of spirits, strung with ropes, ready to be loaded on horses. The goods were safely deposited in the Custom House at Poole, and being so valuable a cargo, the smugglers resolved on endeavouring to recover it. They called to their assistance "The Hawkhurst Gang," broke open the Custom House, and recovered the tea and spirits. Fearing they should be apprehended in consequence of a statement made to a Custom House officer by a shoemaker named Chater, the smugglers murdered both of them in a most brutal way. Being betrayed by one of their gang, a special commission for the trial of seven of the murderers was held at Chichester, in January, 1749. They

* He was not thirty, and being of an enterprising spirit, was selected by adventurers in all dangerous exploits, as he had proved he could be trusted.

† John Hook, one of the gang, had been shot in 1740, near Sissinghurst Park. —Tarbutt's Annals of Cranbrook Church, Part 2, p. 41.

were convicted, and executed the day after their trial, except one, who died within a few hours of his conviction. Apprehensions, trials, and convictions of other members of the gang followed. Some of the Hawkhurst gang, including Captain Kingsmill and his second in command, William Fairall *alias* Shepherd, aged twenty-eight, born at Horsendown [Horsmonden?] Green, in Kent, who described himself "of no business, but inured to smuggling from his infancy," were not tried until 1749, when they were indicted at the Old Bailey for breaking into the Custom House at Poole. One of the accomplices at the trial stated, that "The Hawkhurst Gang were called the 'East Country people,' and were fetched to help to break the Custom House." "There were thirty-one horses and thirty men of us; the odd horse belonged to the east countrymen, and carried their arms." Another witness said, "Some had pistols, some blunderbusses; all the Hawkhurst men had long arms slung round their shoulders." "Seven of the Hawkhurst Gang met them at the forest of Bare [in Hampshire]." The jury convicted four of the five prisoners, and recommended one to mercy. Kingsmill, Fairall, and a man named Perrin were executed at Tyburn, 20th April, 1749. Kingsmill's body was hung in chains at Goudhurst Gore, and Fairall's at Horsendown [Horsmonden?]. The lane is called Gibbet Lane.

The contention of all the prisoners was, that there was no crime in smuggling, or in recovering their own goods in Poole Custom House.

During the interval between this outrage and the conviction of the gang, they supported themselves by highway robberies and house-breaking. Four of the Hawkhurst gang were hung for highway robbery, who confessed that they had been smugglers for many years, and had committed numerous robberies; but were never concerned in any murder. Two of them, the Kemps, appear to have been in a better position in life. Previous to Thomas Kemp's conviction for housebreaking, at Heathfield, he

CHAP. XXXIII.

The
Hawkhurst
Gang of
Smugglers.

had been in confinement at Newgate, with one William Gray (another of the Hawkhurst gang) for a Crown Debt, [probably a penalty for smuggling]. While there, they were visited in the press yard by three other smugglers, who agreed at all hazards to assist in releasing them. The time was fixed, the three smugglers rang the bell in Newgate Street, the turnkey opened the door, and one of them, Thomas Potter, knocked him down with a horse-pistol, and all the five escaped. Three other prisoners also got out, but being in irons were soon recaptured.

Beside these, four smugglers from Hawkhurst and High Halden were tried at Rochester, and executed on Penenden Heath,* two for house breaking at Mr. John Rich's, at Linton, and Mr. Wright's, at Snave; another (the Thomas Potter, of Hawkhurst, who was concerned in the release of the prisoners from Newgate) was convicted of horse stealing. This formidable gang was thus broken up, but the profits of their illicit trade were, as Mr. Cooper states, too great a temptation to allow it to be abandoned.†

The New Style.

Down to the middle of the eighteenth century, for all ecclesiastical purposes, the new year commenced in England on 1st January, while for civil ones it began on 25th March, though up to the time of the Commonwealth the civil government used only the date of the King's reign. The calendar having been reformed by Pope Gregory XIII., in 1582, there had by this time arisen a difference in the computation of time in these kingdoms from that usually employed in most parts of the Continent of eleven days, which occasioned great inconvenience. To remedy

* One of them, William Priggs, was born at Sellinge, and had been a smuggler for many years. He declared he was not concerned in a robbery at the Rev. John Wentworth's, at Brenzet Rectory, but that one Buller was.

† I am indebted to Mr. John Banks, of Hastings, for a sight of the copy of the proceedings of the "Hawkhurst Gang," referred to in Mr. W. Durrant Cooper's "Smuggling in Sussex," *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. X., p. 87, from which I have drawn the foregoing account.

this, it was enacted that the 1st of January next following the last day of December, 1751, should be *the first day of the year 1752*, and that the 1st of January should be the first day of every succeeding year; as also, that the redundant eleven days should be struck out of the calendar, the day following September 2nd, 1752, being styled September 14th. This is called the new style. The old one, however, still prevails in Russia, and in other countries belonging to the Greek Church.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A.D. 1751.

24 Geo. II.,
c. 23.

A tempest known as the great storm visited many parts of England in 1708, and lasted from November 26th to December 1st. It destroyed Eddystone Lighthouse, and the loss of life and shipping was very great. But perhaps the most severe storm that ever visited any portion of the Weald of Kent, occurred August 19th, 1763. It arose off the coast of Sussex, and passing through that county, at Tunbridge Wells, crossed Kent. It raged most in the parishes of Tunbridge, Speldhurst, Penshurst, Tudely, Capel, Pembury, Brenthley, part of Hadlow, Yalding, Hunton, Mereworth, the Peckhams, Watlingbury, Nettledon, East Malling, the Farleighs, Barming, Loose, Maidstone, Boxley, and Debting. Occurring as it did in harvest, and on the eve of hop and fruit picking, the consequences were most disastrous. Many barns and even houses were blown down. In the High Street, Maidstone, the frames as well as the glass of the windows were broken. The hail consisted of large pieces of ice of irregular shape; at Barming a piece was taken up nine inches in circumference. A subscription was set on foot and nearly £3,000 (a large sum in those days) was raised to relieve the sufferers.

The Storm in
the Weald,
A.D. 1763.

In the year 1778, France, with Spain as her ally, gave her support to the revolted American colonies, and made strenuous efforts to secure not only the sovereignty of the seas, but to invade England. A French army consisting of 40,000 men was drafted into the different sea-port towns fronting the south coast of England. The men of Kent, in connection with the great mass of the people,

Jesse's
George III.,
Vol. II., p. 245.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Annual
Register, 1778,
quoted in
Martin's
Leeds Castle,
p. 195.

proved no less resolved than their Sovereign, to maintain the honour and safety of their common country.

The Hon. Robert Fairfax* (afterwards seventh Lord Fairfax), occupied Leeds Castle at this time, and on 8rd† November he had the honour of entertaining George III. and his Queen at the castle, being the day on which their Majesties reviewed the forces encamped on Coxheath, consisting of twelve regiments of militia, one regiment of dragoons, and six regiments of regular infantry, and numbering 15,000 men.

"His Majesty having reviewed the troops, remained until the evening gun had fired, when his Majesty, mounting his horse, proceeded to Leeds Castle, the seat of the Hon. Mr. Fairfax, where his Majesty arrived, as did also the Queen, at seven o'clock. The castle and approaches to it were elegantly illuminated in honour of their Majesties; and the several general officers and colonels in camp had the honour of dining with his Majesty.

"At nine o'clock on Wednesday morning the Mayor and Corporation of the town of Maidstone waited on his Majesty with an address, which was very graciously received by his Majesty; and the Mayor, Deputy-Recorder, and Jurats, and Common Council, had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand.

"His Majesty was at the same time pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on William Bishop, Esq., the Mayor of Maidstone.

"The Corporation also waited with an address on the Queen.

"During the whole of these excursions the King was pleased to give sums of money for the poor of the several parishes through which their Majesties passed, and to direct a return and state of all the persons confined for debt in the prisons of Maidstone, in order that such of them as shall appear proper objects may receive his Majesty's royal bounty for their enlargement.

"At eleven o'clock their Majesties, attended by their suites, left Leeds Castle on their return to the Queen's House, where their Majesties arrived at four o'clock."

* Thomas, the third Lord Fairfax, became Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces, and assisted in the restoration of Charles II., being the head of the Commissioners who waited on the King at Breda. He obtained the Royal pardon, which is preserved at Leeds Castle. He died without male issue in 1761, and his first cousin succeeded him. He was followed by his son Thomas, who married Catherine, daughter and heiress of Thomas Lord Colepeper, and became entitled in her right to Leeds Castle. His son Thomas succeeded to the title and castle, and, crossed in love, he left England for his vast estates in Virginia, North America, having previously put his brother, the above-named Robert, in possession of Leeds Castle. The castle shortly afterwards devolved to the family of Martin, Philip Wykeham Martin, M.P. for Rochester, being the present owner.

† The date given by the late Mr. Martin is the 23rd, which is incorrect.

The spectacle on this occasion had not been surpassed in England since the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada. "The King's magnanimity," writes Lord George Germaine to Sir Henry Clinton, "is not to be shaken by the nearness of danger." The fact is well known that, had the enemy succeeded in landing, it was the King's intention to fight them at the head of his subjects.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

Earl Stanhope's England, Vol. VI., p. 407.

The united French and Spanish fleet was numerically larger than the British, and, having sailed into the Channel, they began to menace our coast. A quarrel, however, between their admirals, averted the threatened danger. The Spanish admiral was in favour of an immediate invasion; while the French admiral protested against such a step, unless preceded by the capture or destruction of our fleet. In the meantime a malignant fever broke out in both the enemies' fleets which carried off 8,000 Spanish seamen, while their admiral steered towards Spain, and the French admiral made the best of his way to Brest.

A.D. 1779.

Jesse's Geo. III., Vol. II., p. 243.

Nothing could be more gloomy than the state of affairs in Great Britain as the eighteenth century drew to a close. The national burthens were increasing, the £3 per cents. had fallen to fifty-one, party spirit raged with violence, and Ireland was ripe for rebellion. The fear of invasion brought on a panic, followed by a run on the banks, and cash payments were suspended. To this list of troubles we must add an unexpected mutiny of the fleet, brought about by the discontent of the sailors on account of the lowness of their pay, the frauds of the pursers,† an unequal distribution of prize money, and undue severity. It commenced at Spithead, on the 15th April, 1797, and, under more skilled leaders, soon after-

A.D. 1797.

Mutiny at the Nore.

* 50,000 regular troops and about the same number of Militia were collected to repel this threatened invasion.

† These men were charged with habitually issuing short weight and measure; so that "the purser's pound" had become a common phrase in the Navy.

CHAP. XXXIII.

wards spread to the Nore. The King remained firm, and was nobly supported by Parliament. A bill was promptly passed, prohibiting all communication with the mutineers on pain of death. Sheerness and Tilbury Fort were armed and garrisoned for the defence of the Thames. The sailors found their cause desperate, and one by one the ships returned to their duty. Parker and some of the other ringleaders suffered death. The suppression of this mutiny with so little loss of life has been considered as one of the greatest achievements of this reign.

The Irish
Rebellion.

The next peril which awaited Great Britain was the Irish rebellion, under an association called "The United Irishmen," formed for the overthrow of the British Government and the formation of a Republic allied to France, whose assistance had been secured by a treaty concluded by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others. The only Kentish incident connected with this rebellion was the arrest at Margate, and trial for high treason at Maidstone, in May, 1798, of Arthur O'Connor (nephew to Lord Longueville) who came to England with James Coigley (an Irish priest) and John Binns, and two attendants, John Allen and Jeremiah Leary.

Trial of
Arthur
O'Connor and
others.
A.D. 1798.

The Judges were Mr. Justice Buller and Mr. Justice Heath. Lord Romney, the Lord Lieutenant, was on the bench, and the then Sir Edward Knatchbull was foreman of the Grand Jury. It appeared from the evidence that the prisoners proceeded to Canterbury and thence to the Bear and Key at Whitstable, and afterwards to Deal, where they attempted to hire a boat to cross the Channel on a pretended smuggling expedition. To secure the return of the boat £300 was to be deposited in the Canterbury Bank. They were arrested at the King's Head, Margate. The treasonable paper found in their possession was headed "The Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France," and a most inflammatory production it was. One circumstance connected with this trial should be noticed. Three of the petty jurors had been summoned from the Hundred of Blackborne, which

From the
shorthand
writer's report,
published by
Ridgway.

includes five of the parishes in the Weald, and it would appear that the Rev. Arthur Young, the great Suffolk agriculturist,* had been dining with them previous to the trial, and he wrote to a friend at Bury the particulars of what had passed over the dinner table and the advice he had given these jurors. The letter got into the hands of the prisoners' counsel, and is worth reading as exhibiting the intense hatred which even the educated English bore towards the French at this time. It will be found at the end of this volume. As may be supposed, some severe remarks were made by the Court upon it, and no one summoned from that Hundred was admitted into the jury box. The jury acquitted all the prisoners, except Coigley the priest, who was afterwards executed at Penenden Heath.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Appendix B.

7th June, 1798.

After the sentence on Coigley was passed, two Bow-street officers attempted to seize Mr. O'Connor while at the bar. The court prevented this, and O'Connor succeeded in getting into the body of the court, when a number of police officers rushed in, swords were drawn and several persons struck, others were knocked down, and the tumult became alarming. Mr. O'Connor was brought back to the bar, and a warrant for his arrest for high treason, signed by the Duke of Portland, was produced. He then made the following appeal to the Bench:

"Will the officers take their hands off. If I am again to be confined, may I not beg the indulgence of being sent to the same place as my brother? I have seen swords drawn upon me, after my acquittal in this court. I am not afraid of death. If I am to die, let me die here. Life is not worth preserving on the terms I now hold it; for, if I must waste it out in loathsome dungeons, another confinement will soon be fatal to me." He was then removed.

O'Connor was afterwards sent to Fort George, in Scotland, and ultimately banished. His treasonable proceedings involved no less a person than Sackville, Earl of Thanet, who, on the 25th of April, 1799, was tried with Robert Fergusson, barrister-at-law, for conspiring to rescue O'Connor. The Earl was condemned to pay a fine

The Earl of
Thanet's
imprisonment.

* The Rev. Arthur Young was, if I mistake not, employed by the Board of Agriculture at this time to survey and report on the county of Sussex, which report was printed in 1808.

CHAP. XXXIII

of £1,000 and to be imprisoned for one year in the Tower. Fergusson was fined £100, and imprisoned one year in the King's Bench Prison.

War with France continued without intermission to the close of this century, and an offensive and defensive alliance between Great Britain and Russia was concluded December 18th, 1798. The volunteer force had been again embodied, and George III., who was always pleased and ready to inspect in person the various corps raised by his subjects, signified to the Earl of Romney (the Lord Lieutenant) his desire to review in his Lordship's Park (the Mote)* the corps of yeomanry, cavalry and volunteer infantry raised by the men of Kent, and then under the command of General Sir Charles Grey. Thursday, the 5th of August, 1799, was appointed for that purpose. The cavalry formed in two corps under Sir Robert Lawrie, Bart.; the infantry in six battalions, under the Hon. Lieutenant-General Fox.

The troops began to assemble at five a.m. The Duke of York arrived about ten, attended by Sir Charles Grey, Sir Robert Lawrie, General Fox, the Lord Chancellor, and many of the nobility and gentry, including Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham.

The habit of early rising of George III. and his Consort cannot be better exemplified than by stating that they departed from Kew at five o'clock in the morning, partook of breakfast at the mansion of the Earl of Camden, at the Wilderness, Sevenoaks, and arrived at the Mote about mid-day.

His Majesty rode his charger on the ground, attended

Rowles's
History of
Maidstone,
p. 42.

The Review at
the Mote,
A. D. 1799.

* The Mote was held by a branch of the Tufton family during the greater part of the seventeenth century, when it was sold to Sir Robert Marsham (a member of an old Norfolk family), who died there in 1692, in which year he was Sheriff of Kent. His son Robert succeeded to the baronetcy and estate, and was created a peer in 1716, by the title of Lord Romney. The present Earl, to whom the County of Kent has been so long indebted for the faithful and conscientious manner in which he has discharged the several important offices which have from time to time been entrusted to him, is the fifth Baron and third Earl. His lordship was born in 1808, and married the fourth daughter of the late Duke of Buccleuch, who died in 1846.

by the Prince of Wales, and the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester; the Queen was accompanied by the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, and attended by Lady Harrington. Her Majesty drove to the royal marquee, on the rising ground near the mansion, where they decorated themselves with oak boughs, &c.

After the firing of a Royal salute, the troops passed in review before His Majesty, the Royal Dukes, and a splendid retinue of generals and noblemen. Out of a return of 5721 Volunteers, 5228 appeared on the ground.

At the termination of the review, his Majesty returned to the royal marquee, held a levée, and received an address from the Corporation of Maidstone, and conferred the honour of knighthood on the High Sheriff, Samuel Chambers. The royal family dined at three. The guests included the names already mentioned, and Lord Romney, his son the Hon. Charles Marsham, and his three daughters. The royal family partook of coffee at the mansion, and quitted the park for Kew, at six o'clock. Ninety-one tables were erected for the entertainment of 6,000 volunteers.

The principal dishes provided for the Volunteers, consisted of	
60 Lambs in quarters, making	220 Dishes of boiled beef.
240 dishes.	220 „ of roast beef.
700 Fowls.	220 „ of veal.
300 Hams.	220 „ of meat pies.
300 Tongues.	220 „ of fruit pies.

Seven pipes of wine, 16 butts of beer.

600 poor families were relieved by the fragments.

Before quitting the park the King conveyed to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Romney, his warmest thanks and approbation, and likewise to the officers in command of the Kent Volunteers. His Majesty also released the debtors confined in Maidstone gaol for crown debts.

The freedom of the City of Canterbury was presented to the Earl of Romney, and, pursuant to a resolution passed at Sittingbourne, on the 8rd of September following, a pavilion of Portland stone was erected, by subscription, on the spot where the royal marquee stood, to commemorate this event.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Treasure trove
at Eastwell.

We have already noticed one case of treasure trove at Tunstall during this century; there was another in 1763, when about 200 pieces of silver coin and some few gold pieces, of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., were found concealed under the upper floor of an old house at Eastwell, in the course of being pulled down, which belonged to Mr. Thomas Waterman, of Faversham, surgeon. The coroner (Mr. Henry Francklyn) summoned a jury of twenty-four inhabitants living in Eastwell and the four adjoining parishes, who by their verdict found that the house was held of the Manor of Eastwell, within the liberty of the Royal Manor of Wye, both of which manors belonged to the Right Hon. Daniel Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, who claimed the coin.

Gray, the poet,
in Kent.

About the year 1766 Gray, the poet, visited the Rev. Wm. Robinson, then resident at Denton Court, where, according to the late Sir Egerton Brydges, he wrote one or two beautiful letters descriptive of the county, from London to the sea-coast, especially in the vicinity of Barham Downs. The churchyard at Thannington, near Canterbury, has been suggested as his "Country Churchyard."

In 1766 a border parish of the Weald found an English title for the eldest son of a Scotch Duke. The Duke of Argyll having purchased Combe Bank, in Sundridge, for an English residence, his eldest son, the Marquis of Lorn, his father being then living, was created a peer of England by the title of Baron Sundridge, of Combe Bank, in Kent.

Men of
eminence in
the Weald
during the
eighteenth
century.

This century gave birth to the following men of eminence, who were born in or near the Weald. George Byng first drew his breath at Wrotham, during the preceding century, and entered as a volunteer in the navy at the age of fifteen. He displayed great valour and naval skill, especially in 1718, when he defeated a Spanish fleet off Messina. He was created Baron Byng and Viscount Torrington in 1721, and died first Lord

of the Admiralty, in 1738. His fourth son, John, by Mary, daughter of James Master, of East Langdon, Kent, was born in 1704, and followed his father's profession. In 1756, having been appointed to the command of ten ships of the line destined for the relief of Minorca, an indecisive action with the French squadron caused him to be suspended and brought before a court-martial. He was found guilty of "not having done his utmost in the action," and sentenced to be shot, but recommended to mercy. The intrigues, however, of political enemies and venal writers prevailed, and the sentence was executed at Portsmouth, March 14th, 1757. He met his fate with calmness and fortitude, and posterity has done ample justice to his memory.

CHAP. XXXIII.

George Byng,
Viscount
Torrington.

His fourth
son.

Nicholas Amherst, author of "The Craftsman," which had a great circulation, was a native of Marden, and was born in 1706. Having been expelled from St. John's College, Oxford, he published satires against that University, known under the assumed name of *Terræ Filius*. He died in 1742 in poverty, and was buried by his printer, Richard Franklyn, deserted by Lord Bolingbroke, and his party.

Nicholas
Amherst.

There was another Amherst living at this time who did not carry on war with the pen, but with the sword. This was Jeffery Amherst, the descendant of an ancient family. He was born at Riverhead, in Sevenoaks, on 29th January, 1717. He was very young when he entered the army, and he rose to the rank of a major-general in 1758. He contributed materially to the reduction of Canada, in 1760, for which he received the thanks of Parliament. Shortly afterwards he was appointed to the command of all the forces in North America, and Governor of Virginia. A misunderstanding with George III. occasioned his sudden dismissal from the army; but the matter having been cleared up, he was in a few months reinstated, not only in his former rank, but also in royal favour, and other honours were conferred upon him. In 1776 he was created Baron Am-

Jeffery
Amherst,
afterwards
Lord Amherst.

CHAP. XXXIII.

herst, of Holmesdale, Kent, and subsequently Baron Amherst, of Montreal, in Canada, with remainder to his nephew. He twice held the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in which he was succeeded by the Duke of York, in 1798. An earldom and the dignity of Field-Marshal were offered to him, which he declined at that time, but subsequently accepted the latter. His lordship died at Montreal, Sevenoaks, in 1797, aged eighty-one. He left no issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, William Pitt Amherst, the grandfather of the present Lord Holmesdale, a Crimean officer, who a few years ago married "the heiress of the Weald," the Lady Julia Cornwallis, of Linton Place. His lordship is one of the present M.P.s for Mid Kent.

General Wolfe.

This century also gave birth to another military man of great renown, who was born at Westerham, on the confines of the Weald, in 1727, and fell at Quebec, in 1759, being only thirty-two. I allude to James Wolfe, the coadjutor of Amherst in America. He was the son of Colonel Edward Wolfe.* He entered the army very young, distinguished himself at Laffeldt, in Flanders, when he was only twenty, and his promotion was rapid. Mr. Pitt, having resolved to deprive the French of their most important settlements in America, sent an expedition against Louisbourg in 1758, under General Amherst, with whom Wolfe was associated, with the rank of Brigadier. After the fall of that place Amherst remained in America, preparing to attack the western part of Canada in the following summer, and Wolfe sailed from England with 7,000 men to join him. He arrived at the Isle of Orleans on the 26th of June, 1759, and soon learnt that Amherst had captured Fort Niagara only two days before. On the 12th of September Wolfe was in possession of the heights of Abraham, and the next morning his army was in order of battle within cannon-shot of the outworks of

* Some biographers call him Lieutenant-General, but his son's monument at Greenwich styles him only Colonel.

Quebec. The General in command of the enemy (who fell in the same field) lost no time in giving him battle. Wolfe was cheering on his men, when a musket shot struck him in the wrist. He wrapped a handkerchief round the wound and again headed his soldiers, when a second ball took effect in the upper part of the abdomen. Still he continued to give his orders, when a third shot pierced his breast and he fell. He was conveyed to the rear. He occasionally lifted his head, and when another wounded officer exclaimed, "See how they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe, raising himself on his elbow. "The enemy," replied the officer. He then gave orders to secure a bridge to cut off the enemy's retreat, and while the shout of victory rang in his ears his gallant spirit took its flight. His remains were interred at Greenwich. Pitt's prepared eulogium on his death was, like most of his set and studied speeches, a failure, at the very time that his contemporaries were anticipating an outburst of eloquence worthy alike of the living and the dead. It was, in fact, only when he spoke from the impulse of the moment that the eloquence of Pitt blazed forth in its full splendour.

Christopher Smart, the poet, was born at Shipbourne, in 1722, and died in 1771.

The non-conformists of the Weald can boast of William Huntington, S.S. ["sinner saved"], minister of the Gospel at Providence Chapel, Gray's Inn, on whom the late Poet Laureate (Southey), it is generally supposed, devoted fifty pages of the *Quarterly Review*, deserves some notice. His works, according to Southey, comprised twenty volumes; but this is short of the number by twelve. He was born in 1774, about midway between Cranbrook and Goudhurst. He minutely describes the spot in one of his volumes, which will be found in the review. "The coal-heaver who, by virtue of his preaching, came to ride in his coach and marry the titled widow of the Lord Mayor [Lady Sanderson],* could be no ordinary man."

CHAP. XXXIII.

Christopher
Smart.

William
Huntington,
S.S.

Vol. XXIV.,
p. 462.

* On the road from Staplehurst to Cranbrook stands a dwelling house, styled "My Lady's Cottage, 1809." Huntington, it is understood, built

CHAP. XXXIII.

A vein of humour runs through all his writings. Thus, in describing his struggles in early life, he says, "As for my endeavouring to save money for clothes at day labour in the Weald of Kent, it is like fetching a penny at a time out of Pharaoh's brick kilns, where a double task must be performed, and no materials allowed." But I must refer my readers to the review itself. It will suffice to add that he died in 1813, at Tunbridge Wells, and was buried at Lewes.

M.P.s for
Kent,
18th Century.

The gentlemen who served the county in Parliament during this century were:—

WILLIAM III.

1701.—Sir Thomas Hales and William Campion.

QUEEN ANNE.

1702.—Sir Thomas Hales and Sir Francis Leigh, Knt.

1703.—William, Lord Villiers, and Sir Cholmeley Dering.

1708.—Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir Stephen Leonard.

1709.—David Polhill, *vice* Sir S. Leonard, deceased.

1710.—Sir Cholmeley Dering and Percival Hart.

1711.—Sir William Hardres, *vice* Sir C. Dering, deceased.

1713.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and Percival Hart.

GEORGE I.

1715, 5th Feb.—The Hon. Mildmay Fane and William Delaune.

1715, Sept.—John Fane, *vice* Mildmay Fane, deceased.

1722.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and Sir Thomas Twisden.

GEORGE II.

1727.—Sir Roger Meredith and Sir Robert Furnese.

1733.—Sir Edward Dering, *vice* Sir R. Furnese, deceased.

1734.—William, Lord Viscount Vane, and Sir Edward Dering.

1734.—Sir Christopher Powell, *vice* Lord Vane, deceased.

1741 and 1747.—Sir Edward Dering and Sir Roger Twisden.

1754.—The Hon. Lewis Watson and the Hon. Robert Fairfax.

1760.—Sir Wyndham Knatchbull Wyndham, *vice* the Hon. Lewis Watson, now Baron Sondes.

GEORGE III.

1761.—The Hon. Robert Fairfax and Sir W. K. Knatchbull Wyndham.

1763.—Sir Brook Bridges *vice* Knatchbull Wyndham.

1768.—Sir Brook Bridges and John Frederick Sackville.

1769.—Sir Charles Farnaby, *vice* J. F. Sackville, now Duke of Dorset.

1774.—The Hon. Charles Marsham and Thomas Knight, the younger.

1780 and 1784.—The Hon. Charles Marsham and Filmer Honywood.

it as a residence for his sisters. Lady Sanderson, having survived Huntington, was by her own directions buried, in 1817, in the garden belonging to this cottage, where the raised monument over the grave may still be seen.—Tarbutt's "Annals of Cranbrook Church," Part II., p. 89.

1790.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and Filmer Honywood.

1796.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and Sir William Geary.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE SHERIFFS OF KENT DURING THE 18TH CENTURY.

1700 WILLIAM WOODGATE.	1735 BALDWIN DUPPA, JUN.
1701 ISAAC LOADER.	1736 ABRAHAM SPENCER.
1702 BOWYER HENLEY.	1737 THOMAS MAYLYN.
1703 THOMAS GOLDING.	1738 JONES RAYMOND. ||
1704 SIR THOMAS COLEPEPER.	1739 ROBERT LACY.
1705 SIR EDWARD BATTENSON.	1740 JOHN SMITH. ¶
1706 SNELLING THOMAS	1741 JOHN LIDGBIRD.
1707 PERCIVAL HART.	1742 JOHN MASON.
1708 JAMES CODD.*	1743 THOMAS WHITAKER.
1709 SIR COMFORT FYTH.	1744 THOMAS HODSDON.
1710 SIR THOMAS STYLE.	1745 JOHN COOKE.
1711 HUMPHRY STYLE.	1746 ARTHUR HARRIS.
1712 JOHN HOOKER.	1747 WILLIAM QUILTER.
1713 LEONARD BARTHOLOMEW.	1748 SAMUEL COLLETT.
1714 JOHN LYNCH.	1749 RICHARD HORNSBY.
1715 DAVID POLHILL.	1750 RICHARD MERRY.
1716 RICHARD GEE.	1751 JAMES BEST.
1717 RICHARD SHELDON.	1752 SIR JOHN HONYWOOD.
1718 JOHN STEPHENS.	1753 SIR JOHN SHAW.
1719 JOHN HAMILTON.	1754 SIR THOMAS RIDER.
1720 SIR CHARLES FARNABY.	1755 GEORGE SAYER.
1721 JONATHAN SMITH.	1756 JOHN COCKAIN SOLE.
1722 PETER BURREL.	1757 WM. GLANVILLE EVELYN.
1723 WILLIAM GLANVILLE.	1758 THOMAS WHITAKER.
1724 SIR ROBERT AUSTEN.	1759 PYKE BUFFAR.
1725 JAMES MASTER.	1760 SIR THOMAS WILSON.
1726 JOHN SAVAGE.†	1761 WILLIAM JUMPER.
1727 SAMUEL PUGH.	1762 SIR GEORGE KELLEY.
1728 ROBERT WELLER.	1763 WILLIAM GORDON.
1729 THOMAS MAY.‡	1764 HENRY GOODWYN.
1730 MAWDISTLEY BEST.	1765 SIR RICHARD BETENSON.
1731 JAMES BROOKS.	1766 WILLIAM WILSON.
1732 WILLIAM JAMES.	1767 JAMES WHARTMAN.
1733 SIR BROOK BRIDGES.§	1768 RICHARD HULSE.
1734 SIR HENRY HICKS.	1769 WILLIAM WHEATLEY.

* He died in office, and Stephen Stringer, of Goudhurst, served the remainder of the year.

† Died during the year, and was succeeded by Richard Lewin.

‡ He was the son of William Broadnax, of Godmersham, and in 1738 he took the name of Knight.

§ Died in office, and was succeeded by Sir Wyndham Knatchbull, Bart.

|| Died during the year, and Christopher Milles, of Nackington, served for the remainder of it.

¶ Died during his year of office, and John Douglas was appointed.

CHAP. XXXIII.	1770 JOHN TOKE.	1785 EDWARD KNATCHBULL.
	1771 WILLIAM DANIEL MASTERS.	1786 THOMAS HALLETT HODGES.
Sheriffs.	1772 JAMES FLINT.	1787 JOHN COTTIN.
	1773 JOSIAS FULLER FARRER.	1788 JAMES BOND.
	1774 WILLSHIRE EMMETT.	1789 JOHN CARTIER.
	1775 GRANVILLE WHEELER.	1790 LEONARD BARTHOLOMEW.
	1776 WILLIAM PHILP PERRIN.	1791 JAMES DRAKE BROCKMAN.
	1777 BENJAMIN HARENG.	1792 HENRY STREETFIELD.
	1778 JOHN WARDE.	1793 GEORGE NORMAN.
	1779 WILLIAM SLADE.	1794 RICHARD CAREW.
	1780 ROBERT BURBOW.	1795 GABRIEL HARPER.
	1781 JOHN CATOR.	1796 JOHN MUMFORD.
	1782 SAMUEL BOYS.	1797 GEORGE GROTE.
	1783 HENRY HAWLEY.	1798 JOHN PLUMPTRE.
	1784 SIR CHARLES BOOTH.	1799 SIR SAMUEL CHAMBERS.

Lord
Lieutenants.

The office of Lord Lieutenant during this century was successively held by Daniel Finch, Earl of Winchilsea; Charles Finch, Earl of Winchilsea; Lewis Watson, afterwards Earl of Rockingham; John Sidney, Earl of Leicester; Lewis Watson, Earl of Rockingham; Thomas Watson, Earl of Rockingham; Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset; Charles Sackville, Duke of Dorset; John Frederick, Duke of Dorset; and Charles, Earl of Romney.

Lord Wardens.

During the eighteenth century the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was successively held by the following distinguished individuals:—Prince George of Denmark (husband of Queen Anne); the seventh Earl and first Duke of Dorset, the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Holderness, Lord North (afterwards Earl of Guilford), and the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.—THE THREATENED INVASION OF ENGLAND.—THE GREAT BOUNDARY AND TITHE CAUSE IN THE WEALD.—THE TITHE ACT.—THE TENDERDEN TITHE SUIT.—COBBETT IN THE WEALD.—THE RAILWAYS THROUGH THE WEALD.—THE ARCHBISHOPS.—CHURCHES IN THE WEALD.—M.P.s FOR KENT.—SHERIFFS, &c.

THE present century includes the last twenty years of the reign of George III. and the reigns of George IV., William IV., and the commencement of the reign of Queen Victoria (whom God preserve), in the following order:—

George IV., from 20th January, 1820, to 26th June, 1830.
William IV. „ 26th June, 1830 „ 20th June, 1837.
Queen Victoria, from 20th June, 1837.

At the commencement of this century we find George III. taking great interest in the progress through Parliament of the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland. The Bill was passed 2nd July, 1800, and on 1st May, 1801, the Imperial Union banner waved for the first time on Dublin Castle. It, however, bore no “healing on its wings;” but what might have been the result had it been accompanied by Mr. Pitt’s promised measure for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics we cannot stop to consider.

Napoleon, “the master of military resources as vast as had been wielded by Julius Cæsar, and burning to avenge the disgrace of Cressy and Agincourt,” even during the

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Union of
Ireland with
England.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The
threatened
invasion of
England.

Jesse's
Geo. III.,
Vol. III.,
p. 326.

short-lived peace of Amiens, was making great preparations for his long-cherished scheme of invading Great Britain. Opposite our Kentish coast was encamped an army of 100,000 men, while at Boulogne and other ports was distributed a vast flotilla of gun-boats. A single battle, he calculated, would place the British Capital at his mercy. Great Britain had watched his proceedings, and was not unprepared; her fleets were more powerful than those of France, and the number of her enrolled volunteers and yeomanry, independent of the regular army, was estimated at 880,000. The Men of Kent again put themselves in the vanguard. Camps were formed at Coxheath, Chatham, Barham Downs, Dover, and Shorncliffe; barracks were erected at Brabourne and Ashford; and a Military Canal and martello towers constructed along our southern coast; in short, the whole country rose almost as one man to resist the threatened invasion; the clergy raised their voices in the pulpit, and poets became inspired with military ardour. Wordsworth thus appealed to the Men of Kent:—

“Vanguard of liberty! Ye Men of Kent,
Ye children of a soil that doth advance
Its haughty brow against the coast of France,
Now is the time to prove your hardiness.”

Ib. 327.

Mr. Pitt, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, proved a good Volunteer. He placed himself in a post of responsibility and danger at the head of 3,000 Volunteers.* If a landing (which was never attempted) had been effected in Kent, the King, nothing daunted, was to proceed to Dartford, and the Queen was to remove with her family to the Palace of the Bishop of Worcester.

This military ardour lasted until the call for it ceased with the victory at Waterloo.

The great
Boundary and
Tithe cause.

I shall now proceed to show that litigants were to be found who, with equal determination, were ready to contest

* Peter Pindar wrote thus:—

“Come the Consul whenever he will,
And he means it when Neptune is calmer,
Pitt will send him a d— bitter pill
From his fortress, the Castle of Walmer.”

the question of the boundary of the Weald of Kent. The legal warfare commenced in 1803, and terminated only a few days after the great Duke's victory.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Boundary
and Tithe
Cause.

From the earliest period of our history the Northern boundary had never been clearly defined. There was really no object in doing it in those days, when so much of the remainder of the kingdom of Kent, and subsequent county, was either forest or woodland. So long as it was not cultivated, the winds of heaven would continue to scatter the acorns and beech nuts, while the animals, insects, and feathered tribes that inhabited it would extend rather than contract its natural boundary. The only clue to it is to be met with in the names originally given to the places in and adjoining it.

Ante, Vol. I.,
p. 388.

In the first volume I have referred to the groundless tradition that the Pilgrims' Way formed such boundary. Even when travelling became more frequent, I think we must take it for granted that the communication between the Men of Kent and their southern neighbours was still a circuitous one, thus agreeing with the late George Stephenson's theory, that it is far wiser to travel round a difficult line of country than to penetrate and cut through it. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suppose that our earliest travellers from the west entered into Kent on the outskirts of the Forest, and thus formed a track or roadway, commencing at Westerham, which was subsequently adopted by the pilgrims travelling from Hampshire and Surrey, at the end of the twelfth century, on their way to Becket's Shrine, Canterbury, and was hence called the Pilgrims' Lane. Now, it must be obvious, that a road so called could have no more connexion with the Weald of Kent than Thomas à Becket has to do with the present Archbishop of Canterbury. The trackway was at a later period adopted by the clergy and their parishioners in some parishes in West Kent as *their boundary* of the Weald, and no one can question the wisdom of such an arrangement, especially if they wished to avoid litigation. But that the legal question

p. 415.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Boundary
and Tithe
Cause.

in dispute may be the better understood, I must explain that where the Pilgrims' Lane enters Kent it passes between two ridges of hills; the one to the north is called the Chalk or White Hills, and the other ridge to the south is called the Red Hills. This boundary lane might have been a good one for Westerham and the neighbouring parishes, but not so when the chalk hills approach East Kent, as they then let in a large area of country which neither geologically nor legally could have ever formed part of the Weald. Still, there were landed proprietors who had supported such a boundary. Among them was the ill-fated Sir Edward Dering (the first baronet), who through life never displayed much decision of character, and he at one time was in doubt as to *which* line of hills was the proper boundary. Sir Roger Twysden also evidently favoured the chalk-hill boundary. This state of uncertainty continued until the beginning of the present century, when Lord Le Despencer* undertook to try the question. An outlying and detached wood in Aylesford (part of a large tract generally called the Hurst Woods, now chiefly belonging to Sir William P. Geary, and brought into arable cultivation,) was made the *locus in quo*. The proceedings were instituted in the Court of Exchequer, and dragged on their tedious and costly course for more than ten long years, when a decision was obtained. In the meantime the whole district, comprising the clergy, the landlords, and their tenants, became agitated, and this excitement was not set at rest until the trial I am about to record took place.

The interest attached to this trial was considerable, for if Lord Le Despencer succeeded it would materially affect the incomes of twenty at least of the neighbouring clergymen. That the question might be fairly and impartially decided, it was tried at Croydon, before Lord Ellenbo-

* Thomas Stapleton, the twenty-second Lord, and grandfather of the present Countess of Falmouth, who is also Baroness Le Despencer in her own right.

rough and a special jury, on 28th July, 1815.* The then Solicitor-General (Sir Samuel Shepherd) was specially retained for Lord Le Despencer, and Serjeant Best (afterwards Lord Wynford) appeared for the Vicar. The issues directed by the Court of Exchequer to be tried were, whether certain underwood felled in an outlying part of Aylesford in 1803 and 1804 was grown on land situate within the Weald of Kent, and, if so, whether this woodland was exempt from tithes?

CHAP. XXXIV.
The Boundary
and Tithe
cause.

On behalf of Lord Le Despencer, it was contended that the Weald of Kent is bounded on the north by the *Chalk* and not by the *Red Hills*; that at the bottom of these chalk hills there is an ancient lane or road called Pilgrims' Road, and that whatever lies above it to the north is out of the Weald of Kent, and whatever lies to the south of this road is within it; that the land in dispute formed part of a large district of woodland, [the greater part of which has been since grubbed up], known as the Blaize, and called the Hurst Woods, which was within the Weald; that the Pilgrims' Road was not only the boundary of the Weald in Aylesford, but in other adjoining parishes; that all the woods within the Weald were by immemorial custom exempt from the payment of tithe; and that there is another custom in the Weald called land peerage, by which all timber growing on waste land, and the outrunnings of woods and fields, belong to the owner of the adjoining land, and not to the Lord of the Manor.

Lord Le Despencer, the plaintiff, called twenty-five witnesses in support of his case. Among them was the late Earl Stanhope, who stated that Chevening was about a quarter of a mile below the Pilgrims' Lane, which his lordship had always understood from his father and old inhabitants, was the boundary of the Weald, and he called it "the privileged part of Kent;" that he held land in Chevening, Sundridge, and Brasted, extending on both

* After making numerous searches and applications for an account of these proceedings, I succeeded in obtaining the shorthand writer's report, through the kindness of Archdeacon Grant. It was printed by Wickham and Cutbush, in 1815.

CHAP. XXXIV.

**The Boundary
and Tithe
cause.**

sides of it ; that he paid tithes for his woodlands above or on the north side of this road, but not on the south. His lordship proceeded to describe the custom of land peerage, and stated that he first heard of it in his father's lifetime, who was the Lord of the Manor of Chevening ; that if any trees were blown down on the north of the Pilgrims' Road, he should claim them as Lord of the Manor of Brasted ; but if they were on the south, he should give them up to the landholders whose land stood nearest the trees, in accordance with this custom. His lordship also referred to a dispute which occurred in his time, when he paid compensation in money for some trees which had been cut and dragged off the land by his servants, as he was clearly of opinion that he had no right to them as Lord of the Manor.

Mr. John Ward, of Westerham, was also examined on behalf of Lord Le Despencer. He said that Westerham was between the White or chalk Hills and the Red Hills ; that the Pilgrims' Road ran immediately under the white hills, and from what he had heard his father and other witnesses say, he considered the Pilgrims' Road was the boundary. In the course of his evidence, Mr. Ward stated that about twenty-two years before [1798] he was requested, with his brother magistrates, to decide whether it would be detrimental to the public if the road in question was diverted. They thought not ; but inasmuch as it was conceived to be the boundary of the Weald, a pledge was given on the part of Earl Stanhope that its course should not be altered. He also explained the custom of land peerage. The same testimony was given by twenty-three other witnesses ; *but it was all confined to the boundary of the Weald at this extremity of the county.*

Serjeant Best, on the part of the Vicar, told the jury that nearly all the evidence given by the plaintiff's witnesses had nothing to do with the case ; that by the common law of the land the clergymen of every parish was entitled to the tithe of wood, and that the onus was on the plaintiff to show that the Vicar had not the benefit

of this Common law right; that if Lord Le Despencer succeeded, in no less than twenty parishes within the limits of that district, where tithes of woodland had been immemorially paid, the clergy would be deprived of this right. The plaintiff's witnesses had commenced at Westerham, and travelled along by Seale, Wrotham, Trotterscliffe, Snodland, and northward to Halling; but they had never offered any evidence as to whether or not tithes of wood had been taken in Aylesford: that though much had been said about land peerage, they had never given the slightest evidence that this custom also prevailed in Aylesford. He thus proceeded:

"What is it to me what customs prevail in the Weald of Kent, if they do not extend to this little spot? The strength of my case depends on their weakness. They have given you evidence of reputation as to the boundary of the Weald, and that such boundary is to be found in the Pilgrims' Road. I will show you by evidence of reputation which is irresistible, that the Red Hills compose the true boundary. With respect to the parish of Aylesford, there is no evidence even of reputation; and there has been no evidence whatever respecting East and West Malling, Ditton, Boxley, Barming, Wateringbury, and other parishes that lie above. They have gone to the northward, and left these parishes untouched. Why is that? Because, in these and all the surrounding parishes, tithe has been paid on woodlands, not only as long as human memory can go, but as long as written memory can be traced. The Chalk Hills will enclose within the Weald the towns of Maidstone and Malling. Lord Stanhope, who professes great knowledge on the subject, says that a Weald means a Wild, and my learned friend, the Solicitor-General, who has been studying the Saxon language for the purpose of this cause, tells you that a Weald is nothing more or less than an immense wilderness, impervious to man or beast. If that is so, it is a very odd and extraordinary thing that Maidstone, which is the capital of Kent, should have been situate in a place impervious to the approach of man or beast! According to his account, there must have been a time when the Assizes could not have been held at Maidstone.* Wherever exclusive advantages are given to a particular district, you may depend upon it the boundaries will travel on, in order that places not within their limits may obtain a share of them."

He then inquired how it was that, if all within the White Hills as well as the Red were within the Weald,

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Boundary
and Tithe
cause.

* The holding of the Assizes at Maidstone, it should be remembered, was comparatively of recent date. It was one of the grievances of Jack Cade and his followers [A.D. 1450], that they had to travel from the furthest part of West Kent into East Kent to attend the Sessions of the Peace, "causing some men five days' journey."—Ante, p. 384.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Boundary
and Tithe
cause.

that a particular part of Sevenoaks should be called the Weald in contradistinction to other parts of the same parish. He contended that the boundary was not to be found here and there by travelling along this Pilgrims' Road; that parts of the Manors of Aylesford and Loose were in the Weald, though no parts of those *parishes* were within it; that nothing but the very great quantity of property in dispute could have made this a case of any consequence. The learned Serjeant thus concluded his address:

"The rights of the clergyman must be decided by long and established usage. We are no innovators. The respectable gentleman who is the defendant succeeded his brother in this living. He found the Church in possession of its rights; he considered that to give them up would not only affect his own interests, but the interests of those whose rights he was bound to protect. Considering the period of life to which he has arrived, he can hardly expect, after the great age he has attained, that he will derive much benefit to himself, personally, even from success. He defends the rights of the Church and his successors, because he considers it his duty to do so; he owes it to the Church, of which he is so honourable and distinguished a member, not to suffer its rights to be invaded. When you shall have heard the evidence, you will be equally anxious to protect the rights of the Vicar of this parish in particular as of the clergy in general. You will say that the attack of my learned friend falls short, that it stops where it ought to have gone on; and, upon the whole merits of the case, I am persuaded you will give your verdict for the defendant."

Eighteen witnesses, including the neighbouring clergy and land agents, were examined by the defendant's counsel. Among them was Mr. William Walker, who had succeeded his father as the steward of the Earl of Romney; he, with other surveyors, deposed that they had always paid tithes for wood in Aylesford, Boxley, Maidstone, Offham, Langley, East Barming, Ryarsh, Addington, Watlingbury, Mereworth, &c. That these parishes were all within the two ridges of hills (the White and the Red), and all to the south of the Pilgrims' Road, and they all considered these parishes without the Weald. One of them stated, "I should as soon think Barham Downs within the Weald as Aylesford." Another said that he always understood the boundary was by "Town Malling, Sutton, Linton, Coxheath, and that way." Mr.

Dudlow, the steward of the Manor of Aylesford, stated that he believed that no part of the district was in the Weald but what was below Linton and Coxheath, and that he had never heard that the Pilgrims' Road was the boundary until the cause commenced ; while another witness stated, "I always understood the Weald to be in the dirty country below Coxheath."

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Boundary
and Tithe
cause.

The Solicitor-General in reply referred to the contradictory evidence that had been given as to the boundary, and said it might be possible that both parties might be right. The Chalk Hills might be the proper boundary at that part where the Pilgrims' Road ran, and it might not be improbable in the more eastern parts of the county that the boundary was the Red Hills. It might be that the Pilgrims' Road on the east side of the Medway was not the boundary. He thus concluded :—

"When one considers what the Weald of Kent originally was, that it was certainly a wild inhospitable forest, so impervious that it could not, without considerable difficulty, be made the subject of cultivation, one may easily imagine what it was that gave rise to this species of exemption. It was in truth an advantage to the parson, that the tithe of wood should be taken away altogether, for it held out an inducement to persons to clear away the wood and cultivate the land ; this is supposed to have been the reason for the exemption. [?] It is very probable, that on the woods being cleared on the banks of the Medway and adjacent lands, persons not attending to what was the due custom of the Weald, have submitted to pay tithe, though strictly speaking they were not liable to it ; that may account for some of the places which have been mentioned paying tithe. It may have been the case with Malling, which lies close to the Medway ; the same may have been the case with regard to Maidstone, which is also on the banks of the Medway ; tithes may have been paid by the occupiers in ignorance of their rights and privileges, though there is no telling when the payment began. [?] It will not therefore follow that these parishes are within the line charged with the payment of tithes, even though a part of the Weald of Kent should be bounded by the Red Hills. * * * * *

I ask this question, If these parishes to the south of the Pilgrims' Road and the Chalk Hills are not within the line of boundary, what is ? If you are to take the Red Hills as the boundary, you must travel as far to the westward as Wrotham, and then to Chevening and Westerham, for there is an end of the land peerage. I am sure that the learned gentlemen on the other side will admit, that the land peerage depends on the locality of the Weald."

Lord Ellenborough in summing up told the jury that

CHAP XXXIV.

The Boundary
and Tithe
cause.

they had to decide whether the wood that had been cut down by Lord Le Despencer grew in the Weald of Kent, and whether it was subject to the payment of tithe. That the Rev. Mr. Eveleigh, as Vicar of Aylesford, had a common law right to the tithe of wood. The person who is to resist that claim with effect is bound to show some ground of exemption. The plaintiff says Aylesford is in the Weald of Kent, and he is bound to establish this by evidence to exempt the woodland in question from tithe; but it so happens that not only in Aylesford, but all the immediate "circumambient" parishes, with the exception of Leybourne, tithe of wood is taken. That was a fact that came upon him by surprise, for it had been stated on the part of Lord Le Despencer that the great discriminating feature in the case by which these lands were to be ascertained to be within the Weald of Kent was a total exemption from tithe; but so far from its existing, it was a place where tithe of wood had always been taken, and even paid by Lord Westmorland for this very land before the property came into the hands of the present possessor. Such evidence was utterly destructive of the discriminating criterion of its Wealdship, and of the custom of land peerage in Aylesford.

The jury, without retiring, immediately returned a verdict for the defendant, the Vicar.

While on the subject of the tithe of wood, it may be convenient here to notice, that Sir Thomas Plumer when Master of the Rolls remarked, in the case of *Chichester v. Sheldon*, that he knew of no instance in which the exemption from the payment of tithes of wood by a custom *in non decimando* had succeeded except in the Wealds of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey. As this custom has immemorially existed within the Weald it was only necessary in tithe suits to state it, and prove that the place in which the wood was felled was within one of these Wealds; but in all other districts the fact of immemorial non-payment, which constituted the prescription, had to be proved by sufficient evidence.

1 Turn., p. 245.

The tithe of
wood.

Why, it may be asked, was this privilege conferred on the owners of woodlands in the Wealds of these three counties, and which it must be remembered was enjoyed so long only as the lands were cultivated as woods? This question is easier put than answered.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Weald, we may conclude, was the last part of Kent that was formed into parishes, and whilst it remained extra-parochial the Sovereign in right of his crown was entitled to the tithes arising from the denes. In support of this I may instance Headcorn, at first only a dene; its church was originally part of the possessions of the Crown; it stands in no less than five Hundreds, Eythorne, Teynham, Barkley, Cranbrook, and Calehill; a small part of it is in East Kent and the remainder in Mid, formerly West Kent, as if detached and extra-parochial places had been collected together to form the parish. Now the fleet provided by the Cinque Ports was originally styled "The King's Navy," and as the three Wealds have ever been famed for their oak timber, and two of them were in the same counties as the Cinque Ports, I can assign no better reason for the exemption than to give encouragement to the growth of timber for ship-building;* and in the subsequent formation and endowment of these parishes this exemption of the woodland from tithe was preserved. I venture to think that this reason is a better one than that given by Sir Samuel Shepherd in his reply to the defendant's case in *Lord Le Despencer v. Eveleigh*. If neither is satisfactory to the reader, and he cannot find a better one, we must be content to leap over this chasm in the history of our county.

Headcorn.

Ante, p. 645.

Though this decision very properly upset the theory that the old Pilgrims' Lane was the correct northern boundary, still it was quite competent for parishes to adopt it, provided they were all agreeable; and we shall see, as we proceed, that they did so in some instances.†

* The oaks have been prized from time immemorial, and were so much preferred, that the navy contracts formerly specified that Sussex oak should be used.

† The present Dean of Westminster (the Very Rev. Arthur P. Stanley,

CHAP. XXXIV.
6 and 7 William
IV., c. 71.

The Tithe Act.

Twenty years elapsed, and matters remained *in statu quo*, when the Act for the Commutation of Tithes passed; and I think I am not saying too much when I pronounce that Statute one of the best of the present century, not only on account of its object, but also for the ability and skill with which it deals with a very complicated and intricate question. After an experience of thirty-five years we find no important modern Statute ever required so few amendments. Landed proprietors (like old Sir Roger Twysden),* as well as their tenants, were, and still are, naturally averse to every burthen imposed on the soil, and they were generally but too ready to go to law on the subject; but constantly recurring strife and heart-burnings between the lay tithe owner and the occupier, as well as between the minister of religion and his congregation, were thus put an end to, and the judicious cultivator of the soil has now no one to share in the profit arising from the increased capital he may expend on its improvement. I have always felt that it would have been better had the owners themselves been compelled to pay the clergy the rent charge; and better still, if the scope of the measure had been enlarged, so as to have included all customary payments and surplice fees.

The Tenterden
Tithe Suit.

At the time of passing the Tithe Act, a long, vexatious, and most expensive suit was going on in the Weald between the then Vicar of Tenterden (the Rev. Philip Ward) and the landowners, respecting the vicarial moduses of that parish; which, as was too often the case, ended in 1842 in a compromise, when the sum of £821 15s. 8d.

D.D.), in his "Historical Memorials of Canterbury" refers to this lane, and says it was an old British track marked often by long lines of Kentish yews, "usually creeping half-way up the hills immediately above the line of cultivation, and under the highest crest, passing here and there a solitary chapel or friendly monastery, but avoiding for the most part the towns and villages and regular roads. Probably for the same reason as in the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, the highways were unoccupied and the travellers walked through bye ways."—P. 195, and Mr. Way's note D.

* I have met with two or three references to his "Treatise on the Weald," but I cannot obtain any tidings of it, either at the British Museum or elsewhere, beyond the fact, that about a century ago it was in MS. in the possession of Mr. Jacob, the historian of Faversham.

per annum was awarded to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury and their lessee (a descendant of the Hales family), and £450 to the Vicar in lieu of all vicarial tithes, moduses, &c. The landowners' costs of this suit amounted to no less than £6,600, and were charged on the land of the parish subject to tithes, together with £2,865 16s. 5d. for the Vicar's arrears. We may assume that his costs were not far short of the landowners'. No trifling object was therefore attained in putting an end to such costly litigation, which, while it lasted, grievously interfered with all social and religious intercourse between the contending parties. The tithe on woodland in the Weald (which extended even to the timber grown in the hedgerows) now no longer affects the question of its boundary; and with respect to the custom of Land-Peerage, what little timber in the present day is to be found in outrunnings and slips of waste land by the road side, is now held by a comparatively recent decision to belong to the owners of the adjoining lands. So that, in truth, all legal distinctions and customs peculiar to the Weald have ceased.

George III. took great interest in agriculture and promoted the formation of agricultural societies. Under the name of Ralph Robinson, he addressed to Arthur Young, the agriculturist, certain letters on the cultivation of the soil. Besides holding the farms at Windsor, he converted a portion of Richmond new park into arable land. He also held the deer park and some land at Mortlake. "The ground, like man," said the King, "was never meant to be idle; if it does not produce something useful, it will be overrun with weeds." His education had been neglected; but industry, assisted by a memory of remarkable retentiveness, more than supplied this defect. He expired on 29th January, 1820, in the 82nd year of his age, being the first of our monarchs who died at Windsor. During his long and eventful reign, sixty years were running their course; fierce party struggles existed at home, and long, sanguinary, and costly wars abroad; but no unbiassed

CHAP. XXXIV

Land-Peerage.

Steel v.
Prichett,
2 Stark, p. 463.

Ante, p. 627.

Jesse's
Geo. III.,
Vol. III., p. 12.

Death of
George III.

CHAP. XXXIV.

person can peruse this king's life without being impressed with the belief that whilst his faculties remained unimpaired, he did all that was in his power to improve the condition, and elevate the tastes and morals of his people; and really deserved the name that was commonly bestowed on him, in his own time, of "the good old King." His Queen, Charlotte of Mecklenberg, died at Kew, 17th November, 1818, in the 75th year of her age.

Accession of
George IV.

The Prince Regent, now George IV., who had long exercised the functions of royalty, was proclaimed King. He ascended the throne at a season of more than ordinary peril. Distress was very prevalent, especially among the agriculturists, chiefly resulting from the termination of the war and the disbanding of our troops. A plot for the assassination of all the Cabinet Ministers, called the Cato Street Conspiracy, was discovered, and five of the conspirators were tried and executed. But I must be brief, and what more that I may have to record must be confined to Kent.

On the 23rd September, 1821, George IV. (having a short time before visited Ireland) passed through Kent, escorted by the Yeomanry Cavalry of the county, to Ramsgate, where His Majesty was the guest of the late Sir William Curtis, and embarked the next day on a visit to Hanover. He entered that capital October 11th, and returned November 8th. In the following year he embarked from Greenwich for Scotland, and entered Edinburgh August 11th, 1822.

Let us return to the Weald.

Wm. Cobbett
in the Weald.

That erratic spirit, the late William Cobbett,* in his rural rides through Kent, Surrey, Sussex, &c., thus humourously describes the agricultural labourer of the Weald in 1822:—

p. 57.

"I am of opinion that as much, and even more, falls to the lot of the leather-legged chaps that live in and rove about amongst these clays and woods as to the more regularly disciplined labourers of the rich and prime parts of England. As "God has made the back to the burthen," so the clay and coppice people make the dress to the stubs and bushes.

* William Cobbett died 18th June, 1835.

Under the sole of the shoe is *iron*; from the sole six inches upwards is a high-low; then comes a leather bairn to the knee; then comes a pair of leather breeches; then comes a stout doublet; over this comes a smock-frock; and the wearer sets brush and stubs and thorns and mire at defiance. I have always observed that woodland and forest labourers are best off in the main. The coppices give them pleasant and profitable work in winter. If they have not so great a corn-harvest, they have a three weeks' harvest in April or May; that is to say, in the season of barking, which employs women and children as well as men. And then, in the great article of *fuel*! They *buy* none. It is miserable work, where this is to be bought, and where, as at Salisbury, the poor take by turns the making of fires at their houses to boil four or five tea-kettles. What a winter-life must those lead whose turn it is not to make the fire!"

CHAP. XXXIV.

Again he writes:—

"Woodland countries are interesting on many accounts. Not so much on account of their masses of green leaves as on account of the variety of sights and sounds and incidents that they afford. Even in winter the coppices are beautiful to the eye, whilst they comfort the mind with the idea of shelter and warmth. In spring they change their hue from day to day during two whole months, which is about the time from the first appearance of the delicate leaves of the birch to the full expansion of those of the ash; and even before the leaves come at all to intercept the view, what in the vegetable creation is so delightful to behold as the bed of a coppice bespangled with primroses and blue-bells? The opening of the birch leaves is the signal for the pheasant to begin to crow, for the blackbird to whistle, and the thrush to sing; and just when the oak-buds begin to look reddish, and not a day before, the whole tribe of finches burst forth in songs from every bough, while the lark, imitating them all, carries the joyous sounds to the sky. These are among the means which Providence has benignantly appointed to sweeten the toils by which food and raiment are produced."

Ib., p. 63.

Woodland countries.

Proceeding from Frant to Lamberhurst, Cobbett describes the country as very woody, "five-tenths woods and three grass," and proceeds:—

"Lamberhurst is a very pretty place. It lies in a valley with beautiful hills round it. The pastures about here are very fine, and the roads are as smooth and as handsome as those in Windsor Park." * *

Ib., p. 223.

Lamberhurst.

"From this place I had three miles to come to Goudhurst, the tower of the church of which is pretty lofty of itself, and the church stands upon the very summit of one of the steepest and highest hills in this part of the country. The church-yard has a view of about twenty-five miles in diameter; and the whole is over a very fine country."

Goudhurst.

"Before I got to Goudhurst I passed by the side of a village called Horamonden and saw some very fine large hopgrounds away to my right belonging to a Mr. Springgett." * * * * *

"On leaving Goudhurst I mounted my horse and jogged on through

Ib., p. 231.

- CHAP. XXXIV. Milkhouse Street to Benenden, where I passed through the estate and in sight of the house of Mr. Hodges. He keeps it very neat and has planted a good deal. His *ash* do very well, but the *chestnut* do not, as it seems to me. He ought to have the American chestnut if he have any. If I could discover an *everlasting hop-pole*, and one, too, that would grow faster even than the *ash*, would not these Kentish hop-planters put me in the Kalendar along with their famous Saint Thomas of Canterbury? *We shall see this, one of these days.*"*
- Ib., p. 234. "Rolvenden was my next village, and thence I could see the lofty church of Tenterden on the top of a hill at three miles distance. This Rolvenden is a very beautiful village; and, indeed, such are all the places along here. Here the houses have gardens in front of them as well as behind; and there is a good deal of show and finery about them and their gardens. The high roads are without a stone in them; and everything looks like *gentility*. At this place I saw several *arbutuses* in one garden, and much finer than we see them in general; though, mind, this is no proof of a mild climate, for the *arbutus* is a native of one much colder than that of England, and, indeed, than that of Scotland."
- Rolvenden. "Coming from Benenden to Rolvenden, I saw some Swedish turnips, and strange as the reader will think it, the first I saw after leaving Worth! The reason I take to be this:—The farms are all furnished with grass-fields, as in Devonshire, about Honiton. These grass-fields give hay for the sheep and cattle in winter, or at any rate, they do all that is not done by the white turnips. It may be a question whether it would be more *profitable* to break up and sow Swedes; but this is the reason of their not being cultivated along here. White turnips are more easily got than Swedes; they may be sown later; and with good hay they will fat cattle and sheep; but the Swedes will do this business without hay."
- Ib., p. 235. "Tenterden is a market town, and a singularly bright spot.† It consists of one street, which is in some places more, perhaps, than two hundred feet wide. On one side of the street the houses have gardens before them, from twenty to seventy feet deep. The town is upon a hill. The afternoon was very fine, and just as I rose the hill and entered the street the people had come out of church and were moving along towards their houses. It was a very fine sight. *Shabbily-dressed people do not go to church*. I saw, in short, drawn out before me the dress and beauty of the town; and a great many very, very pretty girls I saw; and saw them, too, in their best attire." * * * * *
- Tenterden. "Tenterden Church is a very large and fine old building. The tower stands upon a base thirty feet square. Like the church at Goudhurst, it will hold three thousand people. And let it be observed that when these churches were built people had not yet thought of cramming them with *pews* as a stable is filled with stalls. Those who built these churches had no idea that worshipping God meant going to *sit* to hear a man talk out what he called preaching. By *worship* they meant very different things;
- Tenterden Church.

* As yet the creosote tank has not made it so, though it has done much to preserve it.

† Contrast this with Mr. Dearn's description of Tenterden, written not ten years before.

and above all things, when they had made a fine and noble building they did not dream of disfiguring the inside of it by filling its floor with large and deep boxes made of deal boards. In short, the floor was the place for the worshippers to stand or to kneel; and there was *no distinction*; no *high* and no *low* place; all were upon a level *before God* at any rate. Some were not stuck into pews lined with green or red cloth, while others were crammed into corners to stand erect, or sit on the floor. These odious distinctions are of Protestant origin and growth. This lazy lolling in pews we owe to what is called the *Reformation*. A place filled with benches and boxes looks like an eating or a drinking place; but certainly not like a place of worship.”*

CHAP. XXXIV.

In 1822 an ancient vessel was found in the old bed of the river Rother, in the Level of East Maytham, near Maytham Wharf, Rolvenden, under the bank of a sewer running into the present course of the river Rother to the west of the Isle of Oxney. She was dug out of ten feet of sea-sand by a labourer in the employ of the late Mr. J. Pomfret, the owner of the adjoining land. Her length was about sixty-three feet, and her breadth fifteen feet. She was built entirely of oak, perfectly sound and very hard, but much blackened. The caulking material was moss. The rudder appeared to have been curiously man-aged. She was floated on the 27th of August, when a small boat (or rather, the wreck of one) was also discovered. The late Earl of Romney was present at an inspection of the vessel, and agreed with Mr. Rice, of the College of Naval Architecture (who was also present), that she was a Dutch vessel, which was confirmed by the fact that several articles of Dutch manufacture were found in her; but beyond the handle or hilt of a sword there was nothing to lead to the conclusion that she had been a vessel of warfare. Human and other bones were found in the cabin, and part of the skull of a child. The loss of mast, bowsprit, anchor, and cable, were sufficient proofs that she had been wrecked, and there was a hole stove through her bottom forward. Nothing could be discovered to fix the age of the vessel, or probable period when it was wrecked. I have referred to the great storm, A.D. 1287, which altered the course of

An ancient
wreck in the
Rother.

Ante, p. 250.

* The church has been recently restored with very good taste, and well arranged open sittings now supply the place of the high pews.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Arch. Cant.,
Vol. III., p. 36.The civil
claims of
Dissenters and
Roman
Catholics.The great
Penenden
Heath
meeting,
A.D. 1828.

the Rother. The vessel might have perished then, or at a later period; but certainly before 1623, from which time the river here was not navigable.* Another vessel, supposed to be Danish, was discovered in 1860, in the bed of the Rother, near Rolvenden.

The long and persevering struggle to secure the civil rights of the Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom was now about to close. By the repeal in 1828 of the Test and Corporation Acts, every class (except Roman Catholics) were placed upon an equal footing as regards their eligibility to offices and employments. The Dissenters next made common cause with the Papists in support of their claims,† and on the 5th July, 1828, Mr. Daniel O'Connell was returned as the Roman Catholic member for Clare, but was not permitted to take his seat.

George IV., like his father, was strongly opposed to Catholic Emancipation, but he at last yielded to the arguments and entreaties of his Ministers (the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel), who felt that these claims could no longer be withheld. Roman Catholic associations and Brunswick clubs had been for some time in existence, and Penenden Heath was to be one of their earliest battle fields. On Friday, 24th of October, 1828, the largest county meeting that ever took place in Kent was convened there, for the purpose of petitioning Parliament that "the Protestant Constitution of the United Kingdom might be preserved entire and inviolate." The estimated attendance was 60,000 [over-rated no doubt]. The High Sheriff [Sir T. M. Wilson, Bart.,] presided. The Lord Lieutenant [the Marquis Camden] was on the side of the Emancipators, and with him the Earls of Darnley, Cowper, Thanet, Radnor, and Jersey; Viscount Torrington, Lords Say and Sele, Lord Clifton, and the

* Whoever wishes to pursue the subject will find a full account of it among the papers of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, read 7th November, 1822.

† The Protestant Dissenters of Cranbrook, under the pastorate of the Rev. Isaac Beeman, must be excepted.

Right Hon. J. Calcraft, Sir J. M. Tylden, Messrs. Baring, Warre, Hodges, Brockman, Rider, Darell, Knight, &c. Messrs. Shiel and Shee, two barristers,* and members of the Catholic Association, had been made freeholders of the county to enable them to address the meeting; but the former could not obtain a hearing.† William Cobbett and Henry Hunt, two of the stump orators of *that* day, were also present; but the meeting would not hear them either. On the anti-Catholic side were the Earls of Winchilsea, Romney, Amherst, Abergavenny, and Guilford, Viscount Sydney, Lords Le Despencer, Teynham, and Bexley, Sir Edward Dering, Sir Edward Knatchbull,‡ Sir Brook Bridges, and Sir John Bridges; the Hon. J. W. Stratford, W. Deedes, W. O. Hammond, &c., &c. The petition was proposed by Mr. George Gipps, and seconded by Mr. J. P. Plumptre. An amendment was moved by Mr. T. L. Hodges, proposing to leave the question to the Government to do what they considered best, which was seconded by the Earl of Radnor. The petition was carried by a large majority. The Emancipation Bill was introduced the next session, and was hastily passed.

Whilst the matter was under discussion, some severe remarks on the Ministerial policy made by the Earl of Winchilsea at a meeting in connexion with the then recently founded King's College gave great offence to the Duke of Wellington, and resulted in a duel between them, in Battersea Fields, on the 21st of March, 1829. The earl received the duke's fire without returning it, and then voluntarily gave the explanation that he had not

CHAP. XXXIV.

Duel between
the Duke of
Wellington
and the Earl of
Winchilsea.

* Mr. Shiel was returned for Tipperary in 1829, and in 1846, when Lord John Russell became Premier, he received the office Master of the Mint. In 1850 he went on an embassy to Florence, and he died there the next year. Mr. Shee was returned for Kilkenny in 1852. He practised in the Home Circuit, and was a general favourite. He was afterwards raised to the dignity of a Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench, being the first Roman Catholic Judge in modern times; he died in 1868.

† Mr. Shiel's speech, however, appeared the next morning in *extenso* in the daily papers.

‡ Sir Edward Knatchbull, in connexion with this measure, once exclaimed, "*Nusquam tuta fides.*"

CHAP. XXXIV. intended to impute personal dishonour to his opponent.* The feeling of hostility between them was not of long duration, and the Duke afterwards visited the Earl of Winchilsea, at Eastwell Park, and reviewed the Yeomanry Cavalry.

Agriculture in
the Weald.

If the civilization of a district is to be tested by the state of its agriculture, the condition of its roads, and the means of transport which it possesses, what rapid strides the Weald of Kent has made since the commencement of the present century—I may say, since the beginning of the reign of George IV! Very small fields and inclosures were then invariably to be met with (too many still remain), separated by wide shaws and hedge-rows, filled with wide-spreading and thriving oaks luxuriating in stiff clay. The activity also displayed in grubbing up these shaws and hedge-rows of underwood and timber is completely altering the face of the country, and bringing large areas of fresh soil into cultivation. In bygone days, some tenants holding under yearly agreements, possessing no capital, and often living upon harder fare than our present day labourers, cultivated the soil at the least possible expense. They would even suffer the couch to grow to such an extent as to admit of their depasturing their lambs upon it when weaned, until the winter set in. The more enterprising farmer now broad-shares his stubbles, and does all he can to secure a clear fallow. The steam-plough also is of great assistance to him. If the large breadth of land in this district cultivated as hop gardens is to be the test, then the return to the planter is remunerative, and the removal of the duty has not acted prejudicially to the Weald of Kent; while it must not be forgotten that the cultivation of hops affords much profitable employment to the labouring population. Green and

* I was a student in the Temple at the time, and walked to Westminster on the Saturday at noon, as the House of Lords had been adjourned to that day, that the Bill might be read a third time with all possible despatch. The Earl of Winchilsea rode to the House with his second, the Earl of Falmouth. I pointed him out to a friend who was with me, and the Brunswickers gave his lordship a cheer.

root crops are no doubt a great help to good farming, but the Weald is not adapted for turnips; the cost of cultivation is great, and the yield in a clay soil small. Turnips cannot be advantageously fed off here during the winter, as the land gets unkindly and impoverished by the wet.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Agriculture.

The attention of the reader has been already called to the application of marl as a manure, and the number of pits opened at Bethersden. I should not have again referred to this subject but for a letter from Captain Tylden-Pattenson, of Ibornden, who calculates that about thirty years ago there were fully 1,000 in Biddenden, or one to almost every seven acres; in some parts, one to every five. On 470 acres he had one hundred marl pits.

Ante, p. 24.

Marl Pits.

The greatest benefit, however, to the land in this locality has resulted from improved drainage during the last forty years. It was at first introduced by the late Mr. Thomas Law Hodges, of Hemsted, tried in some parts of the Weald with thorn-bushes, hop-poles, and stones laid in the bottom of a trench two feet deep; next by a half-circular tile pipe with a cover; then by a small pipe from one and a half to two inches in diameter. There is still a diversity of opinion as to the depth in which the pipes should be laid (varying from two to four feet), but this, one may suppose, should be regulated by the position of the field and nature of the soil. Drainage, accompanied by dressings of artificial manures, has proved highly beneficial to the district, so as to secure an increase of 50 per cent. in the average growth during the last forty years. To obtain this, however, an outlay exceeding in some cases the annual rent has become requisite. The tenancies are in most cases yearly. Whether the outlay still required is at the cost of the landlord or the tenant, or of both, some just and equitable protection is necessary to meet the cases of death or unexpected changes of ownership or tenancy.

Drainage.

Kent does not often take the lead in its agricultural implements; I was, therefore, pleased some time ago

CHAP. XXXIV.

Drainage.

to find that Mr. Dempsey, C.E., in his "Rudimental Treatise on Drainage," which has gone through four editions, gives three drawings of the ordinary Kent spade, which he says has been introduced into Ross-shire and other parts of Scotland, where it has been found to improve the method of cutting the drains, and also to cheapen their formation to a material extent.

More than forty years ago, before the circular spade came into use, a method to facilitate the cutting of drains was invented, and very successfully adopted, by Mr. John Pearson, of Peas-ridge Farm, Frittenden, the inventor, who was assisted by a Mr. Thomas Bridgland, who also lived at Frittenden at that time; and Captain Tylden-Pattenson has kindly procured for me the following description of it:—

"The instrument consisted of a plough very similar to the foot plough generally in use in Kent, but instead of having a coulter inserted in the beam it had two, one fastened on either side by means of strong iron bolts; their cutting parts extending below the bottom of the plough, with their points slightly inclined towards each other similar to the upper part of the letter V. This plough, after throwing out a good deep furrow of about ten inches, was again drawn up the furrow by six or eight horses (an equal number being on each side of the plough), merely cutting the sides of the drain about another ten inches in depth, and workmen then followed with narrow spades to dig out the soil, after which the plough was again used with another pair of coulters placed nearer together at their lower points, and was again followed by workmen throwing out the soil as before, and scooping the bottom of the drain so as to make it quite smooth. This drain was not more than thirty inches in depth, and was frequently completed by placing a long straight smooth piece of wood in the bottom of the drain, to one end of which a cord was attached, and when a little soil had been rammed down on it, it was drawn a little way forward by hand or by a small windlass, and the operation of ramming continued.

"This slide, as it was called, left a smooth hole to form the drain, which answered pretty well for a time, and the inventor of this Drain ing Plough was for a time employed in other counties besides Kent, but owing to the greater depth at which drains are now generally placed, and the introduction of the circular spade, or graft, hand labour has entirely superseded this plough." Mr. John Pearson, the inventor, was subsequently a tenant of the late Mr. Hodges, who as well as his steward, Mr. Thomas Neve, gave him every encouragement.

The Roads.

We will next refer to the improved state of the roads.

I briefly noticed in the last chapter the travelling in the eighteenth century ; and as a proof that the Legislature performed its part in endeavouring to improve it, I will here enumerate the several statutes then passed for that purpose in connexion with the Weald.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Acts were successively passed for repairing the highways between the following places :—

From Sevenoaks Common to Woodegate and Tunbridge Wells ; subsequently extended to Kipping's Cross, Brenchley ; and thence by Lamberhurst and Pullen's Hill to Flimwell Vent.

Turnpike Acts,
passed
between 1700
and 1770.

From Stone Street, Maidstone, to Tubb's Lane, Cranbrook.

From Flimwell Vent, through Highgate and Sandhurst, Newenden, and Northiam, to Rye ; and from Highgate to Cooper's Corner, and thence to Tubb's Lane, in Cranbrook.

From Haselden Wood, in Cranbrook, to Appledore Heath.

From Milkhouse Street to Castleden's Oak, in Biddenden.

From Goldford Green, in Cranbrook, to Tanner's Vent, in Biddenden.

From Wadhurst to Lamberhurst Pound and Pullen's Hill, and thence through Horsmonden, Marden, Yalding, and West Farleigh to West Farleigh Street.

From Kipping's Cross, Brenchley, through Horsmonden and Goudhurst by the left hand side of Iden Green, to Wilsley Green, Cranbrook ; and from Goudhurst Gore, through Marden, to Stile Bridge ; and from Underden Green, in Marden, to Wanshutt Green.

From Tunbridge to Maidstone, and from Wall's Cross to Cowden.

From Sevenoaks Common to Crookhurst Hatch Corner, and from Penshurst to Southborough.

From Biddenden, through Smarden and Charing, to Ashford.

From East Malling Heath to Pembury Green, and from Brand Bridges to the Four Vents near Matfield Green.

From Tenterden, through Bethersden and Great Chart, to Ashford.

From Bull Green, Bethersden, through High Halden, to Dashmanden, in Biddenden.

From Golford Green, in Cranbrook, to Sandhurst ; and from Benenden Church to the Bull Inn, at Rolvenden Cross *

Notwithstanding the passing of these several Acts of Parliament, road-making as a profession was still unknown, and strong prejudices had to be overcome. Mr. John Boys and the Rev. A. Young, who reported on the state of agriculture in Kent and Sussex at the commencement of the present century, observe that the cross roads in the Weald were, in all probability, the very worst that

* I am indebted to Mr. J. Russell Smith's "Bibliotheca Cantiana," for the foregoing information.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Roads.

were to be met with in any part of England. The predilection for shaws and hedge-rows* rendered it almost impossible to make good roads on such stiff soil, and without high winds the roads were rarely, if ever, dry for nine months in the year, while in hot weather, the cattle suffered from the hardness of the clay to their feet. Mr. Young, who is often rather vehement in his expressions, remarks that "those detestable screens of hedge-rows must be extirpated before any improvement is to be expected; yet where," he asks, "shall we find anything that is useful which is not violently opposed?"†

Deep ruts were merely filled up with any materials nearest at hand, and the stones taken from the quarry, instead of being broken and laid on carefully to a proper depth, were thrown down, and roughly spread, leaving it to the wheels of waggons to crush them into a proper shape.

Messrs.
Rennie,
Telford, and
McAdam.

There was, therefore, no lack of Turnpike Acts during the last century, but of men skilled in road making; and when Mr. Rennie, the engineer, was engaged in his survey of the Weald for the proposed canal, he reported that he found the country almost destitute of practicable roads. The reason is obvious. Unlike the Romans, engineers of eminence had deemed road making beneath their attention, but fortunately Thomas Telford (having acquired a wide-spread reputation for bridge building) turned his thoughts to the subject. He was followed by Macadam; and these men, instead of troubling themselves about the vehicles which traversed them, the breadth of their wheels,

* At a much later period, the Rev. Lambert Larking often remarked that the farmers would be some day punished for their wholesale destruction of hedge-rows by the scarcity of small birds and consequent increase of grub and caterpillars. But this observation had no reference to the Weald.

† He records that the Turnpike Road from Horsham to London was made in 1756, and that "before that time it was so execrably bad that, whoever went on wheels were forced to go round by Canterbury (*sic*), which is one of the most extraordinary circumstances that the history of non-communication in this kingdom can furnish."—*Young's Survey of Sussex*, p. 418. This would be extraordinary, if true, but I suspect a typographical mistake, though I am unable to say what place should be substituted.

and the tolls to be charged on them, devoted their time and intellect to the nature of the roads on which these vehicles were to travel. The examples they set have been followed in the Weald and elsewhere; so that, if some few of them were deserving of the praise of Cobbett fifty years ago, what would he say of the whole district now? The days of soft roads are nearly over, when waggoner and horses were coated with mud, or travelled in sloughs so deep as to imperil their lives; when the farmer, mounted on his horse, with his wife on a pillion behind him, rode to market or church; and the corn was sent to the mill on a narrow path used as a bridle or footway formed of slabs of Bethersden marble, and without which all communication between neighbouring villages must have been stopped, as there was not then a foot of macadamized road in the district. These days, I repeat, are over.

Many of the Turnpike Acts passed during the last century were amended during the present one, and their powers extended; and further Acts have been obtained for improving the road from Maidstone to Sutton Valence, the Tunbridge roads, and the road from Ten-terden through Woodchurch to Warehorne, and from Bethersden through Woodchurch to Appledore. Such of the roads in the Weald as are not repaired by Turnpike Acts are now under the management of efficient Highway Boards, constituted under the Acts of 1862 and 1864.

The last test of progress which I shall notice is the improved means of transport.

The first Act for making the river Medway navigable in Kent and Sussex was passed in the reign of Charles II. [1664-5.] So matters remained until the commencement of the present century, when various plans were brought forward for constructing a canal through the Weald with the object of uniting the Medway with the Rother. The late Mr. Rennie was at last consulted, and he looked at it more as an agricultural than a mercantile undertaking, and suggested one extension of

The Naviga-
tion of the
Medway.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Projected
Canal to unite
the Rother
with the
Medway.

The
Railways in
the Weald.

the original scheme to Lamberhurst, for the conveyance of timber to the dockyards, and another to the Wye Downs, to facilitate the transit of chalk and lime into the Weald. Mr. Rennie's report and plan were printed in 1809,* and included a branch to Hever Castle and another extension of the main line to St. Nicholas Bay. In 1811 a Bill was brought in upon a more limited scale, viz., for making a navigable canal from the river Medway, near Brandtbridges, in East Peckham, to extend to and unite with the Royal Military Canal near Appledore, at an estimated cost of £320,000. It received the Royal assent in the following session; but the project was eventually abandoned.

It was however left to the South Eastern Railway Company to develop the resources of the Weald. As early as 1825, an Act was obtained for constructing a railway from Canterbury to Whitstable, which was laid out by George Stephenson, and completed under the superintendence of himself and his son Robert. Parts of this little railway were originally worked by fixed engines, and the remainder by locomotive power. In 1838 the railway from London to Greenwich was commenced, and an Act was obtained two years afterwards for the construction of a railway from London to Croydon, branching off from the Greenwich line. The South Eastern Company then introduced a Bill for a railway from Croydon to Dover. The promoters would have made this line through the principal towns of Kent, but they were so strongly opposed by the landowners, innkeepers, and post-horse and stage-coach proprietors, that they abandoned this plan, and selected the Weald of Kent for their course. This Bill received the royal assent on the 21st June, 1836. Another company (the Brighton) had obtained an Act for the construction of a railway from Croydon to Brighton, and by a subsequent arrangement they con-

* The late Sir Wm. Geary, with his well-known public spirit and liberality, defrayed Mr. Rennie's expenses, but on the revival of the scheme in 1810 he was repaid.

structed a line, common to both companies, as far as Red Hill, whence the South Eastern Company carried it on to Dover. It was opened to Tunbridge on the 26th of May, 1842, to Headcorn on the 31st August following, and stage coaches were allowed to pass from Ashford, through Sir Edward Dering's grounds, to Headcorn, until the 1st of December, 1842, when the line was opened to Ashford, to which point travellers from Canterbury and the coast repaired by the turnpike roads. On the 28th of June, 1843, the railway was opened to Folkestone, and on the 7th of February, 1844, to Dover, thus completing the main line.

Of the branches, that from Paddock Wood to Maidstone was opened September, 1844.

From Tunbridge to Tunbridge Wells, September, 1845.

From Ashford to Canterbury, July, 1846.

From Canterbury to Ramsgate and Deal, July, 1847.

From Ashford to Rye, February, 1851.

From Tunbridge Wells to Robertsbridge, September, 1851.

The South Eastern Company has also a North Kent line from New Cross to Maidstone, opened throughout in 1849, with loop to Dartford subsequently added; and a Direct Tunbridge line through Sevenoaks, opened in 1868.

The Brighton Company also opened a branch from East Grinstead to Tunbridge Wells, October, 1866, and from Uckfield to Groombridge, August, 1868.

Though no part of its system extends to the Weald, I give, as part of the outline of the modern history of the county, a list of the various lines and branches of the London, Chatham, and Dover Company.

The first portion of what was then known as the East Kent Railway extending from Strood to Faversham, was opened 25th January, 1860.

Faversham Creek Branch, 12th April, 1860.

Faversham to Canterbury, 9th July, 1860.

Sittingbourne to Sheerness, 19th July, 1860.

Faversham to Whitstable, 1st August, 1860.

Norwood to Shortlands, 3rd December, 1860.

Shortlands to Bickley, 3rd December, 1860.

Bickley to Strood, 3rd December, 1860.

Whitstable to Herne Bay, 13th July, 1861.

Canterbury to Dover Priory, 22nd July, 1861.

Dover Priory to Dover Harbour, 1st November, 1861.

Swanley Junction to Sevenoaks (Bat and Ball), 2nd June, 1862.

Herne Bay to Ramsgate, 5th October, 1863.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Dover Harbour to Dover Admiralty Pier, 30th August, 1864.
 Sevenoaks (Bat and Ball) to Sevenoaks (S.E.R.), 1st August, 1869.
 Nunhead Junction to Blackheath Hill, 18th September, 1871.

Inhabitants of
the Weald.

From the improvements in the cultivation of the soil, in road making, and in the means of transport, let us turn to the inhabitants themselves. Maidstone was the chief market town of the district, but, until the opening of the railway, there was not much communication between the Weald and other parts of Kent, except during the summer and autumn. Hasted, writing more than eighty years ago, tells us that the people were in his day "untainted with the vices and dissipation too frequently practised *above the hill*." Most of the inhabitants were engaged in agriculture; they possessed very little energy, and less enterprise, and were content to die where they were born.

Vol. III., p. 40.

Witchcraft.

The unhappy and, in that day, too prevalent notion of the powers of witches over man and beast had taken such hold of the minds of the credulous during the 17th century, that it was thought to be doing God service to promote the prosecution and execution of silly, ignorant old women under the name of witches. The Weald of Kent did not escape. Five females dwelling at Cranbrook named Ashby, alias Cobler, Martin, Browne, Wright, and Wilson, and Mary Read, of Lenham, were all condemned as witches, and executed in 1652. Sir Robert Filmer, of East Sutton, wrote "an advertisement to the Jurymen of England, touching witches, together with the difference between an English and a Hebrew witch;" quarto; London, 1652. In the preface, Sir Robert states the late execution of witches at the Summer Assizes in Kent "occasioned this brief exercitation, which addresses itself to such as have not deliberately thought upon the great difficulty in discovering *what* or *who* a witch is." These executions do not appear to have had the desired effect, for thirty years afterwards [1681], John Henden, an influential magistrate at Biddenden, directed a summons, (still in existence,) to four parties—inhabitants of Cran-

brook—to give their testimony, that one Elizabeth Scott, C AP XXXIV.
of Cranbrook, widow, was a witch.

So late as the commencement of the present century, a lingering belief in witchcraft still prevailed here; the agents and victims being generally females. In our day, though there may be as much folly and credulity as ever among some classes, there is more wisdom and mercy among others. It was no uncommon occurrence, when repairing or altering old houses and buildings, to dig up earthen-vessels filled with crooked pins. One was found in Headcorn under a hearthstone, quite full, and containing about half-a-pint of crooked pins.

The old manor-houses were, from time to time, converted either into farm houses or cottages. Some of the dwelling houses of the poor were very comfortless, the floors were often stone, brick, and even earth, and no thought was given to drainage; hence, fever in various forms was very prevalent, and rheumatism was almost the inevitable portion of the poor, as they advanced in years. Lambarde, however, considered the district healthy, for he says that, "if a man step over the hills and come into the Weald, he shall have at once the commodities, both *cali and soli*, of the aire and of the earth;" and if longevity may be taken as a token of general health, then the tomb-stones in the different church-yards afford convincing testimony that the district is a healthy one. Hasted particularizes Lamberhurst, Goudhurst, Tenterden, and Great Chart, as healthy parishes, sixty years of age being esteemed, if not the prime, at least the middle age of life.

The reign of George IV. was not a prosperous one for the agriculturist, and while the manufactures, commerce and shipping of Great Britain were making rapid strides, the Weald was in a pitiable and torpid position. Rot had broken out in the flocks, agricultural produce was selling very low, and the labourer, instead of deriving his substance from the soil, was supported partly by relief from the poor rate, and partly by work on the

The dwellings
of the poor.

Reign of
George IV.
not propitious
to the
agriculturist.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Accession of
William IV.
26th June,
1830.

Pauperism.

roads. It sometimes happened towards the end of this reign that a dozen able-bodied agricultural labourers might be seen standing before a bench of magistrates, at Cranbrook, defiantly demanding employment or relief. The cultivation of the land became more and more neglected, the farmers became poorer and poorer, and the roads better and better. Where agricultural machinery was introduced it was destroyed, and the produce of the land was set on fire. Special constables and night patrols were constantly on duty during the winter months, and the poor rates were rapidly rising.

William IV. succeeded his brother George IV. on 26th June, 1830. Society was out of joint, the landlords of Kent became alarmed, the tenants poor and paralyzed. Extensive occupations, which have since proved remunerative, were thrown up, and the labouring poor became desperate.

The hardworking and honest mechanic continued to contribute towards the support of the fraudulent, idle, and dissolute. The small shopkeeper was becoming rich by a system of jobbery with the assistant overseer and the pauper. Forty years ago the poor rates at Headcorn rose to 14s. in the pound on the estimated rental;* 21s. in the pound was paid at Biddenden, Benenden, and other parishes in the Weald, and even more than this, I believe, at Egerton. There were the highway rates in addition, which sometimes amounted to 2s. 6d. in the pound. One of the worst features in this deplorable state of mismanagement was the distinction made between the wages of the married and single, which of course hastened improvident marriages. That highly respected land agent, Mr. Thomas Neve, of Benenden, once remarked that he had seen young able-bodied men playing cricket on the village green during the season of hay-making, who were receiving parish relief at the time;†

* It should be borne in mind, however, that these estimated rentals were very low.

† The woodcutters receiving 3s. or 4s. a day would go to the assistant overseer when he was distributing relief and demand their pay.

in some instances they were even depositors in savings banks in the names of other parties where they were afraid to use their own. The labouring poor and their children no longer attended church. Day schools as yet had not been regularly established. The residence of the clergy was not strictly enforced, and they had very little hold upon the affections of the people. Perhaps at no period of English history was there a greater lack of moral courage in the agricultural districts to grapple with this vicious system, not the least objectionable part of which was the law of settlement.

CHAP. XXXIV.

At last the Reform Act of 1832 forced on the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834.

But the reader must not suppose that every parish had got into this deplorable state. I may mention that there were some bright exceptions, and for the honour of the town in which I dwell I must briefly refer to the course pursued by Ashford, on the borders of the Weald, which with a population in 1818 of 2,500 expended no less than £3,450 on its poor, of which £1,212 was applied in weekly relief. This state of things aroused the ratepayers, and a select vestry was formed, who met weekly, and by their steady and unwearied exertions they had, when the New Poor Law came into operation, reduced both these items to less than one-third, and the poor at the same time were better off, the amount expended in that year (1834-5) being only £1,160 and the weekly relief only £358. Under that Act Sir Francis B. Head was appointed one of the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners, and this county was assigned to him to form into unions. He was present at one of these meetings at Ashford and took notes of what passed, which he afterwards published in the *Quarterly Review* in a paper on "English Charity." His report is a most interesting document, especially to those connected with that town. In this article Sir Francis says:—

Ashford.

VOL. LIII.,
1835, p. 473.

"The system of administering relief to the poor in the parish and town of Ashford is so creditable to East Kent, it has produced such beneficial effects, and it offers such valuable instruction to the Poor Law

CHAP. XXXIV. Commissioners, as well as to the country in general, that it may be useful to lay before the public a short account of it."

Ashford.

It would be tedious to detail here the proceedings and mode of dealing with the applicants for relief, as reported by Sir Francis. The most scrutinizing inquiries, he states, were made, and in several cases attempts at imposition were detected, exposed, and the claims refused. In short, he goes on to say:—

"Every applicant had the advantage of appearing before a well educated jury of practical men, who, so far as he was capable of judging, seemed determined to administer justice with mercy. The moral effect of this sensible, humane, and business like system it is almost impossible for anyone, however deeply he may have considered the subject, to calculate. Many who would not hesitate to be beggars in private would shrink from the disgrace of being mendicants in public. On the other hand, the widow, the orphan, the person really in want, had in their favour a tribunal in which the best ingredients of the English character were undoubtedly to be found."

He closes his remarks by stating:—

"It is almost needless to add that if every parish had bestowed the same attention on their poor as the parish of Ashford the Poor Law Amendment Act might instantly be repealed, and its Commissioners, their Secretary, and their Assistants scattered like chaff before the wind; but I regret to say that the parish of Ashford is but an 'oasis in the desert.'"

. As an honourable distinction to the town, Sir Francis Head, in forming the East and West Ashford Unions, omitted it from both, and recommended the commissioners not to disturb the select vestry. However, the inhabitants did not long covet this honour, and soon petitioned to be united to the West Ashford Union, which includes several parishes in the Weald.

Cranbrook.

Having said a good word for my own town, justice demands that I should find one for Cranbrook. The overseers, about one hundred years ago, hired Frizley Farm, in that parish, to employ their surplus labourers upon it. They held it about twenty years, and then hired Sissinghurst Castle Farm of Sir Horace Mann, and carried it on under trustees about sixty years* (1794 to

* The farm was familiarly called "the Old Cow," and was often milked by the parishioners when they wanted money for special, but not legal purposes. Thus, £100 was drawn from it for the Irish during their famine.

1855). Fortunately the trustees were required to give up the farm at a good time, and after discharging all their liabilities, they were left with a handsome balance of between £3,000 and £4,000, which they paid over to the Poor Law Commissioners, and with their sanction £2,500 of it was expended in the erection of the present suitable and commodious vestry hall, near the church; part of the balance was applied in paying the sum due from Cranbrook for the new union-house, and in providing a clock and recasting a bell for the church, &c.; and I am told that even now the money is not all expended. The result is most creditable to all the parties concerned.

CHAP. XXXIV.

These are not days when we are allowed much time to rest and be thankful. Forty years have now expired since the Act came into operation, and I should rejoice to see the whole subject of the relief of the poor calmly and patiently reconsidered; and, among other changes, I hope the day is not far distant when a separate establishment for portions, if not for the whole, of the union children of this county, shall be formed with a certain quantity of land, where they would be better educated at the same, if not at less expense; where the numbers would create emulation, and the master and the mistress be selected from a superior class; where trades could be taught, and the clothing made for the children and inmates of other unions. These young people could then procure better situations, and be more fitted to contend with the world and its temptations. For I firmly believe that in too many cases, as remarked to Sir Francis, "when children have been brought up in a work'us, they have never no disposition to shun a work'us."

Quarterly
Review,
Vol. LIII.

An eccentric Kentish nobleman, who died at the age of eighty-seven, at the beginning of this century, deserves a passing notice. Matthew Robinson, second Lord Rokeby, was a resolute and unbending Whig. His residence was at Horton Park, near Hythe. He was returned for Canterbury in the reign of George II., and his brother Charles was Recorder of that city, and

Lord Rokeby.

CHAP. XXXIV.

he also was returned to Parliament for it.* Like many other extraordinary men, he had his own notions about what, in truth, never did exist, in the strictest sense of the term, "independence;" but the reader shall have a description of him from the pen of Sir Egerton Brydges :

Vol. II., p. 2.

"He kept no carriage, never mounted a horse, allowed no liveries to his servants; still he was hospitable and generous. His style of speaking and writing was inelegant and harsh. He had a hatred to everything artificial. He took down his garden walls and let his hedges drop that his flocks and herds might have their full range. He hated the plough, and let his arable fields run to natural grass, so that his park became very large and picturesque, merely by letting it alone. He was reputed skilful in the management of cattle, and, as the soil was good, his grazing became remunerative. Another of his peculiarities concerned money, which he rarely put out at interest. He kept sufficient specie in gold for about fifty years in chests in his house, which at compound interest would have amounted to £100,000, a large sum in those days; he also deposited large sums in the hands of bankers at home and on the Continent. He had no faith in the Public Funds, and always predicted they would break; fulfilled, as he said, when the Bank was restricted from cash payments in 1797. His clothes were very plain, and latterly he suffered his white beard to grow down to his waist. He was a great walker, and stalked along between Hythe and Ashford, with his staff, like an aged peasant. His voice was loud, but his manners were courteous. He was sagacious, manly, and uncompromising. He never raised his rents, and, having a great contempt for provincial importance, was not much in favour with the gentry around him, but was adored by the yeomanry and peasantry. His taste turned to politics, voyages, and travels. When some stranger of rank came into the country and paid him a visit through curiosity, founded on the absurd rumours of his eccentricities and hermit life, he was surprised to meet with a man of the world in his manner and conversation, with sufficient sarcastic dignity to put down the smallest attempt at impertinence or misapprehension. He retained his faculties to the last."

The Arch-
bishops of the
present
century.

Of the Archbishops of the present century, six (including Archbishop Moore, already noticed) have as yet held the See of Canterbury, viz., Sutton, Howley, Sumner, Longley, and Tait (the present Archbishop). Archbishop Moore died 18th January, 1805, after a protracted illness. Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, it was said, wished to elevate to the Primacy his old tutor, Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's; but the King appears

* Lord Rokeby was much beloved and respected at Canterbury, and possessed great political influence there.

to have been anxious to advance Dr. Charles Manners Sutton (a grandson of John, third Duke of Rutland), Bishop of Norwich and Dean of Windsor, and His Majesty gained the day. "If a private secretary of a first Minister," he remarked, "is to be put at the head of the Church, I shall have all my Bishops party men and politicians." The King had received a message from Pitt that Moore was dead, and that he would wait on His Majesty the next morning. So he ordered his horse and rode over to Bishop Sutton, then residing at Windsor. He found him at dinner with some friends, and sent in a servant to say a gentleman wished to speak to him. The Bishop said he could not go, but something in the servant's manner made him alter his determination. When he came out he found the King standing in a little dressing room near the hall door. The King took him by both hands. "My Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," he said, "I wish you joy. Not a word; go back to your friends." Pitt, it is said, was exceedingly angry at being thus anticipated by the King.

It is related that on one occasion Archbishop Sutton with Lord Eldon and other persons of high rank had formed a circle round the Sovereign, when the King remarked, "I believe I am the only Sovereign whose Archbishop of Canterbury and whose Chancellor both ran away with their wives; is it not so, Chancellor?" Lord Eldon slyly requested the King to put the question first to the Archbishop.*

Though as strongly opposed as his Sovereign to the Roman Catholic claims, Archbishop Sutton had the reputation of being a liberal-minded man, and he voted in 1811 against a Bill introduced by Lord Sidmouth, which,

CHAP. XXXIV.

Jesse's
Geo. III.,
Vol. III.,
p. 413.

Twiss's Life of
Lord Eldon,
Vol. II.,
p. 358.

* I well remember as a boy witnessing Archbishop Sutton's entrance into Canterbury on one of his periodical visitations. It was the practice of the Mayor and some members of the Corporation of Canterbury and their subordinates to ride out of the City to meet his Grace and invite him to a repast at the Guildhall. On this occasion the meeting took place not far from the new Lunatic Asylum on Chartham Down. The carriage of Archbishop Sutton, who appears to have been fond of display, was drawn by six horses; and he had four outriders with very attractive liveries.

XXXIV.
The Arch-
bishops of
the present
century.

Attack on
Archbishop
Howley.

under colour of amending the Toleration Act, pressed in his judgment unfairly on Protestant Dissenters. He was of Emanuel College, Cambridge, fifteenth wrangler. He died July 21st, 1828,* and was succeeded by Archbishop Howley, of New College, Oxford, who previously had held the See of London for fifteen years, having succeeded Bishop Porteus. He was tutor to the King of Holland and the Marquis of Abercorn. Some of his Charges and Letters were published. He expended a large sum in the restoration of Lambeth Palace. In consequence of the part he took and the vote he gave in the House of Lords on the Reform Bill, he was, on the 7th August, 1832, when attending at Canterbury one of his periodical visitations, attacked by a mob as he was alighting from his carriage at the Guildhall to partake of the hospitality of the Mayor and Corporation, but he escaped uninjured. He died 11th February, 1848, and his monument in the Cathedral was the first that had been erected there to an Archbishop since the Reformation. His successor was Archbishop Sumner, of King's College, Cambridge, who was translated from Chester. He was the author of several works in divinity; his gentle and amiable character made him universally beloved. He died September 6th, 1862, and was succeeded by Archbishop Longley, of Christ Church, Oxford, son of John Longley, Recorder of Rochester, and was born at Satis House,† in that city. After holding the Head Mastership of Harrow he became successively Bishop of Ripon and Durham, Archbishop of York and Archbishop of Canterbury. Most of his charges at Ripon appear to have been published, as well as some of his pastoral letters and sermons. He was the founder of the Canterbury Diocesan Church Building and Endowment Society; having previously founded similar institutions in the Dioceses of Ripon, Durham,

* His eldest son, Charles, was Speaker of the House of Commons from 1817 to 1835, when he was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Canterbury.

† For the origin of this name, see p. 497 of this volume.

and York. The event with which this Archbishop's name will ever be associated, and by which he will, perhaps, be chiefly known to posterity, was the Anglican Synod which he assembled at Lambeth Palace in September, 1867, when no less than seventy-six Bishops from all parts of the world accepted the invitation to meet and discuss various matters of interest to the Church at home and abroad. He died at Addington, October 27th, 1868, and is buried in the churchyard there.* His successor, the present Archbishop (Archibald Campbell Tait), was educated at Balliol College, Oxford. He was Head Master of Rugby in 1842, Dean of Carlisle in 1849. In 1856 he became Bishop of London on the resignation of Dr. Blomfield. His name in connexion with the Bishop of London's fund will be long remembered. He was translated to Canterbury in 1868. The state of His Grace's health has from time to time occasioned great anxiety, but it is now fortunately re-established. He has written several theological works.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The late Sir Egerton Brydges does not appear to have thought that there was much taste to be found either among the clergy or laity in his day for literary pursuits in East Kent. He remarks in 1834 :

Literature in
East Kent.

"There is no literature in East Kent, but I found a stranger lately settled there—the Rev. Mr. Gleig†—a valuable neighbour and a talented man. I scarcely recollect a literary man furnished by Canterbury Cathedral, which ought to be the depot for learning. All whom I recollect in sixty years are Dr. Farmer, Dean Horne, and Mr. Todd, [?] whose superiority was so unpleasant to them that they gave him preferment to remove him. As many of them have been noblemen's tutors, it is strange they should have so little regard to literature."

Vol. II., p. 168.

The reader needs not to be reminded that Sir Egerton did not live in the days of Canon Stanley, Dean Alford,

* Dr. Longley's father held the Angley estate in Cranbrook (now belonging to Mr. Sackett Tomlin) from 1801 to 1806, where the Archbishop spent a portion of his early life.

† The author of "The Subaltern," "Life of the Duke of Wellington," and other works, and, since 1846, Chaplain General of the Army. He is also Rector of Ivychurch, in Romney Marsh. He was at the time Sir Egerton wrote, the Perpetual Curate of Ash-next-Sandwich.

CHAP. XXXIV. Canon Robertson, and the present Dean, Dr. Robert Payne Smith.

The Clergy in
the Weald
and their
Churches.

In collecting the materials for this work it has been part of my pleasing occupation to visit the different parishes in the Weald, and, though I possess not any practical knowledge of church architecture, I most cheerfully bear testimony to the judicious restorations of its different churches, the most recent of which are Smarden and Bethersden; though I should not be truthful if I did not record that there are still some that are sadly neglected. But what is of far greater importance, I can also bear testimony to the exemplary manner in which the clergy here discharge their sacred duties. There is scarcely a parish which did not possess a good school long before the modern School Boards were established under the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Whatever blame may attach to their predecessors and to the system of church discipline which sanctioned non-residence and pluralities, and thus indirectly fostered dissent, the present race of clergymen have done, and are still doing, much to secure the affections of their flocks, and we must wish them God speed in their laborious task.

Ante, p. 441.

Sir Egerton Brydges was well acquainted with the Kentish clergy, and he cannot be classed among their flatterers. He spent many years abroad, and towards the close of his life [1834] he remarks that

Vol. II., p. 323.

"The Protestant Clergy of the Established Church are altogether, in defiance of all calumnies, an excellent body. Whoever expects that perfection which is not in human nature, will only bring about hypocrisy; and of all fanaticisms, religious fanaticism is the worst. The position of our regular clergy is a very desirable one: they may be happy and respectable if they will. They may cultivate literature to great advantage. Their incomes are commonly not inadequate to their wants, if they will lay aside that vanity and love of ostentation and all those little passions accompanying them, which their duty and the daily precepts they are called on to inculcate will greatly assist them in eradicating."

Who that knew anything of this eccentric Kentish baronet will not exclaim, How much easier is it to give advice, than to follow it? The reader must bear

in mind that during the earlier part of Sir Egerton's life the clergy indulged in field sports and the pleasures of the table as freely as any of their wealthy parishioners, without incurring the remarks that would be made at the present day.

The clergy of the Church of England, alas ! almost at the eleventh hour, came to the front upon the subject of Education. It was my privilege to attend the first meeting at Canterbury of the Diocesan Board of Education, which has now been established in Kent thirty-four years, and I again cheerfully bear testimony to the admirable manner in which the clergy of this county have united with the laity in furtherance of the objects of this excellent society, which has been so judiciously conducted, free from all party strife within, and political strife without. I must also notice its twin sister, the Canterbury Diocesan Church Building and Endowment Society, established in 1865, which has afforded such valuable assistance to comparatively poor districts in the Weald, like Smarden, Bethersden, and Shadoxhurst, in the restoration of their churches and providing increased accommodation, as well as in building new churches and parsonage houses. It is not the mere collection and distribution of money for the important objects referred to, which commend these societies to the public, but they become incentives to local benefactions. The labours of the working clergy never appeared to greater advantage than during the discussion in Parliament, in 1870, on the Elementary Education Bill ; and if the Establishment is still to be upheld, it is to labours like these that she will owe her safety. To merit success in the present day men must be in earnest, and if the public can only believe this of their pastors they will pardon many of their little shortcomings. Not one of the least cheering signs of the times is the fact that the sales of our Book-hawker are larger in the Weald than in any other part of the county.

Dissent in the Weald of Kent, however, is not of modern growth, and it is not to be easily uprooted.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Dissent in the Weald.

Ante, pp. 377,
415, 457, 478.

George Fox in
the Weald.

As early as the close of the fourteenth century preachers imbued with the opinions of Wycliffe found their way here and disseminated his doctrines, and the Lollards became a numerous body in this district, their first great ally being, as I have already noticed, John of Gaunt. I have also referred to the cruel persecution of the Protestants in the Weald during the reign of Queen Mary. For a period exceeding 300 years a large body of different denominations of Christian worshippers have kept aloof from the National Church, considering its reformation still incomplete; and their watchword has ever been "No fellowship with Rome." It is no easy task to bring back to the fold the descendants of those who have so long wandered from it; but we must not despair.

Nonconformist ministers generally met with a welcome in the Weald, and, though a little out of order in point of date, I cannot resist referring to George Fox's account of his visit there A.D. 1668.* The founder of the sect of Quakers† thus records his journey:—

"Having Thomas Briggs with me, we went to Ashford, where we had a quiet and very blessed meeting; and on First day we had a very good and peaceable one at Cranbrook. Then we went to Tenterden and had one there, to which many friends came from several parts and were reached by the truth. When the meeting was over I walked with Thomas Briggs into a field while our horses were got ready, and turning my head I espied a Captain coming, and a great company of soldiers with lighted matches and muskets. Some of them came to us and said we must go to their Captain. When they had brought us before him he asked, "Where is George Fox; which is he?" I said, "I am the man." He came to me and said, "I will secure you among the soldiers." So he called for them to take me. He took Thomas Briggs and many more; but the power of the Lord was mightily over them all."

Fox was taken to an inn in Tenterden "that was the jailer's house," and then to the Mayor, who, with the Captain and Lieutenant, were Justices. They examined

* He had paid a previous visit to the Weald in 1655.

† They style themselves Friends, and were first called Quakers A.D. 1650, at Derby, where Fox, having been brought before one Justice Bennett, bade him "quake at the Word of the Lord."

him, and asked why he came there to make a disturbance, which Fox denied. They told him there was a law against Quakers' meetings; he pointed out that the law was not applicable to Quakers, but was directed against such as were a terror to the Queen's subjects, and held principles dangerous to the Government. After some further discussion the Mayor demanded bond of them for their appearance at the sessions, which Fox refused to give; and at last they were informed that it was the Mayor's pleasure that they should be set at liberty. "I told them," says Fox, "their civility was noble, and so we parted."

CHAP. XXXIV.

Penn says that Fox had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures; but above all, he excelled in prayer. From 1648 until within a few years of his death his life was made up of travel, disputation, and imprisonment. His sufferings, and those of his associates, under the colour of law, afford a sad proof of the tyranny of the Government and intolerance of the people of the seventeenth century.

William IV. died on 20th June, 1837, in the seventy-second year of his age and seventh of his reign; and having left no children by his much beloved wife, Queen Adelaide, he was succeeded by his niece, Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, the only child of the Duke of Kent. She married on the 10th of February, 1840, Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg Gotha, and on 9th November, 1841, was born the heir to the Crown, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. From her accession to the present time I have but little to add; beyond connecting the name of Her Majesty with the Weald of Kent, of a portion of which she became the owner, in a somewhat singular manner.

Death of
William IV.,
20th June,
1837.

Tinton (mistaken by some writers for Tenterden) is situate in Warehorne, and is referred to in Domesday in three places, twice as Tintintone and once as Tententone. It then possessed a church (which no longer exists), nine slaves, and three fisheries, and was al-

The late Mr.
J. C. Neild
and the Queen.

CHAP. XXXIV.

lotted at the Conquest, with other manors, to Hugh de Montfort. It is in the Hundred of Blackbourne; but attached to it was half a yoke in the Hundred of Newchurch. There was also *half a dene* in Aloesbridge Hundred, returned as belonging to Tinton, but held of the Bishop of Baieux by Robert de Romenel, and described as "being without the division of Hugh de Montfort."* This manor now belongs to Sir Edward Dering, and is one of the few in East Kent which are heriotable. Among the tenants was the late John Camden Neild, who by the following singular will, dated 10th of August, 1848, devised and bequeathed all his property † to Her Majesty. The document is short, and is worth preserving, if only as a curiosity.

Mr. Neild's Will.

"This is the last Will and Testament of me, John Camden Neild, of Lincoln's Inn, and of Chelsea, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire. I desire to be buried or placed in the vault under Battersea Church, in the County of Surrey, and as near unto the coffin of my dear father, James Neild,‡ as the crowded state of the vault will readily admit. I give unto my Executors, hereinafter mentioned and named, One Hundred Pounds each, for the trouble they may have in the execution of this my last will. And subject to the said legacies, which I direct to be paid out of my personalty, and to my just debts (which are of a very trifling description), I give, devise, and bequeath all real and all personal estate which I may be entitled to, either at law or in equity, at the time of my death, unto her most excellent Majesty Queen Victoria, her heirs, executors, and administrators, for her sole use and benefit, and I pray her Majesty to be most graciously pleased to accept the same: and I constitute and appoint the person who at my death shall fill the office of keeper to her Majesty's privy purse [at this date the Hon. Col. Phipps], the Rev. Henry Tatham, Archdeacon of Bedford, and James Stevens, of Willesborough, in the County of Kent, Gentleman, Executors of this my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my signature this tenth day of August, 1848. J. CAMDEN NEILD. Signed by the said J. Camden Neild as and for his last Will and Testament at the foot or end thereof, in the presence of us present at the same time, and attesting and subscribing the said Will and Testament in his presence. CHARLES SHADWELL,

* This, I think, would imply that in Kent, after the extensive rights of the Church were respected, the Norman Barons had each their districts or divisions allotted to them.

† The real estate was mostly near or in Romney Marsh.

‡ Mr. Neild's father was, I believe, a silversmith in London, and the testator was a member of Lincoln's Inn.

solicitor, Gray's Inn. GEORGE STRATTON, clerk to Charles Shadwell, solicitor, Gray's Inn." CHAP. XXXIV.

Mr. Neild died 30th August, 1852, and his will was proved 21st of October following, when his personal effects were sworn under £250,000. It was afterwards called in, and the will was proved in solemn form and sentence given for its validity on 17th July, 1853. He had other landed property near Aylesbury.

As two parcels of his land situate at Woodchurch, Warehorne, and Kennardington, were held of the Manor of Tinton, two heriots became payable to Sir Edward Dering. The old man was fully aware of this, and for two or three years before his death, he kept ten sheep on his tenant's land, paying for the keep and receiving the profit, so that the lord might have no better heriot than two of them when he died. The practice, however, of late years, in this and other manors has been to substitute money payments by way of composition.*

Mr. Neild was a man of very penurious habits; and was very exacting from all his tenants, who had to board, lodge, and drive him from place to place when he visited his property, and he would never contribute a farthing to the local schools and charities. Now, without intending for one moment to reflect on the course pursued by her Majesty on this occasion, it must always be a matter of regret that her advisers, after presenting the executors with £1,000 each, permitted the land to be sold and appropriated, together with Mr. Neild's personal estate, to her Majesty's use; more especially as it was generally supposed at the time that the deceased left poor relations.

The Weald of Kent has now for several years been purely an agricultural district, but we must not forget that a portion of the great wealth, which of late has been made in the north, by the iron-masters, has flowed

The present
manufacture
of Iron.

* In the rental of the Manor of Thorncroft (Leatherhead), in Surrey, A.D. 1334, [temp. Ed. III.], the king is stated to owe suit and service and fealty to the manor in respect of three acres in one virgate.—Roger's Hist. of Agriculture, vol. i., p. 74.

CHAP XXXIV.
 The
 Manufacture
 of Iron.

back into it, increasing the value of the land, improving its cultivation, and so stimulating the inhabitants to further exertions. I may instance, among others, the case of the late Mr. Charles Hardy and his brother, the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, who recently became the owners and occupiers of Chilham Castle and Hemsted, in this county; and it is deserving of notice that parts of the ancient denes of the Hemsted estate, enjoyed by one brother, are still held of the Honour, Castle, and Manor of Chilham, lately belonging to the other.

On a recent occasion I accompanied my son-in-law to the Abersychan Iron Works, near Pontypool, in which he is interested, and which are rented by the Ebbw Vale Company. There were six furnaces (five of them at work), and 2,300 men were employed; to my surprise, I found that some of the iron-stone used in the furnaces was shipped from Spain, and some brought there from Lancashire, Cumberland, and Northamptonshire; and I was told by Mr. C. J. Parkes (the intelligent agent of the lessors) that the cost of purchase and transit was more than counterbalanced by the increased per centage and superior quality of the iron contained in the three first-named ores, and by the cheapness with which the Northamptonshire ore can be worked, or rather *quarried*, in consequence of the great thickness of the deposit; and that for those reasons their use is advantageous notwithstanding that the lessees pay the like royalty as if the ores were raised from the property. Upon the working of these ores I have, through the kindness of Mr. Parkes, received the following interesting letter from Mr. A. Darby, the well-known ironmaster, of Coalbrook-dale, in Shropshire:—

“The Spanish ores, as a rule, work exceedingly well, and make a beautiful quantity of pig; and the per centage of iron is large and free from so much earthy matter as many of the English ores and Northamptonshire ore; is quarried cheaply, and varies in per centage of iron from thirty-eight down to twenty-eight and thirty per cent. The quality is a poor iron, containing too much silicon, which is injurious to good quality of iron, and causes much waste in the manufacture, because it is a great

thief, its chemical affinity for iron being very great, as 1 per cent. of silicon will take 8 per cent. of iron and turn it into a siliceous slag; and the iron in this slag can only be redeemed by using more coal and labour, both of which now are very dear. This ore is prohibitory to steel-making. The Cleveland ironstone is of this quality, hence the inferiority of their iron. The Lancashire and Cumberland hæmatites are very good, and used largely in manufacture of steel, but even there the tendency is to work ores of that district with too much silicon. Our own native argillaceous are now too poor in iron, and the cost of raising makes them too expensive to compete with richer and purer ores. The Sussex and Kent ores are of the argillaceous class, and no doubt made beautiful iron, but, owing to their containing phosphorus, would not do for a steel pig. My information is scanty upon the stratification, or the depth at which they lie. We used to work years ago a quantity of Christchurch ore; and I believe they did also at Tredegar. It was picked up on the sea-shore, and sent in small vessels to Newport. I have not heard of any for some years, and I presume it became too scarce and costly. It made a nice pig for the manufacture of wrought iron. For steel it is inadmissible, from the presence of phosphorus. This last-named chemical renders steel very brittle, rendering it unsafe for a rail or in a mechanical structure. The making of steel is a very delicate process, requiring extreme care and nicety, as even half a drachm too much of any ingredient renders the product unsatisfactory."

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Sussex and Kent Ores.

It will be remembered that the last iron manufactured in Sussex (long after Kent had abandoned the work), was in 1825, at Ashburnham, which was produced by means of charcoal, and was of superior quality, and sold for £24 per ton at the forge. There are still several charcoal-iron works in different parts of England, but they are small ones, and used only for special purposes, on account of the expense. I ascertained that there was one firm, Messrs. Strick and Co., of the Panteg Forge, Pontypool, who are the manufacturers of charcoal bars, &c., for tin-plates, who have since kindly forwarded to me, through Mr. Parkes, a letter on the subject, of which the following is an extract.

Ante, p. 607.

"A short description of our process of making wrought iron from the cast will perhaps convey to you the best idea of the use we make of charcoal. First, we place in a fire (known as a 'Dandy Fire'), 6 cwt. of pig iron, along with a quantity of coke made from good coal; then fire it, and blow it with a strong blast until the iron is melted, after which we 'tap' the fire by making a breach in the bottom of it to allow the molten iron to run out, which it does down two channels into what is called, in the trade, 'charcoal lumping fires.' The iron is now malleable, and it is broken up in the charcoal fire by the use of an iron bar;

The present use of Charcoal.

CHAP. XXXIV.

then a lot of charcoal is thrown upon it, which immediately takes fire from the still red-hot iron; then blast is applied to it to reduce the iron to a molten state again. When it gets cleared of the greatest part of its impurities, and comes to what is called a 'state of nature,' then, by the use of bars, it is made into a lump weighing about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., which is carried and placed under a helve, and hammered out into 'charcoal stamps,' which, in their turn, are duly converted into bars, thence into tin plates."

Coal in the
Weald.

In Mr. Mackeson's valuable Appendix to my first volume will be found a reference to the theory of Mr. Godwin-Austen that coal may possibly exist at no great depth below the Weald. To test this theory, borings have for some time been carried on at Councillor's Wood, in the parish of Netherfield, two or three miles to the north-west of Battle, but as yet I believe without any decided results. They are, however, to be continued until the depth of 1,000 feet is attained, the necessary funds being supplied by public subscription. Professor Phillips and other eminent geologists are stated to regard the enterprise as a very hopeful one. They say that if successful, it may restore the district to its former position as a great seat of the iron manufacture; and even should it prove a failure, it will furnish much useful information on the subject of Channel tunnels, &c.

Men of
eminence.

I will next briefly notice some few persons of eminence connected with the Weald, or its immediate vicinity, during the last and present century.

The first
Marquis
Camden.

First in order of date may be placed John Jefferys Pratt, the second Earl and first Marquis Camden. He was the grandson of the Chief Justice and son of the Lord Chancellor Camden, of the Wilderness, in Seal and Seven-oaks, and was born there in 1759. He succeeded to the Earldom in 1794, and was in the next year appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, which post he held at the breaking out of the rebellion in May, 1798, when he was succeeded by another Kentish nobleman, the Marquis Cornwallis. The Earl then became Colonial Secretary in Mr. Pitt's second Administration, and Lord President of the Council under the Duke of Portland and Mr. Spencer Perceval, but quitted office when Lord Liverpool became

Premier, and was created a Marquis in September, 1812. From this time he took no prominent part in public affairs, but in the year 1817 he honourably distinguished himself by voluntarily resigning the fees of the office of Teller of the Exchequer, amounting to £18,000 per annum, to lessen the public burthens, retaining only the salary of £2,700. Strange to say, after a time doubts were expressed whether the conduct of the Marquis was strictly legal, for as he actually received the fees and then paid them into the Exchequer, it was contended that it might be considered as a "benevolence" or present to the Crown, which was forbidden by Statute. To remove these doubts, a special Act was passed in 1819, and the Marquis continued to pay over the fees of the office until his death, October 8th, 1840.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Though Canterbury was the birthplace of Lord Chief Justice Abbott, he is connected with the Weald as Tenterden found him a title. He was born in October, 1762, of humble parents (being the son of a barber), within the Precincts of the Cathedral, and was educated in the King's School, Canterbury, under Dr. Beauvoir. Sir Egerton Brydges was there at the same time. From this school Abbott proceeded to Oxford, where he distinguished himself. At the suggestion of Judge Buller, to whose son he was private tutor, he made the law his profession. In 1810 he became one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and was afterwards transferred to the Court of King's Bench. In 1818 he was appointed Chief Justice of England, and in 1827 he was created Lord Tenterden. He died 4th November, 1832. He was a sound lawyer, but not an eloquent advocate nor a warm politician. Though men of very opposite characters, a sincere friendship existed between Sir Egerton Brydges and Lord Tenterden for upwards of fifty years. The former thus speaks of his friend:—

Lord
Tenterden.

"He had been reared under the shadow of the Church; he had looked from his earliest infancy on the mighty structure of its magnificent Metropolitan Cathedral: he had been taught as a child to venerate its ancient and noble institutions; thence he had imbibed his learning. He was throughout life a Christian, sincere and practical."

Auto-
biography,
Vol. I., p. 411

CHAP. XXXIV.

Sir John
Fredk. Wm.
Herschel,
Bart.

My notice of the men of eminence who have lived in or near the Weald during the present century would be incomplete if I passed over the late Sir John Fredk. William Herschel, of Collingwood, situate in Hawkhurst. His father, Sir William Herschel, Knight, was a singularly gifted man, whom George III. delighted to honour, and made him his private astronomer with a salary of £400 per year; he died in 1822. His only son, Sir John, was born in 1792, at Slough, and became eminent in almost every branch of science. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was senior wrangler in 1813. He devoted much of his life to astronomical investigations. He took up his residence for four years at the Cape of Good Hope (1834 to 1838) for the purpose of making a survey of the Southern Hemisphere, similar to what his father made of the Northern, and declining all pecuniary remuneration from the government of this country he was on his return home created a baronet. From 1850 to 1855 he held the office of Master of the Mint, which appointment he relinquished on account of ill-health. He was constantly referred to on scientific questions by foreign learned societies and Governments; and was widely known as the active promoter of numerous philanthropic undertakings. In 1839 he became the purchaser of the mansion and estate known as Collingwood, situate near the parish church at Hawkhurst, where he died in May, 1871. He was very partial to it, and his latter years were spent there in pursuit of his favourite studies and surrounded by his family and friends, by whom he was much esteemed. In 1872 the inhabitants of Hawkhurst placed a handsome stained glass window in the church, to his memory, the subject being the Magi following the star.

The Elective
Franchise.

Before I insert a list of those gentlemen who have served the county in Parliament during the present century, I propose to notice the extensive changes which have taken place during the same period in the qualifications of the electors.

It is of importance that the rising generation should understand that the immense and gradual accumulation of *personal* property during the last fifty years has attached an importance to it which never before existed in England. Formerly no quantity of copyhold or leasehold property, however long the lease, no amount of gold, silver, goods, or other chattels would confer the county franchise. The possession of a certain quantity of land was the indispensable condition of enjoying the privileges and securing the rights of a freeholder.* Hence, long after the establishment of our present social system, the loss of land entailed a loss of position:—

CHAP. XXIV.

Kemble's
Saxons in
England,
Vol. I, p. 88.

“If this were sold, our names should then be quite
Razed from the bederoll of gentility.”

Thus the lessees and occupiers of the vast possessions of the Church in Kent were unrepresented; and if the reader wishes to satisfy himself of their extent he has only to turn to Map 8 of Vol. I. of this work. But as there was very little copyhold land here, and the tenure of Gavelkind prevailed, by which the sons inherited equally, if the parent died intestate, the Kentish 40s. freeholders were no doubt as numerous in proportion to the total acreage, as in any other shire in the Kingdom.

Up to the passing of the first Reform Bill (1832) it was requisite that the voter should be assessed to the Land Tax in some one of the several boroughs, townships, and hundreds of the county, and that the place of election should be at the Court House on Penenden Heath. The first great contest in the present century took place in July, 1802, and lasted nine days. Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir William Geary, and Filmer Honywood were the candidates, and Sir Edward Knatchbull was defeated. The number of freeholders who then voted was 8,848.

* Thus the right to kill game until the year 1831 was restricted to the freeholder who in his own right or that of his wife was possessed of a freehold estate of the clear yearly value of £100, or a lease for ninety-nine years of the yearly value of £150; the sons and heirs apparent of Esquires or persons of higher degree, and the owners and keepers of forests, parks, and warrens.

CHAP. XXXIV.
The Elective
Franchise.

A Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell, 1st March, 1831, and the House of Commons divided on the second reading on the 22nd of that month; it was thrown out by a majority of one! which was followed by a dissolution, and after some strong political excitement in the nation, and various adverse divisions, a bill "To Amend the Representation of the People of England and Wales" received the royal assent, 7th June, 1832. By this Act the county was divided into East and West Kent, each returning two members, and the right of voting for counties was extended to copyholders, leaseholders, and £50 occupiers. By the Boundary Act, passed a few days afterwards, it was provided that East Kent should include the laths of St. Augustine and Shipway, (including Romney Marsh), and the upper division of the lath of Scray; and the Western Division, the laths of Sutton at Hone and Aylesford, and the lower division of Scray.

Again in 1867 another Bill was brought into Parliament to "further Amend the Laws relating to the Representation of the People," and received the royal assent the 15th of August, in that year. By this Act the county qualification of tenants for life of freehold and copyhold property, and of leaseholders of sixty years, was reduced to £5, and the occupation franchise was reduced to £12 rateable value. The Eastern Division of Kent was not altered by this Act, but a district, called Mid-Kent, was taken from the Western Division. The lath of Sutton at Hone became West Kent, with a court of election at Blackheath, and the remainder was styled Mid-Kent, with a court of election at Maidstone. On the passing of this last-mentioned Act, the total number of registered electors for Kent was:

East Kent	...	...	...	18,107
Mid-Kent	...	...	...	8,723
West Kent	...	...	...	8,828
				<hr/> 30,658

Or nearly four times the number of electors who polled at the election in 1802. CHAP. XXXIV.

The latest Act of the Legislature in connexion with the elective franchise was passed in 1872, abolishing the nomination of candidates on the hustings, and substituting written ones; and also establishing vote by ballot.

The gentlemen who have served the County in Parliament during the present century were:—

GEORGE III.

1800.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and Sir William Geary.

1802.—Filmer Honeywood and Sir William Geary.

1806 and 1807.—Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart., and William Honeywood.

1812.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and Sir William Geary.

1818.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and William Philip Honeywood.

1819.—Sir Edward Knatchbull (the son) vice Sir E. Knatchbull, deceased.

1820 and 1826.—William Philip Honeywood and Sir Edward Knatchbull.

1830.—Sir E. Knatchbull and Thomas Law Hodges.

1831.—Thomas Law Hodges and Thomas Rider.

1832.—Sir Edward Knatchbull and John Pemberton Plumtre, East Kent; Thomas Law Hodges and Thomas Rider, West Kent.

1835, 1837.—As before, E.K.; Sir William Richard Powlett Geary and Thomas Law Hodges, W.K.

1838.—Sir Edmund Filmer, W.K., vice Sir W. Geary, Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds.

1841.—E.K. same as before; W.K., Sir Edmund Filmer, Bart., and the Hon. Charles Marham (Viscount Marham).

1841.—The Right Hon. Sir E. Knatchbull re-elected on accepting the office of Paymaster General.

1845.—William Deedes, E.K., vice Sir E. Knatchbull, Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds.

1845.—Thomas Austen, W.K., vice Viscount Marham, now Earl of Romney.

1847.—John Pemberton Plumtre and William Deedes, E.K.; Sir Edmund Filmer and T. L. Hodges, W.K.

1852.—Sir Brook William Bridges, E.K., vice J. P. Plumtre, Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds.

1852.—Sir Edward Cholmeley Dering and William Deedes, E.K.; Sir Edmund Filmer and William Masters Smith, W.K.

1857.—Charles Wykeham Martin, W.K., vice Sir E. Filmer, deceased.

1857.—Sir Brook W. Bridges, and Sir E. C. Dering, E.K.

C. Wykeham Martin and James Whatman, W.K.

1857.—William Deedes, E.K., vice Sir E. C. Dering, Steward of H. M. Manor of Northstead, co. York.

M.P.s for
Kent.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1859.—Sir B. W. Bridges and William Deedes, E.K.

The Hon. William Archer Amherst (Viscount Holmesdale)
and Sir Edmund Filmer, W.K.1862.—Sir E. Cholmeley Dering, E.K., *vice* W. Deedes, deceased.1868.—Edward Leigh Pemberton, the younger, and the Hon. George
Watson Milles, East Kent.

William Hart Dyke and Viscount Holmesdale, Mid Kent.

Charles Henry Mills and John Gilbert Talbot, West Kent.

SHERIFFS OF KENT DURING THE PRESENT CENTURY.

Sheriffs.

1800	JOHN LARKING.	1836	SIR E. CHOLMELEY DERING.
1801	EDWARD AUSTEN.	1837	FRANCIS BRADLEY.
1802	THOMAS GODFREY.	1838	THOMAS TURNER ALKIN.
1803	CHRISTOPHER COOKE.	1839	DAVID SALOMONS.
1804	SIR WALTER STIRLING.	1840	ARTHUR POTT.
1805	JOHN MINET FECTOR.	1841	DELAMARK BANKS.
1806	JOHN HARRISON.	1842	HENRY HOARE.
1807	JOHN SIMPSON.	1843	FREDERICK PERKINS.
1808	CHARLES MILNER.	1844	SIR JOSEPH HENRY HAWLEY.
1809	SIR BROOK WM. BRIDGES.	1845	SIR MOSES MONTEFIORE.
1810	JAMES BURTON.	1846	WILLIAM OSMUND HAMMOND.
1811	SIR JNO. COURTENAY HONY- WOOD.	1847	JOHN PELLY ATKINS.
1812	JOHN WELLS.	1848	JOHN ASHLEY WARRE.
1813	JOHN CATOR.	1849	WILLIAM MASTERS SMITH.
1814	ROBERT FOOT.	1850	MATTHEW BELL.
1815	JAMES WILDMAN.	1851	FORD WILSON.
1816	ALEXANDER EVELYN.	1852	SIR JOHN WM. LUBBOCK.
1817	WM. ALEXANDER MORELAND.	1853	FRANCIS COLVILLE HYDE.
1818	WILLIAM HENRY BALDOCK.	1854	ALEXANDER GLENDINING.
1819	JOHN WINGFIELD STRATFORD	1855	SIR WALTER CHAS. JAMES.
1820	SIR THOMAS DYKE.	1856	RICHARD PATERSON.
1821	SIR JOHN SHELLEY-SIDNEY.	1857	JOHN SAVAGE.
1822	JOHN POWELL POWELL.	1858	EDWARD LADD BETTS.
1823	THOMAS AUSTEN.	1859	SIR RICHARD TUFTON.
1824	FIENNES WYKEHAM MARTIN.	1860	SIR COURTENAY HONYWOOD.
1825	WILLIAM GEORGE DANIEL TYSSSEN.	1861	ALEXANDER RANDALL.
1826	SIR JOHN FAGG.	1862	HENRY BANNERMAN.
1827	ISAAC MINET.	1863	SAMUEL LONG.
1828	SIR THOS. MARYON WILSON.	1864	GEORGE FIELD.
1829	THOMAS RIDER.	1865	ROBERT RODGER.
1830	EDWARD RICE.	1866	THOMAS FARMER BAILY.
1831	BADEN POWELL.	1867	WILLIAM MOORE.
1832	GEORGE DOUGLAS.	1868	STEPHEN MUSGRAVE HILTON.
1833	DEMETRIUS GREVIS JAMES.	1869	JOSEPH RIDGWAY.
1834	GEORGE STONE.	1870	SIR EDMUND FILMER.
1835	JOHN WARD.	1871	FRANCIS PHILIPS.
		1872	SIR JOHN FREDK. CROFT.
		1873	JOHN WINGFIELD STRATFORD

1874 CHARLES STEWART HARDY.

The office of Lord Lieutenant of the County during this period was successively held by :—Charles, Earl of Romney ; John Jeffreys, Marquis Camden, K.G. ; Charles, Earl of Thanet ; George Augustus Frederick, Earl Cowper ; and John Robert, late Viscount now Earl Sydney, G.C.B., the present Lord Lieutenant.

CHAP. XXXIV.
Lords
Lieutenant.

The noblemen who have successively served the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports during the present century are the Earl of Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Dalhousie, Viscount Palmerston, and Earl Granville, the present Lord Warden.

Lords Warden.

Since the last sheet was printed the General Election of February, 1874, has taken place, and the members returned for East, Mid, and West Kent were the same as in 1868.

The number of electors in

East Kent	...	...	12,605
Mid Kent	...	...	8,905
West Kent	...	...	11,972
Total	...	...	33,482

Showing a decrease since 1868 in the number of electors for East Kent, but an increase in Mid and West Kent.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING HISTORY OF THE WEALD.
—ITS KENTISH BOUNDARY.—ITS DENES, WHERE SITU-
ATE, AND THE OUTLYING MANORS OF WHICH THEY
WERE HELD.—THE OPINIONS OF MODERN WRITERS ON
IT.—ITS ANCIENT CASTLES, PARKS, &c.—ITS CHIEF
OWNERS.—ITS LITTLE COLONY OF ARTISTS.

CHAP. XXXV.
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IN this Chapter I propose to give a summary of what is contained in the preceding pages in relation to the Weald, and to show in what respect this district has from our earliest history been distinguished from other parts, first of the Kingdom, and then of the County of Kent, by peculiar customs, and a recognised natural boundary, if it does not possess a complete legal one. We have seen that the earliest accounts now extant describe it as a desert, a waste, bringing forth both "thorns and thistles unbid;" being neither planted nor peopled; and known under various names, such as The Britons' Woody Vale—Coid or Coit Andred*—Andred—Andredsweald—Saltus† Andred—Sylva Andred—Saltus Communis—sometimes "The Wild"—and lastly, The Weald, meaning "wood or wilderness."

From vegetative agencies it was the principal forest or wooded portion of Kent. We are without any authentic chronicles until the close of the seventh century, and we

* Andred, according to Dr. Guest, signifies "the uninhabited district," from *an*, the Celtic negative particle, and *tred*, a dwelling. Anderida, according to Mr. Lewin, must be sought for in the Celtic language, and signifies the Black Forest: *an*, the; *deru*, oak forest; and *dy*, black.

† Saltus, I imagine, would mean a country of wooded glades.

have no reference to Andred until the middle of the eighth century, when Sigebert, the ex-King of the West Saxons, having committed murder, fled there amid "the recesses of wild beasts," and was slain near Privett, in Hampshire.

CHAP. XXXV.
Vol. I., p. 68.

The only notice of its magnitude is to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 898, where it is recorded that it was 120 miles long and 30 broad, extending over parts of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire; and that the Limen or Rother flowed out of it.

We have no evidence that it was ever a royal forest of chase; but while Kent continued a distinct Kingdom, its Sovereign enjoyed a paramount right over such portion of Andred as was within his territories, subject to the right of his freemen to pannage, or, as it was sometimes termed, "the use of the woods in Andred;" which in short was the folcland or land of the freemen of Kent, who it may be supposed participated in it in proportion to their arable holdings,* though the Sovereign reserved the timber, and had certain other royalties from the salt works or evaporating pans, &c.†

In process of time it became necessary to put a limit to the right of pannage, and confine it to certain individuals, and we then find it held by the freemen of the Laths, as the men of "Limen, Wye, and Burg" (Shipway, Scray, and St. Augustine). The rights of the community had next to succumb to the Church; for the Sovereign, with the consent sometimes of "the princes and great men," at other times of "the Witan," granted out to the Ecclesiastics the greater part of this Sylva

* Thus Kent possessed in her Weald the equivalent of what other shires had in their open lands or fields. As an example, Rothwell, in Northamptonshire, held about 2,400 acres of open or common land in three fields of about 800 acres each; and even at the present day, in spite of Inclosure Acts, extensive "common fields" are to be met with in different parts of England.

† During the eighth century salt was manufactured at several of the outakirts of this forest; at the one near Lympe there were no less than 120 *claustra*. The process of solar evaporation is now entirely disused. When the duty on salt was repealed in 1824 there were thirty-five works, chiefly in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, where salt was made by evaporation from sea water.

CHAP. XXXV.

Vol. I, p. 73.

Vol. I, p. 68.

Regalis. At this time their most important animal was the pig. Among the earliest charters of our Anglo-Saxon Kings there will be found, as in Ethelbert's Charter to St. Augustine's Monastery, a grant extending over the whole forest. Before the close of this century, however, the value attached to these feedings, added to the wants of an increasing population, caused the Sovereign to limit his grants to certain defined districts, called Denbera and Wealdbera, and subsequently "denes," which are described by Somner "as woody valleys or places yielding both cover and feeding for cattle, especially swine;" they comprised also small sunny outlying and undulating pastures in the woods, which are at present so attractive a feature in the vicinity of Tunbridge Wells and other parts of the district. So general was the practice of including this right of pannage* in the royal grants of land at this time that there is scarcely a charter which does not contain it.

Names were of necessity given to these denes,† called in some districts dingles, and Markham was of opinion, as we have already stated, that each man held his dene (which frequently bore his name) whole and unbroken. Among the earliest we trace Frittenden, Sandhurst, Herbourne, Hemsted, Benenden, Biddenden, Surrenden, Shornden, Broxham, Tannera Hole [Tapner's Hole], Tyhurst, &c.

The rights of the owners as well as their tenants *on the hill*‡ (who also paid gavelswine or swine money for the privilege of feeding or taking in other peoples' swine) were

* Pannage was also called "shake-time," being the season of the year that mast fell from the trees. It meant not only the right of feeding, but the price paid for it. The charge made by Battle Abbey was 2d. for every hog of full age. Tithe also appears to have been paid on the pannage.

† Except as to their number and extent, denes were not peculiar to the Weald; they are to be met with in other parts of Kent and England as well as in Scotland and Ireland. "The den of Balruddery is a sweet wooded dell."

‡ "The hill" is a term applied by the inhabitants of the Weald and Romney Marsh to the rest of the county.

watched over and protected by drofmen [drovers] or forest-herdsmen, and portions of the denes were allotted to these men for their services. Enclosures at certain parts of the year were provided as layers for the cattle and swine in going to and from their pannage, which were called drof-lands; which signified that the land was held by the service of driving the owner's swine and cattle to and from the forest. The driver was called *drofmannus*; and there might be a drof-dene in an ordinary dene; thus we meet at a later period with a grant of a drofdene in the dene of Risedene, in Sandhurst, to Allan de Spondene.*

CHAP. XXXV.

VOL. I., pp.
205, 412.

The drovers next began to make the Weald their permanent abode, and a population anxious to bring portions of it into tillage joined them, who paid the lord danger† or lef-silver for permission to plough and sow the land in pannage-time. Gates were set up and tolls paid for them. Other customs also existed which have been already noticed. So matters proceeded until in process of time a settled population had taken up their abode. Thus the right of pannage or masting existed long anterior to the Norman conquest, which we are now approaching.

Ante, p. 5.

The various estates scattered over Kent to which these denes had been allotted were known before the Conquest as *prædia* or possessions; but afterwards they were called manors, the feudal system in England then becoming universal.

The favour shown to Kent by the Conqueror, and the sanctity by which these denes and their tenure were preserved, may be contrasted with what took place in the Sussex portion of the Weald, which was cut up and allotted to Norman Barons, and thus formed the separate though extensive forests of Ashdown, Waterdown, St.

* These drofdenes were not confined to the Weald, for we find a Dering's droff in Lydd.

† The term "danger" I apprehend was applied to the probability of loss of pannage by ploughing, and grubbing up the wood.

CHAP. XXXV.

Ante, Vol. I.,
c. xxi., xxii.,
xxiii., and
Map No. 2.

Leonard's, &c. In Kent no new-formed forest* oppressed the inhabitants who had settled in this wild district; the denes and possessions of the Church and religious houses were respected, and their tenants and dependants were left undisturbed, save perhaps in a few exceptional cases, such as Tunbridge. The appeal which the men of Kent appear to have made to King William was "Let us alone," and this was the policy that he really adopted. He became Lord Paramount, and retained also the royal denes which had been held by Edward the Confessor and previous Sovereigns, excepting those which he bestowed on Battle Abbey with the royal manor of Wye.

Passing then on to the Domesday Survey, A.D. 1086, I must remind my readers that only eight places in the Weald are there mentioned. Four of them, however, then possessed churches. Seven of the Hundreds now forming part of the district are omitted, or, what is more probable, were not then formed; while there are only forty-four entire denes, nine small ones, and two halves referred to, but no names are given to them. Some, according to Spelman, probably contained 500 acres; others not more than half that quantity. The object of the Conqueror was to get an accurate return of the possessions of those who were *now* called Lords of Manors, so that those denes which belonged to Manors, as in the case of Milton, Aldington, Wye, Chilham, &c., though not mentioned, would be included by implication. Such portions of the Weald as were not held already by Ecclesiastics or religious houses, were at the conquest included in the grants to Odo, Bishop of Baieux, the Earl of Eu, Hugh de Montfort, and Richard Fitz-Gislebert, also called Richard de Tonbridge, and became Manors.

The Dene was coeval with the kingdom of Kent, and

* That other parts of the country were grievously oppressed in this respect is shown by the charters granted by the early Norman Kings, who, when they wished to conciliate the Saxon population, promised redress in this matter; but they never kept their word, and the "new afforestations" appear as one of the heads of complaint down to the time of Magna Charta.

its Laths; and the owner in Norman and later times, we have seen, could, up to the reign of Edward I., convert it into a manor. This was frequently done, the lord waiving his uncertain and precarious rights, for fixed and definite ones.

CHAP. XXXV

The subsequent completion of the hundreds and formation of new manors and parishes did not interfere with the existing denes, consequently parts of them will be found in one hundred or parish and parts in another. These denes had their boundaries clearly defined by crosses, oaks, stones, &c., and at stated periods were perambulated. Where the denes are most frequently found, there but a small number of manors exist, and *vice versa*. Few of the newly created manors in the Weald were larger than an ordinary farm, and nearly all of them are now known only by reputation; the sporting and other objects for which they were originally formed having long since ceased. The parties who possessed them by subinfeudation became our yeomanry, a race who "have left an indelible mark throughout England, not only on our constitution, but on our national character."

Arch. Cant.,
Vol. V., 79.

Long after the Conquest we find the rights of the Sovereign to pannage and timber as lord paramount, as well as in respect of his denes in the Weald, still respected; for we meet with a charge for driving 600 hogs from Tunbridge, belonging to Richard I.; and in the reign of Henry III. orders were given for payment of the cost of the conveyance of timber from the forest of Tunbridge, and also from Marden; while the *Charta de Foresta* contains a clause for the protection of pannage.

Ante, p. 7.

The reader does not require to be told that those who formerly lived nearest a Common derived the greatest benefit from it. Thus the value of the denes belonging to the manors of Bromley and Eastry, at opposite ends of the county, was relatively small, when compared with such manors as Ashford, Charing, and Lenham. So that as farming became better understood, the lords of these distant manors found it more to their advantage to keep

CHAP. XXXV.

their stock at home, and make manure for their arable lands in their farmyards, than send it for a few weeks into the Weald to feed on the mast; they were, therefore, content either to *let* their denes, reserving only the timber, or convert them into manors.

Ante, p. 8.

Ante, pp. 128,
184.

The number of denes allotted to the different outlying manors varied, though many of them possessed twelve, which in process of time became divided and subdivided until one large dene was held by twenty different tenants. From its obscure, and at times unapproachable position, large portions of the Weald were no doubt wrongfully acquired, and length of possession conferred a title. No one can have read the beginning of this volume without noticing the exactions of the King's Escheator, appointed at the commencement of the 13th century, whose duty it was, among other things, to inquire after the denes and manors which the *King's tenants* died possessed of; but he often compelled persons to sue out livery from the Crown who were *not* tenants, or possessed doubtful titles. To be relieved from this, the head man of a dene, who probably held it by only a possessory title, waited on the reeve of the Archbishop, or of some other lord, "*on the hill*" (though ecclesiastics were preferred as less exacting), and prayed on behalf of himself and his co-occupiers, to be admitted socage tenants in respect of such dene. By this means they escaped the King's Escheator; for upon the issuing of a writ of *Inquisitio post mortem* the heirs of the deceased could then claim to hold of the Church, or a religious house, and they took care to have their lands particularly described on the court rolls. They thus became tenants of the manor in respect of these denes, which, however, necessitated their attendance at the three weeks' court of the lord. To obviate this, they agreed with the reeve on entering the dene upon the rolls, to pay a certain sum, say 6s. 8d. yearly, in lieu of such attendance. In Aldington alone we have seen that there are forty-four denes (12 and 32), and they are always separately returned; the twelve I consider were the

original ones. I glean this information from the manorial papers of Wye, and I would remind the reader that the tenure by which these newly created denes were held, differed in every respect from that of the original Anglo-Saxon ones.

The great impediment to profitable tillage was the timber growing in the denes, which the cultivators were prohibited from felling, as it was the property of the lord. Disputes respecting it, often followed by litigation, existed we have seen from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries which generally ended in compromises in favour of the tenants. One of the latest was the case of Lyminge, when the tenants of nine out of the twelve denes in the Weald belonging to that manor entered into an agreement with Henry VIII., who then possessed it, to pay an additional rent for the licence to cut the growing timber at their will. The substitution of these additional rents, and the change of ownership occasioned by the Reformation and dissolution of the religious houses, severed nearly the whole of the connexion between the Church and the Weald, a connexion perhaps coeval with Christianity in England.

The lord's courts continued to be held at Aldington, Wye, Chilham, &c., at which the tenants were bound to attend, or pay a composition in lieu thereof, notwithstanding the distance they had to travel. In the last royal Survey of Aldington, made in 1608,

"The Jury presented that the tenants of the denes had been accustomed to assemble themselves at Aldington on the Monday before Michaelmas, and elect one to be bedel for the year, to collect the rents of the several denes, and the suit of Court."

The denes, partaking of the tenure of their manors, were freehold. In process of time the customs and services by which they had been originally held were gradually relaxed and commuted; compromise followed compromise (indeed the Constitutional history of England is, throughout, almost one continued history of compromises based on expediency), until at last nearly the whole district passed from its original owners or their descendants; less

CHAP. XXXV

Hasted, Vol.
III., p. 330, (p).

CHAP. XXXV.

fertile, but less burthened at the present time with manorial and other charges than any other part of the county.

The Boundary of the Weald.

I next propose to fulfil my promise of furnishing the reader with a boundary line. Our earliest topographer, Lambarde, states :

Lambarde.

"Hereout springeth the diversity of opinions touching the true limits of this Weald, some affirming it to begin at one place, and some at another."

After Lambarde, came Somner, who is almost the only one of our earlier writers who has found the Weald and its denes sufficiently interesting to write about them, but even he makes no mention of the boundary.

Dr. Harris.

Dr. Harris appears to have seen in the Surrenden library, in the last century, a MS. of the first baronet, which stated that—

p. 346.

"The Weald extended eastward from Winchelsea into Kent, much after this manner; and to have had in our county these boundaries; viz: from Kent Hatch, over against Limes-Field, in Surrey, to Idehill, Riverhill, Molehill, Peckhamhill, Yaldinghill, Cock's-heath, Boston Monchensie, Sutton, Ulcombe, Boston Malherbe, Egerton, Pevington, Pluckley, Great Chart, Kings-Noth, Munford, and so to the side of the hill of the Mersh, Aldington, Bonington, Bilsington, Orlaston, Ham, Werehorne, Kenardington, and Appledore, and thence to the place where the River Rother opened into the sea at Old Winchelsea; and he thinks that within these bounds towards Sussex, all is to be accounted the Weald from the top of those hills, including their sides and descents."

But not content with this boundary, which we will call the Red Hill one, Sir Edward Dering suggested another, extending in a more northerly direction, and including the White Hills; thus committing the same mistake as Sir Roger Twysden, and Lord Le De Spencer after him did; for he adds—

"Beginning at Brasted, and so to Morant's-court, Otford, Wrotham, Byrling, Burham, Boxley, Detling, Harrietsham, Lenham, Charing, East-well, Wye Downs, and so away to Folkestone."

Dr. Harris does not give any opinion of his own, but the White Hill, as the legal boundary, has so completely failed since the Doctor wrote, that I need not trouble the reader with any further remark on it.

Hasted next wrote (adopting Lambarde's language in his first sentence):—

CHAP. XXXV.

Vol. I., p. 139.

"There are diversity of opinions touching the true limits of this Weald; some affirming it to begin at one place and some at another; which uncertainty arises from its being from time to time made less and less by industry; and being now in a manner wholly replenished with people, and interspersed everywhere with wealthy towns and villages, it may more reasonably be maintained, that there is no Weald at all, than to ascertain where it ought to begin or end.

"Yet there are certain privileges still annexed to the lands in the Weald, which induce the owners of them to contend for their being within the limits of it, where their lands in general pay no tithe of wood, nor are subject to the Statute of Woods; nor has the lord waste within the Weald, the timber growing thereon belonging to the tenant. [Land-peerage.]

"It is the general opinion that the Weald anciently extended much farther than it is supposed to do at present, and that the bounds of it formerly began at Winchilsea, in Sussex, and reached 120 miles in length and 30 in breadth; however that might be, it is certainly now contained in much straighter limits, which, according to the *reputation* of the country, are as follows in this county:

"The Weald bounds on the west to Surrey, and on the south to Sussex; on the north, beginning at Surrey, the bounds are by the hill whereon Well-street stands; thence to the top of Ide Hill, River Hill, the hill above Fair lane, and thence to Herst Hill; thence to the top of the hill above Watringbury; thence to Teston where the River Medway comes in, but on the east side of it the hill begins again, and runs above Burs-ton, and thence to the top of the hills above Linton, Boughton, Chart Sutton, Town Sutton, and Ulcombe; thence to the same hill at Boughton Malherbe, where Sir Horace Mann's house stands, and there the hill breaks; and from thence the bounds towards the east run by certain churches, as those of Egerton, Pluckley, Great Chart and Kingsnorth, and from thence to the hill on the edge of Romney Marsh, below Orlestone near Ham, and so by Warehorne Church, including the same; and from thence by the bottom of the hill below Kenardington Church to Appledore, and so down the stream till they meet the county of Sussex. And here it may be noted, that where parishes extend into the Weald, and their churches stand above the hill, the lands of these parishes are called by the names of both Upland and Weald: thus, there is in Sevenoke-upland and Sevenoke-weald, Sundrish-upland, and Sundrish weald, and the like, in a great number of instances."

Later, Mr. John Boys, employed by the Government of the day to make "an agricultural survey of Kent," states, on the authority of a "middle Kent farmer," that p. 3 (*). the manors above the hill "have many of them a long slip of land each, reaching ten or twelve miles into the Weald, which farms pay quit rents to them." Mr. Boys

CHAP. XXXV.
 Morgan's
 Normans in
 England, p. 77.

neither offers to explain nor contradict this strange statement; and I only quote it because a clever modern writer has done so, and he innocently asks, "May not *denæ* be sections of these long slips of land?" Dearn and other writers have failed to throw any additional light on the boundary.

It is a matter of regret that the subject did not interest the late Mr. Lambert Larking, fond as he was of such investigations; he remarked to a friend on one occasion that very little was known about it, which may account for his not setting his friend, Mr. Kemble, right.

My list of parishes situate wholly, or in part, within the Weald of Kent, with the names of the *denes* in them, and of the outlying *manors* (not parishes, remember) of which they were held, so far as I have been able to trace them, will be an alphabetical one. The names of the parishes situate only *partly* in the Weald are distinguished from the others by an *underline*, and are placed *transversely* on the accompanying Map. They together constitute the present legal boundary of the district.

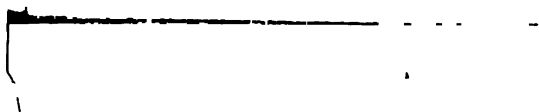
By the several apportionments of the Tithe Commissioners the woodlands in the Weald are in almost every case declared exempt, the reason given being that they are situate within the prescribed district.* It is unnecessary to refer to this exemption in every case, but as the fact is often expressed in different language, I will give two or three examples. In Smarden, the Assistant Commissioner states:—

Smarden.

"I find all the *woodlands, out bounds, and hedges* of the said parish are by the prescriptive custom of the Weald of Kent, in which the said parish is situate, absolutely exempt from the payment of all tithes while used and occupied as woodland."

In Staplehurst the Award declares the woodland exempt *in non decimando*. In Benenden it is declared exempt by prescription. In Shadoxhurst it is declared exempt from time immemorial.

* It must, however, be borne in mind that the mere fact of non-payment of tithe on *woodland* is not a conclusive proof that the land is in the Weald, as there are large districts of woodland in Kent enjoying this privilege, which are clearly not within the Weald.



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As to the parishes *underlined* in this Alphabetical List, and placed transversely in the Map, it is to be understood that most of them are declared by the Awards to be only partly in the Weald, and that only those portions of woodland are exempt which are specially mentioned. These partial exemptions also are expressed in different language, of which I will give two or three examples. Thus in Ebony, in the Isle of Oxney, the Assistant Commissioner states:—

"I find that all the lands of the said parish *except the marsh lands* are within a district called or known by the name of the Weald of Kent, and that by virtue of a certain custom existing in and extending over all the land of the said district no tithe of wood is payable from any part of the said land." Ebony.

In Appledore, another border parish, the woodland is also declared exempt from tithe; while at Brasted, another border parish, in another part of the county, it is declared that "no tithe is payable on woodlands south of a certain road known as the "Pilgrims' Way." The same exemption is expressed in Westerham and Wrotham.

Against all the parishes wholly or partially within the Weald where no exemption is noticed in the Award I have placed this denoting mark (†).

The reader with this Alphabetical List, and the Map No. 8, can ascertain for himself every parish in or on the borders of the Weald of Kent. In preparing them I have had the advantage of the labours of the Tithe Commissioners, which no previous writer on the subject has possessed.*

To avoid a multiplicity of marginal references, except under special circumstances, the reader is requested to turn to the Indexes of Places for each Volume, and he will find that every parish included in this List has been noticed in one or the other of them; some of them frequently in both.

The great antiquity of many of the denes, which have existed more than 1000 years, the frequent changes in

* This work omits twelve of the under-mentioned parishes, situated partly in the Weald.

CHAP XXXV.

the names, and the mode of spelling them, setting aside the loss of many except in name, make it very difficult to identify them with precision. The reader must not, therefore, conclude that either my list of denes, or of the manors to which they belonged, is complete. To have made it more so, I ought to have had access to the court rolls of all the principal manors of the county, but many of these are lost or destroyed. I only hope that what I have done with much labour, and which has never before been attempted, will answer the object I have in view.

¶ ALDINGTON * [anciently written *Baldintune*, implying antiquity, from *Bald*, the old town]. This *Caput Baronie*, which I have so often referred to, was granted to Christ Church, Canterbury, in the tenth century, and with its Episcopal residence, park, fish-ponds, &c., and its numerous denes in the Weald, was allotted to Archbishop Lanfranc, on a division of the temporalities of the See of Canterbury, and was held by his successors until the reign of Henry VIII. I have included it among the border parishes, on the authority of the first Surrenden Baronet, and Dearn and others. Hasted is silent on this point. The woodland in this parish is not tithe free. The boundary was not referred to in a tithe cause in 1754, between the then rector, Dr. John Chapman,† and his Parishioners, when the Doctor failed in his attempt to upset the modus. Aldington Frith or Fright, once the Archbishops' Chase for deer and wild beasts, was taken in and enclosed in 1819 under an Act of Parliament.‡ Aldington was held by knight service.

* The views, combining sea and land, from two or three spots about the Knole in Aldington, are among the most pleasing in the county: they extend over Romney Marsh and the Channel, to Dungeness, towards the south-east, and Beachborough, Saltwood, Monk's Horton, Brabourne, Wye Downs, Eastwell and Godinton inland. An American senator once remarked that he never remembered to have seen a spot where good farming, grazing, scenery, and British commerce were more beautifully combined.

† Dr. Chapman, during the last century, held the rectories of Mersham, Smeeth, and Aldington together, for upwards of 40 years.

‡ "A frith," according to Morgan, "is a warren or preserve, like Aldington Frith, in Kent." We have the same expression in the Saxon Chronicle, "The King set many deer fritha."—"England under the Normans," p. 4; *vide* also Vol. I., p. 380.

¶ APPLEDORE [written by the Saxons *Apuldre*; in Domesday, *Apeldres*, once a maritime town. Taylor's derivation is from the Celtic *Dier* (water), from its low situation near the sea. It was a resort of the vikings (the sea rovers); and Hasten, the Dane, built a castle here (*ante*, Vol. I., p. 92). Its etymology, however, according to Philippott, is, "A town fruitful in apples." Excepting the apple tree, fruit trees very rarely gave names to places in Britain, and even this tree seldom appears in conjunction with Anglo-Saxon roots, being found chiefly in Celtic names.—Taylor, pp. 350-367.] Appledore was granted to Christ Church, Canterbury, about seventy years after the preceding grant of Aldington, and

in the subsequent division of the temporalities between Lanfranc and the Monks, it was allotted to the latter for their subsistence. There do not appear to be any denes here, except Kennardington (part of) in Aldington Manor. There were six very ancient denes in the Weald held of Appledore, viz.: Herindene, Wereborne, Emerindene, Mistelhome, Benequyke, and Rodinge. Appledore is partly in East Kent, and partly in West, now Mid Kent.

CHAP. XXXV.

ASHURST [the wood of Ash Trees], on the borders of Sussex. Part of the Barony of Faversham, the service being the defence of Dover Castle. There is a fine old chestnut tree at Stone-cross.

BENENDEN originally a den. [*Binnan*, Saxon, "within, twofold"—implying more than one den.] The following denes in this parish are in Aldington Manor. Idene,* Hole (part), Standene, Hinxdene, Dingledene, Rolvendene (part), and Devengherst. In Great Chart Manor, Bishopedene; and Ramsden in Lambyn Manor. In Rolvendene Manor, the denes of Westbishopedene, Folkendene, and Holhurst. In Conningbrook [Kennington], Westryddinge. In Westwell Manor, East Ryddene, Knole, and Benyndene. In Eastry, Sarrenden. In Reculver Manor, a den, name unknown. Hamsted was a den in the tenth century, like Benenden and Combden; they afterwards became Manors, and were held by Knight-Service. Benenden is one of the few places in the Weald mentioned in Domesday. The Prior of Robertsbridge, in Sussex, also possessed denes here.

* There are other Idens in the Wealds of Kent and Sussex.

BETHERSDEN, OR BETHERSDEN-LOVELACE. [Written anciently *Beatrixden*—*Beatrix's* valley—though the derivation given by Edmunds is "*Beda's* Hollow."] Partly in West, now Mid-Kent, and partly in East Kent. The following denes are in this parish: Snodehill, in Wye Manor. Gomeraham, Walden, and Morley, in Brook Manor. Hachedene or Eytchedene (which afterwards became a manor, and was held by knight service), and South Withrindene,* in Boughton Aluph Manor. Southdene or Snordene, and Wathenden or Waddendene, in Conningbrook. Pimphurst (part), East Ridden, and Tuesnoath, † in Westwell. Terndene and Baddingherst, in Hothfield. Lewode [Lowood?], in Mersham. Reculver Manor possessed a den in this parish, name unknown, and the denes of Brissendene, Ramsdene, Povendene, Wisendene, and Wooddene in this parish belonged to unknown Manors. The Betherden marble is now rarely used except for road making; we meet with it in the early decorations and monuments of our churches, and in the chimney-pieces of our old manor-houses.

* This is the den, I am inclined to think, which was afterwards known as Suthrindene and then as Surrenden, and was held by Adam de Surrenden, temp. King John. When the family subsequently removed to Pluckley and adopted "*Surrenden*" for the name of the mansion, to distinguish this den from it, it was called Old Surrenden, *alias* Betherden.—Vide, Vol. I, p. 144-145.

† The rents of this den were collected by the tenants in turn.

BIDBOROUGH ["By the Borough" the Saxon *th* turned into *d*, as is still frequently done in common pronunciation in many parts of Kent], formed the southern boundary of the Lowy of Tunbridge. Thus we have "the great, or old bounds," and "new bound." The little church and old farm house near it should be seen.

BIDDENDEN.* ["Bythanden," by the Denes, originally a den in the centre of others. Here again, as at Bidborough, the letters "dd" have been

CHAP. XXXV.

substituted for the "th."] The following denes are in this parish : Watchindene, Ioheregge, Aldryndene, Ealyndene or Lessendene, Iborndene (part), and Worndene or Worsendene, in Wye Manor. Biddendene (part), Lewcell, and Dashmondene, in Little Chart Manor. Biddenden (part) and Spelhurst (part), in Shereriland [Pluckley]. Spelhurst (part) and Iborndene (part), in Ashford. Iborndene (part), in Godmersham. Dewadene, in Great Chart. Betenham (part), in Westgate [Canterbury]. Iborndene (part), and Worndene, in St. Stephen's [Westminster]. Northumbdene, Trenhurst, Forsden, and Devondene, in Westwell. Iborndene† (part), Ewhurst, Prickendene, Herst, Prickenden, Baddinghurst, Farnedene (part), and Luahendene's Cross, in Hothfield. Hevndene, Omeudene (part), Stephurst, Biahopedene, Quashingdene, Standene, and Holden, now unknown. The Sovereign, as lord over "The Seven Hundreds," claimed all the estrays within this and the neighbouring parishes constituting "The Seven Hundreds." The Manor pound was at Watchindene, in Biddenden.

* Biddenden had formerly a market-house, but no vestige of it now remains. Sir John de Mayney settled here at the Place House in the beginning of the reign of Edward III., and his family held it until the time of Elizabeth; it passed then to the Hendsens, and next to the Manna. The Pattensons and Beales have also been long connected with this parish.

† Iborndene must have been a large dene, for we find it providing pannage for no less than five Manors in different parts of Kent, unless, which sometimes occurs, the same family gave the same name to other denes; hence Sir Roger Twisden's controversy, so magnified by the late Mr. J. M. Kemble.—Saxons in England, Vol. I., p. 465.

BILLINGTON ["the town by the watery pastura."—*Philippott*. "From Beling or Billing, the owner's name."—*Edmunda*.] Situate partly in Romney Marsh. For an account of the tenure by which the manors here were held *vide* Vol. II., pp. 181, 182.

BONNINGTON ["the town of Bonna, a man's name."—*Edmunda*.] Partly in Romney Marsh; had formerly its "Law-day Oak" standing in the highway, under which the borholders of the boroughs of Bonnington and Ham were elected. The Manor was held by Knight-Service.

BOUGHTON MALHERBE ["Bocton, the town held by book or charter. Malherbe, ill pasturage."—*Philippott*. "Bough, from bog or boh, a bough—Boughton, indicating a site among trees."—*Edmunda*. There was a Sir Wm. de Malherbe, temp. Hen. III.] The Manor was held by Knight-Service.

The Court Rolls of the Manor of Boughton Malherbe, kindly lent to me by Mr. George Hinds, of Goudhurst, are the earliest I have seen; commencing about the middle of the 14th century [temp. Edw. III.]. Besides establishing the fact that Bocton was originally a dene, and referring to several denes that I had not before met with, they record proceedings against trespassers for cutting down the lord's wood in his drove-dene and in his park, and hunting in his warren the putting in distresses to recover the lord's "pannage," "leaf-silver," and "danger," "which used to be levied on the dene of Bocton of old time, but the bedel had levied nothing for many years." Proceedings against the lord's tenants for neglecting to make his hay, for which they were fined three-pence each. Smoke-silver appears to have been payable here as well as at Staplehurst, but here it is called "smoke or homestawle silver."

—*Vide* Staplehurst.

The following denes are in this parish: Riddene, in Lenham Manor; Kingdene (part) and Hamersham, in Chilham Manor; and Swithredigdene, or Suthrindene,* in Boughton Aluph Manor; there is a Thorndene here, as in other parts of Kent.

"The top of the hill on which the church stands is the northern boundary of the Weald in this pariah; the lands on each side being distinguished by Boughton Upland and Boughton Weald."—Hasted, Vol. ii., p. 437. The ancient boundary line between East and West, now East and Mid-Kent, runs through this pariah.

CHAP. XXXV.

* Mr. Thomas W. Burden, of Headcorn, suggests that this is the deno referred to in my first volume, p. 145. It may be so, but Boughton Aluph had also a deno in Bethereden of the same name.

¶ BOUGHTON MONCHELSEA. [Boc-ton, as in the last pariah; Moncheseai, a family name, to distinguish it]. The Manor was held of the King *in capite*. The deno of Wychdene, as well as Wireton, which was held of the manor of Newington next Sittingbourne, are in this pariah.

¶ BRASTED. [Bradsted, *vel Locus latus*. Brad, broad, and stæde, a place]. A vill and pariah formerly an appendage to Tunbridge, like Westerham; held by the Earls of Gloucester of the See of Canterbury by Grand Serjeanty. The Pilgrims' Road has been adopted here as the boundary of the Weald of Kent for tithe purposes.

BRENCHLEY. [Anciently written "Branchesle" and "Branceale." Pastures, with branched hedge rows.—*Phillipott*. "The leys," says Taylor, "were the open forest glades where the cattle love to lie."—p. 360.] This manor was also held by the Earls of Gloucester, with the Lowy of Tunbridge. It is not noticed in Domesday. Brenchley is returned as a Hundred in the reign of Edward I., and Horamonden was afterwards added to it. The following denes are in this pariah: Stoberfield and Roedene,† in East Farleigh Manor, which are also boroughs. They are included in the return made during the Commonwealth of the denes in the Weald belonging to East Farleigh. Westrotterindene, called Withereindene, was another of the Brenchley denes. Bokenfold, at one time a Manor of considerable extent, in the hands of the Crown, is situate partly in this pariah. Edward II. for a short time took up his abode here. [*Ante*, p. 236.] No vestige is, I believe, left of the mansion. The farmhouse is in Yalding.

The names of Furnace Farm, Furnace Pond, and Cinder Hill are still preserved, and we may infer, therefore, that there were forges and furnaces here. Parrocks was formerly a Manor in this pariah, now corrupted to Paddock Wood (*ante*, p. 4). Rugmer-hill, in Brenchley (appendant to the Manor of Aylesford), formed part of the lands in ancient demeane held by the Crown (*ante*, p. 192), and was exempt from the jurisdiction of the hundred.

* While the clearing of the forest was proceeding, it was the practice to leave a shaw of wood several yards in width around each enclosure, as a nursery for the timber, which at the same time preserved its sylvan aspect.

† Simon de Watrull gave this deno, temp. Henry III., with "the enclosed as well as the waste ground (*cultam et incultam*)," to Bayham Abbey, for the maintenance of a Canon, which gift was confirmed by Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester.

CHAP. XXXV. CAPEL [from Capella; is a chapel to Tudely]. Culverden, in the Manor of Southborough, is returned as part of the Lowy in the perambulation, 43 Hen. III.

CHART, GREAT ["Cert," a "charter." I have already identified "Cert" as early as A.D. 782, Vol. I., p. 73. Isaac Taylor, when speaking of the Weald (p. 360), classes the Charts among the denser portions of the forest. He says that the word Chart is identical with Hart (wood or forest); that "h" and "ch" are interchangeable; that it is derived from a German word. Now, as our Charts are in the present day on the borders of the Weald, and never, I think, could have been in the dense part of Andred, I must demur to this derivation.] The dene of Chilmington, in this parish, was held of Reculver Manor. The Twysdens became possessed of this property by marriage, and resided here before they acquired, by a subsequent marriage, Roydon Hall. The arms of the family were to be seen until recently in one of the windows of their residence, now a farmhouse. The late Mr. Lambert Larking wished to possess them. The father of Major Toke (the present owner of Godinton) purchased Chilmington a few years ago, and I was informed that the remains of the window had been laid aside in one of the upper rooms of the mansion at Godinton. Bevdene and Fleedene are denes in this parish. Some of the denes belonging to the Manor of Great Chart were Rodydene, Tremdene, Schrimpydene, Eldinton, Edinghame, Syeneedene, Walkherst, and Chertanod, and were situate in different parts of the Weald, but I have failed to identify them.

CHART, LITTLE [Vide Chart, Great.] The Manor originally belonged to a Saxon Prince, and was purchased by a Saxon Archbishop with his own money, and given by him, with the consent of King Æthelwulf, to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who parted with it in the reign of Henry III., reserving the dene of Biddenden. The Darell family have held it in fee farm from temp. Hen. IV.; and they in the same reign purchased of the Brockhulls, Calehill and Hachenden [in Bothereden?]. The other denes belonging to this ancient manor were Herth, Leafefe, Calkeregge, Wondenhamme, Hilgarindene, and Monekenesod, which I have also failed to identify.

CHART SUTTON, or Chart next Sutton Valence. [Vide Chart, Great.] The Denes in this parish are: Eldrindene or Ellersdene, Ivetigh, and Harnedene, in East Farleigh Manor; and Brickenden, belonging to a manor now unknown. His Satanic Majesty appears to possess a dene here as well as a dike at Brighton, for a dene is named after him. Chart Sutton Church (which formerly possessed a beautiful spire) was twice struck by lightning. On the first occasion the fire was soon put out; on the second (April 23rd, 1779), the church was totally destroyed. The manor of Chart Sutton was held by knight service.

CHEVENING. ["Under the great ridge of North Kent, which extends into Surrey; pronounced Keven, a back or ridge."] There appear to have been two Manors of Chevening, one a subordinate one. The tenure was partly copyhold, and the lands distinguished as *yoke land* and *inland*. The Mansion at Chevening was rebuilt early in the seventeenth century, and was sold at the beginning of the eighteenth century to General, afterwards Earl Stanhope, the hero of Port Mahon, and is held by his descendant, the present

Earl, a distinguished literary man, and President of the Society of Antiquaries. The church is well deserving a visit.

CHAP. XXXV.

In the tithe award for this parish, 1188 acres of woodland are described as being within the Weald, and exempt from tithe on that account. The manors of Chevening, Chipstead, and Morant's Court were held by knight-service.

¶ CHIDDINGTON.* ["The town on the brow."—*Philipott*. "The fold and the town of the descendants of Cedda."—*Edmunds*. The denes in this parish, so far as I have been able to discover, are: Tryndhyrst [Tyhurst?] held of Bromley Manor, and Oakdene, Alkendene, Cauldene, and Parrock Croft, but I cannot find that any of these are now held of manors situate out of the parish.

* Chiddington is one of the prettiest parishes in the Weald of Kent. The great sandstone boulder called the "Chiding Stone," in the Park, is an object of much interest. Might it not have been used by the Druids? The exterior of the inn and the adjoining houses cannot fail to please the visitor.

COWDEN.* [Indicating a pastoral site among the denes.] Separated from Sussex by a branch of the Medway, and set apart for the pasturage of cows, for which it must have been admirably adapted. It was held by the Priory of Black Canons of Michelham, in Sussex. Crippenden is also a dene in this parish.—*Ante*, pp. 12, 13.

* The rectory house, as I can testify, is not like that of a clergyman in the Weald to whom I wrote for information about the denes in his parish. For he in reply told me that "the only 'Den' that he was aware of was the rectory."

CRANBROOK,* formerly written Cranebrook. ["Cran," a crane, or a man's name.] Here, as in most other places, the principal denes were held by ecclesiastics or religious houses, in right of their Manors situate in scattered and distant parts of the county. Thus the dene of Cranbrook was held of Godmersham Manor, and extended over the whole town, except the site of the George Inn, which was held of the King by knight service; Anglye and Abbot's Franchise, of Wye (the Abbot of Battle appears to have held them himself); the dene of Glassenbury was held of the Manor of Sutton Valence; Harkridge [Hartridge] and Hartley, of Little Chart; Sissinghurst and Lashingdene, or Betenham, of Westgate (Canterbury);† Swetlyndene and Rodelindene, of Bayham Abbey; Swattendene (part), Gordene and Trendly (part) of Boughton Aluph manor; Blackingley and Hockeridge, of Ospringe; Frizley, Combdene, Swattendene (part), and Plushingerste, of Lenham. I have been unable to assign manors to Brandene and Hazeldene. The dene of Glassenbury, with some of the above denes, subsequently formed the extensive Park of Walter Roberts, the owner of Glassenbury, who by a grant from Henry VII. (A.D. 1489) emparked 1,600 acres of land, 1,000 of which were then cultivated as wood, situate in Cranbrook, Goudhurst, and Tiochurst (Sussex). It has been long since disparked. Hasted states erroneously, Vol. iii., p. 55, "there is no part of this parish which claims an exemption of tithes," which has misled Mr. Elton, who in his "Tenures of Kent," p. 196, says "Cranbrook, in the centre of the Weald, did not enjoy the exemption of tithe on wood." By the Tithe Apportionment, the woodlands are declared to be tithe free. Buckhurst, Sissinghurst, Copton, and Stone were held by knight service.

* Evans, in his "Juvenile Tourist," states (but gives no authority) that "Queen Elizabeth laid the first stone of the Grammar School at Cranbrook," and on that

CHAP. XXXV.

occasion she visited the cloth manufactory here, when she walked down to "Cownhorn," now known as "Coursehorne," more than a mile from the town, on broad cloth!

† In 1805, upwards of forty enclosures of the lands of this Manor took place in Cranbrook.

EBONY [anciently written Ebbene, from Ebbe, a female Saint, daughter of King Ethelfred. A.D. 660.—*Bede*.] In this parish the dene of Reading (part) and Ladydene were held of Great Chart; and there is the dene of Godden. The boundary between East and West, now Mid Kent, passes through this parish.

There was formerly a priory here; the old church was destroyed by lightning in the sixteenth century.

EDENBRIDGE, OR EATONBRIDGE. [THE WATERY VALE—EADEN.] Three very ancient denes in or near this parish, Billanora, Broxham, and Sclardene were granted with the Manor of Bromley to the see of Rochester. The river called the Eden joins the Medway above Chiddingstone. This Manor passed with Tunbridge to Edward Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and on his attainder Henry VIII. granted it, with Westerham, to Sir John Gresham.—Harris, p. 112.

EGERTON. ["Bleakly situated."—*Philipott*.] In this parish the dene of Warden or Wanden was held of Charing Manor, and Kingsnorth and Kingdene (part) of Chilham Manor. One of the services to be rendered by all the Chilham tenants in the Weald was to execute in rotation the office of reeve "within the denes of the Manor of Chilham." During the last century there were thirty-six tenants, holding together about 350 acres of the Manor of Chilham, in the dene of Kingsnorth, in Egerton.

There is a fine view from the tower of this church, which forms one of the recognized northern boundaries of the Weald. Dr. Harris thus describes Egerton in the early part of the last century: "The situation of this parish is all on the stony ground, with ascents and descents, and the ways bad." Great changes and improvements have since taken place.

FRANT [from the Anglo-Saxon word, Fernet [Fernes?], a wilderness or desert Lower.] Only a very small part of this parish is in Kent, comprising qualifications for eight electors for Mid-Kent. The remainder is in Sussex.

FRITTENDEN, originally a dene [corrupted from firth or frith. *Vide* Aldington, p. 702], does not now deserve the character given it by Hasted and Dearn. The former says "The roads, from the soil, except in the driest seasons, are so deep and miry as to be almost impassable, though it is so obscure that there is but little traffic through it." Dearn says "it possesses little to repay the stranger for a visit." Its denes, as far as I am able to define them, are Fishydenne, in Wye Manor. Wellinghurst, Halsedene (part), Pickedene, and Halanorth, in Chilham Manor. Frittendene and Buckhurst, in Milton Manor. Frythensdene and Chambdene, in Lenham Manor. Halanorth, in Faversham Manor; and Combdene, in Leeds Manor; and the dene of Wichendene, manor unknown. The Manor of Ospringe also had a dene here.

* Frittenden church has been almost rebuilt, and its parish owes much to its late Rector, the Rev. Edward Moore, and his lady.

GOUDHURST. [According to Philipott it was anciently written Goodhurst, the good wood, while Edmunds says it may be derived from the woad, a plant used by the Britons for staining their bodies: "Gond-hurst,"

GOUDHURST.

wood-wood]. Mr. Dearn's History of the Weald of Kent was published in 1814. In speaking of Goudhurst, he tells us that "its appearance is rather picturesque than *respectable*." The last mentioned term printed in italics is an unfortunate one, unless it was intended to apply to the accommodation it then afforded to the traveller; which, after a lapse of sixty years, certainly cannot be termed "respectable." I therefore advise all my readers who are disposed to visit this district, not to stop at Goudhurst, but to proceed to Kilndown, only two miles off, where all their reasonable wants will be satisfied, as a better conducted roadside inn is not to be met with in this locality. Goudhurst, setting aside its inns, is a very charming parish; and, though situate at no great distance from the main and branch lines of the South Eastern Railway, is far too little known to the inhabitants of Kent. The lover of woodland scenery need not leave Kent for the New Forest.

John de Bedgebury lived here some 500 years ago, and having no male issue, his sister Agnes succeeded him. She married John Colepeper, and Bedgebury thus became the residence of a family whose offshoots settled in almost every part of Kent and the adjoining counties, so that at one period they numbered no less than twelve knights and baronets; but the county that was so long proud of them, now knows them no longer. The present distinguished owner of the mansion and grounds of Bedgebury is Mr. Beresford Hope, the member for the University of Cambridge, who is ever ready to acknowledge that property has its duties as well as its rights. But my present business is with the denes, and from one of them, near Bedgebury, sprang the family of Twysden, in the reign of Edward I. Seven at least of the royal denes here were appendant to Middleton (Milton), and successive Sovereigns participated in the pannage from them long before Goudhurst was formed into a parish for ecclesiastical purposes: these denes were, I believe, Kilndown, Troppendene, Risadene, Risebridge, Paysell, Rookehurst, and Finchcocks. Bokinfold, with its park, forest, and demesne lands, was also held of Milton, but by a different tenure from the rest of the lands in this Hundred, temp. Henry III., when it descended to the eldest son of Hamo de Crevequer by Barony. Its remaining denes were Wincoherstdene, held of Gillingham Manor; Curteisdene,* (part) of Maidstone Manor; Fattendene (part), of Loose Manor; Highamdene, Illadene or Lilladene, Pickendene, and Knockedene, of East Farleigh Manor; Twisdene, a denes near Bedgebury and Twysendene, another denes near Kilndown, held of Aldington Manor; Chingley, of Boxley Manor; Hockeridge (part), of Chilham Manor; a nameless denes held of Leeds Manor. The following denes held of manors which I have been unable to discover, viz.:—Mapedene, Combourne Flimwell, Hordene Great, Hordene Little, and Idene. Thus Goudhurst appears to have possessed originally more than twenty either entire denes or parts of them. Combwell, in this parish, where was once a Priory, was also a Manor, which the family of Campion became possessed of, temp. Eliz. It extends into Sussex, and into different parts of the Weald of Kent, as far as Bethereden. The Frith or Fright Woods belonging to Mr. Beresford Hope extend over the parishes of Goudhurst, Hawkhurst, and Cranbrook, and contain, with

CHAP. XXXV.

CHAP. XXXV.

portions which have been converted into tillage, upwards of 2000 acres.

* Known also as Ladiesdene-Rokehurst, the family of Rokehurst, now Roberts, of Glassenbury, having first settled here.

HADLOW. [Had, Hadda, a chief's name, and *loc*, a hill—"Hadda's Hill."] The manor was within the Lowy of Tunbridge, and formed part of the North Frith, belonging to the Earls of Gloucester; whatever denes and rights of pannage existed under the See of Canterbury before the Conquest the owners were deprived of, for it is recorded "that no man's tenants, save the earl's, were within the perambulation of the Lowy." As a rule, we may notice, that in feudal times it was better to till the soil under the Crown or the Crosier than under the Baron. Hadlow had its tithe wards like Tunbridge.

HALDEN, HIGH. [Philippott says it was anciently written Healdene, "the healthful valley." Two other meanings may be given:—Heald, a secure and well protected dene, or Heal, a dene containing an inn or place of entertainment. But I have seen it written, several times, Hachewoldene and Hathewoldene, or the "high, uncultivated dene," which I consider the best derivation.] We have in this parish two of our most ancient denes—Herebourne, mentioned in King Ethelred's Charter, A.D. 993 (Vol. i., p. 144) and Tipdene* [Tiffendene], mentioned in Domesday (Vol. i. chap. xxi). The other denes are Romdene (part) and Omandene (part), in Wye Manor; Elderhurst (part), in Lambin Manor; Novendene and Halfardinge, in Coningbrook Manor; Mundene, in Northbourne Manor; Betherden (part) and Broombourne, in Boughton Aluph Manor; and Tarndene (part), in Hothfield Manor. High Halden church has been recently restored, and schools erected, a liberal bequest having been made for that purpose by the late Mrs. Amy Sutton, the widow of a former rector. The old timber steeple of the church has not been touched; the rude appearance of its interior shews that no great labour was bestowed in trimming the trunks of the oaks after they were cut down in the forest. It is estimated that there are no less than 50 tons of oak timber in the tower, spire and west entrance of this church, as if felled in the neighbouring forest, and set up in the rudest manner. Hales' Place, the original residence of the Hales family, and Halden House, or the Old House, the original seat of the Scots [of the Weald] were in this parish.

* We shall find that there was another Tiffendene, in Ulcombe.

HAWKHURST, originally a dene [Hawkeswood, "where hawks had eyries"—Philippott. Here again the prefix may have been the name of a chief]. The principal denes of this parish, we have seen, were held of the Royal Manor of Wye and included Hawkhurst, Angley, which the Abbot of Battle kept in his own hands, Amboldessers, Delmyndene, Cecele or Secele, Beretylts (part), Fissendene, Slip-Mill, Markdene, Freshill, Wyneste, Wynchendene, Chillesdene, Feetyndene and Witheringhope, or parts of them. Illingdest (part) in Coningbrooke Manor [Kennington] which extended over the denes of Ockley and Beretylts (part). Basedene was in Northbourne Manor. Illingdene (part), Hartridge, Stonedene, and Water in Westwell Manor. Trendly (part), in Boughton Aluph Manor. Little Hearsell in Easry Manor. Hookeridge (part) in Chilham Manor. The denes of Seacocks, Lilsden, Binsden,

Wooddene, Pipestone, Foxhole, and Congherst, Great and Little Mopedene, and Tilden, are also in Hawkhurst.

Few parts of the Weald possess more beautiful scenery and sylvan attractions than Hawkhurst and its vicinity; its ancient and its modern church will both amply repay the visitor, whose creature comforts also will be well attended to in this parish.

Nearly 900 acres of the Frith or Fright Woods are in Hawkhurst, of which 170 acres have been grubbed, and are arable and pasture land, and now form the Frith Farms. A small part of Hawkhurst is in Sussex.

AP XXXV.

HEADCORN, originally a denes, and known as Hedy-crone and Hedcrone; "famous for its corn and poultry" (*Philipott*). This parish is not now deserving the character given it by Dearn—"cheerless and forbidding;" and it is no longer what Hasted called it, "an unfrequented, dull place." Its renowned old oak still retains its vitality; the remains of one of the old cloth halls, belonging to Mr. John Thurstun, are not far from it. Camden, after speaking of Bedgebury and Hemsted, thus closes his "*Britannia*:"—"Thus much of Kent, which, to conclude summarily, hath this part last spoken of for drapery, the Isle of Thanet and the east parts for the granary, the Weald for the wood, Romney Marsh for the meadow-plot, the North Downs towards the Thames for the 'conny-garthe,' Teynham and thereabout for an orchard, and Head-corne for the brood and poultry of fat, big, and commended capons." So he discovered in his day something deserving of praise in Headcorn. The other denes are Halsdene (part), and Weeke, held of Chilham Manor. Idendene, Bounden, Kelaham, and Towncherst, held of Teynham Manor.* Weeke and Baldene, of Westgate Manor, [Canterbury]. Warlesdene and Rindesell, or Ringebill, of Boughton Malherbe Manor. Modyndene and Blechynden, of Mersham Manor. The following denes were also situate wholly or in part within this parish, viz., Hampdene, Hookenbury, Tilden, Laahendene, Harndene, Starvendene, and Cruttendene. Some of them probably belonged to the Manor of Ospringe, which had denes here. Southholmondene, originally a denes, became a Manor. The boundary between East and West, now Mid-Kent, passes through this parish.

* In the old Customal of Teynham lye-silver is called lye-f-yield, which the tenants of the denes of this Manor paid for liberty to plough between the autumnal equinox and St. Martin, because it interfered with the Lord's pannage.—*Somner's Gavelkind*, p. 27. Some of the tenants of this Manor were servi, or bondsmen.—*Ib.*, p. 74.

HEVER [derived from two Saxon words, according to Philipott, signifying "a passage over the water;" while according to Edmunds it is derived from *e/ra*, "brink or margin."] It possesses an embattled mansion, Hever Castle, erected in the reign of Edward III., but almost rebuilt in the sixteenth century, and now a farmhouse; it occupies a low site in a valley, and is surrounded by a moat, fed by the river Eden. Hever also possesses an interesting church with the brass of the father of Anne Boleyn; but I have not been able to trace out its denes. Hever was held by knight service.

HORAMONDEN [the Horseman's Valley]. A denes once belonging to the Earls of Gloucester. Iron stone was and may still be found here in great abundance, and the oak flourishes in this locality.

CHAP. XXXV.

Spelmondene, one of the denes in this parish, is frequently referred to. Badmondene was held by the Priory of Beaulieu, in Normandy, but was suppressed, with the other alien priories, temp. Henry V. It was only a cell, and not conventual. Henry V. gave it to St. Andrew, Rochester, and on the dissolution of that priory Henry VIII. settled it on the Dean and Chapter of Rochester. It appears to have been held (according to Hasted, Vol. ii., p. 388) of the Manors of East Farleigh and East Peckham. Bavedene, of Gillingham manor (which possessed three other denes in the Weald); * Hoade, Sneade, Capel, and Curteisdenes (part), of Maidstone; Brambles, of East Peckham; and there was a denes held of Aylesford (Rugmerhill), part of the ancient demesne lands of the Crown, which extended over a portion of this parish. There were other denes here; some became manors, including Grovehurst, Hoth, and Smeeth, and it is now difficult to identify some of them.

* The Survey made in 1608 of the Manor of Gillingham cannot be found. There is a note in the Land Revenue Office that it was taken away by certain commissioners with the surveys of the Manors of Newenden and Penahurst in the middle of the last century and not returned.

HOETHFIELD, or Heathfield, from the heath within it. This manor,* held by knight service, possessed about eight denes in different parts of the Weald, and was restored to Giles, the son of "the rich Lord Badlesmere," after the reversal of his father's attainder; it afterwards passed to Sir John Fogge, of Ripton, Ashford, the Comptroller of the Household of Edward IV., and eventually Henry VIII. granted it to John Tufton, who removed from Northiam, in Sussex, and was buried here. He became Sheriff of Kent at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. He married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Baker, of Smeethurst, known locally as "Bloody Baker." Portions of Hothfield church were destroyed by fire, temp. James I., and were rebuilt by Sir John Tufton, the first baronet.

In Bishop Kennet's *Parochial Antiquities* in Oxford and Bucks (Vol. ii., p. 303), I met with the following note, which may interest as well as prove instructive to some of my readers:

"In the old time, when they were to build churches, they watched and prayed all night on the vigil of the dedication, and took that point of the horizon, where the sun arose, for the east, which is the reason of that great variation of the position of churches as to the due east. So that except those that are dedicated about the equinoxes, few are true. From this hint, I have made trial of some churches, and have found the length of the church to point to that part of the horizon, where the sun rises on the day of that saint to whom it is dedicated. As for example, at Hothfield in Kent, (the seat of my singular good lord Nicholas E. of Thanet,) the church is dedicated to St. Margaret, (a saint of great veneration in Kent, there being very many churches dedicated to her,) where I observed and found, that the line of the church answers to the sun rising on St. Margaret's day, 20th July, when the sun's amplitude by the globe is about 30 degrees from the east. I did make this observation precisely on the day of the vernal equinox, 1673, at sun setting. This church is old; in the east window is the coat Badlesmere. †—J. Aubrey on Gentil, MS. p. 8."

Hothfield does not appear to have been very attractive towards

the close of the last century For we find Dr. Clarke, the traveller, in the second volume of his "Reminiscences of Cambridge," by Gunning, complaining of its dreary solitude. He was then tutor to the Hon. H. Tufton, and went to reside with his pupil there. The old house, where Queen Elizabeth was entertained, he says, "is situated in a wild and secluded part of the county." It was soon afterwards pulled down. The stone of the present modern mansion, which occupies a different site, was the gift of the then Duke of Portland.

CHAP. XXXV.

* For the peculiar services to be rendered by the tenant of this manor, vide p. 182.

† A new east window has replaced the old one, but I do not find the Badlesmere arms in the church.

HUNTON. [The Hunters'-town, from *Hunta*.] The manors of Hunton, or Huntington, and Bensted were held together by knight service, by Nicholas de Lenham and his descendants, and passing through several hands, they came to the unfortunate Sir Thomas Wyatt, and then to Sir John Baker, of Sissinghurst. The manor of Maidstone and Rugmer-hill extended into parts of Hunton.

HURST. [Called also Falconer's Hurst. Vol. i., p. 258.] This manor, as well as Goldenhurst, was held by knight service. It is a very small parish adjoining Aldington, without a church. Harris includes it in Aldington. From its secluded situation it was once a great resort of Jacobites and smugglers.

KENNARDINGTON. [Sometimes abbreviated Kennarton. Named from Cyneward, a Saxon owner. The letter K was not then used. Philippott's etymology is singular, "Kein-erd-ington," "no earth in the town, from its moorish situation;" "Ken, from *cen*, a head; hence a "headland."—*Edmunds*.] Originally a denes held of Aldington, but it became a manor. Horton also had denes here. Kennardington was assigned with other manors to John de Pionnes for the defence of Dover Castle, and was held by castle guard service. The original church which was a much larger one, was destroyed by lightning A.D. 1559, and the present building was erected out of its ruins.—*Harris*, p. 167. The boundary between East and West, now Mid Kent, passes through this parish.

¶ **KINGSNORTH**, written anciently Kingsnoth. ["Snod, from *Sned*, a bit of land separated from a manor."—*Edmunds*. According to Philippott, Snoth or Sneath in Saxon signifies portion: "The King's portion." Now Kingsnorth was a fragment of Wye manor originally belonging to the Crown and afterwards to Battle Abbey.] Peckendene and Humbirdene are in this parish. Leland in his Itinerary (Vol. vii., p. 145), says, "The river of Conterbury now cawled Sture springeth at Kinges-anode, the which standeth southe and a little be west fro Cantorbury, and ys distant a xliii. or xv. myles." *Hasted* (Vol. iii., p. 286), (as Sir Edward Dering before him did) includes Kingsnorth among the border parishes "of which the church is the boundary northward." He adds, "the rector takes no tithe of wood below the hill southward." This is not substantiated by the Tithe Commissioners, for by their apportionment 1s. 6d. per acre appears to have been charged on all the woodlands.

LAMBERHURST. ["The wood of Lambert," or from the Saxon word *Lam*, signifying loam or clay.] The manor, like the parish, is situate partly in

CHAP. XXXV.

Kent and partly in Sussex, and was held by knight service. A heriot of one best live beast is payable on death of the tenant; and, if none, 3s. 6d. for a dead heriot. The difference now so great between these payments was not so unequal when the heriot was originally imposed.

Bayham Abbey held two denes here, Swetlynden and Rodelynden; and Leeds Abbey held a denes here. There is a Sandhurst here.

LEIGH, pronounced Lye. [A sheltered place.] This manor, held by knight service, was purchased by Henry IV., who bequeathed it to his third son, John, Duke of Bedford; and as he died without issue it descended to his next brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who died in the Abbey of Bury in 1447. By a grant from Henry VI. it then passed to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (Harris, p. 189). Holenden, Great and Little, Hawden or Hayeden, and Moroden are in this parish.

LINTON, anciently written Lyllington. ["The ferny town."—*Philippott*. "The town with a brook." Lyllington, "the town of Lilla's descendants."—*Edmunds*. "In Latin, *Lilintuna*, probably from the old English word *Lyllan*, little, and *stone*, a stone, Kentish rag being abundant here."—*Hasted*.] East Farleigh and Loose held denes in this manor. Sir Anthony Maney, one of an ancient family, removed, temp. Eliz., from Biddenden to Linton Place, then called Capel's Court, from a family of that name, who formerly had large possessions in Kent. The Capels had to provide two hobelars, or light horsemen, in the reign of Edward III., for the coast defence at Dengemarsh.

The first connexion of the Cornwallis family with the Linton estate was by the marriage of the fourth Earl [the Hon. and Rt. Rev. James Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry] to Catherine, daughter of Galfridus Mann. His son James, the fifth and last Earl, about A.D. 1818 succeeded to it, and assumed the name of Mann. The only member of the family born here is the present owner, Lady Julia Mann Cornwallis (whose father resumed the name of Cornwallis, now Viscountess Holmesdale). Vide note towards the end of this chapter.

The view of the Weald of Kent from the top of Linton Hill is a very charming one. This parish, reckoned of late years a model one, must have undergone a great change in sixty years, if Dearn's description of it was a truthful one: "Mean houses, in which were carried on the meanest trades, with abodes of poverty and wretchedness."

* The ancient residence of the Cornwallis family was Brome Hall, near Eye, Suffolk, from which they took their second title. (It now belongs to Sir Edward Kerrison.) They afterwards removed to Culford, near Bury St. Edmund's, now belonging to Mr. Benyon.

¶ **LYMPNE**. [Anciently Lyne. Called Limen by the Romans, i.e., Portus.] In the award for the commutation of the tithes of this parish there is no reference to the Weald, and the woodlands are subject to tithes. Except, therefore, with reference to its position, we have no reliable evidence that any part of it lies in it, and it could only have been a small portion. Four manors in this parish were held by knight service, viz., Berwick,* Wilmington, Otterpoole, and Street.

* "Berwick signifies a subordinate manor; also, a remote hamlet so far from the mother church as to need a chapel."—*Morgan*, p. 78.

MAIDSTONE. [Medweges-tun or Medway's town.] The manor was held by knight service, as well as the Mote and Great Buckland. Only a detached portion of this town is in the Weald. It is called the Hamlet of Loddington, and in the award of the Tithe Commissioners it is stated that the woodland in it is exempt from tithe. Entire denes and portions of others in the Weald were held of the manor of Maidstone, and the present Earl of Romney, as its Lord, a few years ago surrendered most of the quit rents to the different tenants on equitable terms.

CHAP. XXXV.

MARDEN. [Dr. Harris, p. 185, was of opinion that this name was in Saxon times written *Merreden*, or the Larger den; according to Bosworth, the Saxon word *mere* signifies "excellent." Either etymology is consistent with the fact, that it was a royal den, held of the Manor of Milton, which, like many other denes, became afterwards a Manor. But Philipott is not so complimentary in his derivation. He says it was "anciently written 'Miredene,' and it well deserves that name, for it stands in a miry, dirty den."] From the royal surveys, from time to time made, it would appear that within the precinct of the *Hundred* of Marden, also belonging to the Crown, there were no less than twenty-eight denes, the customs and services of which had, in the seventeenth century, been commuted for rents of *amize* payable to Milton; and there were also fourteen other denes held of Milton by a rent called *Ward Silver*.* Now, the *Hundred* of Marden, formed after the Conquest, included the parishes of Marden, Goudhurst, and Staplehurst; therefore, there were forty-two denes in these three parishes, held of Milton. In Marden I can trace seven of them, viz., East and West Marden, Rede, Tūnes, Pattendene, and Great and Little Cheveney, but there were no doubt others. Then Marden Township, with Chillende (part), was held of East Peckham; and another part of Chillenden was in East Farleigh; a part of Marden was also in Hollingbourne; Great and Little Tylden, with Curteledene (part), were held of the Manor of Maidstone, and other denes were held of the Manors of Gillingham, Hunton, Bensted, and Halling. There were also others known by the names of Haydherst, Shiphurst, Bogdene, Shundene, Baydene, Woghurst,† Pykenden, and Hickham, but to what manor or manors they belonged I have been unable to discover. There is a curious old court-house still standing in the village which contains stocks for four persons. It is now used as a storehouse; but whenever the Court Leet is held it is called on here.

* "It is believed that the Conqueror exacted blanch or silver rents from many manors which had been accustomed to return corn, cheese, and other kinds of produce. Each of these manors had supplied Edward the Confessor with farm, i.e., board for one day or perhaps half a day. The Court of an Anglo-Saxon King was constantly in progress, and if a Crown manor like Milton could not receive all his followers they were quartered on the neighbouring villages. King William's frequent expeditions to the Continent put an end to these regular tours."—*Morgan*, p. 9.

† Called also Widehurst, and Withahirst. This is supposed to be one of the thirteen denberies in Andred, which Cenulph, King of Mercia, and Cuthred, of Kent, granted to the Abbey of St. Augustine, Canterbury.

MEREWORTH [according to Philipott, "the fortified place," from *Mere*, a boundary, and *worth*, a fortress. But *Mere* also signifies a pool or lake, and *Worth*, a well-watered place, which exist at Mereworth.] This manor was held by knight service. Haisted says, it is in the

CHAP. XXXV.

Weald, the hill there comprising the Herst woods be g the boundary towards the north. Dearn also includes it in the Weald. Both wrote previously to the hearing of the cause of Lord Le Despencer v. Eveleigh. Here the Tithe Commissioners have stepped in and settled the question of the *legal* boundary, as by their award it would appear that only the hamlet of Old Hay, in Mereworth, like the hamlet of Loddington, in Maidstone, is deemed by them to be in the Weald. The Commissioners not only award that a wood comprising 5a. 3r. 6p., in this hamlet, is in the Weald, and exempt from tithe; but they go much further, and pronounce that "no other part of the woodland within the parish is in the Weald." Old Hay is seven miles from Mereworth church. The main line of railway from Marden to Pad-dock Wood runs through the parish.

MERSHAM. [The village bordering the pool or lake (mere), before Romney Marsh was drained.] This parish lies between Kingmorth and Aldington, and topographically, as well as geologically, the south part of it appears to be in the Weald; but I do not remember to have seen it so treated by any former writer. The Manor still holds its denes, but this is not uncommon with border Manors. Hasted speaks of the road through the village, southward, "as the high and most frequented one [in his day] from Ashford to the lower part of the Weald, by the Four Vents at Broad Oak, and thence to Bilalington Cross; during the whole of which the soil is a deep stiff clay."

NETTLESTEAD. ["The place where nettles grow" from *Nette* (*Philippot*). *Stof* signifies a station, and Edmunds considers it more probable that it is derived from *midan*, to cut, and *lege* land, thus indicating "the station on the separated land." The manor was held by knight service.] I have hitherto treated this as a border parish. In the tithe award it is recorded that the woodland is exempt from tithe by the prescriptive custom of the Weald, which would extend over the whole parish. According to Hasted, Vol. ii., p. 289, the learned Sir Roger Twyden, in his "Discourse on the Weald,"* says that in the time of Lady Golding [his great-grandmother, who died in 1595,] she hired the tithes of Nettlestead, but it was then held to be in the Weald, and she denied the tithe of wood accordingly; yet the Rector then affirmed to Sir Roger that all who had wood in the parish paid tithe for it, except the Baronet.

* I have made several fruitless attempts to obtain a sight of this MS., for I conclude it was never published. It is not at the British Museum, nor Lambeth, nor among the late Rev. Lambert Larking's papers, nor Mr. Streatfeild's, though Hasted appears to have seen it, as he refers to it.

NEWENDEN ["a new planted town by *Anderida*, an old Roman station and city." *Philippot*. "Newen, from *nice*, indicating a town or village founded after some neighbouring one of the same description."—*Edmunds*.] originally a dene, appears to have been given by Offa, under the name of "Andred," to the Monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, for pannage. There was a fishery on the Rother attached to it, which extended to Odiarne Oak, beyond Bodiam. Perhaps few places in the district have undergone greater change than Newenden, called by Lambard "the frontier and marshy town of the shire," from its situation. He adds, "You may say either that it is in a valley or on a hill, giving its name the termination of either dene or dune." It is bounded by the Rother,

NEWENDEN.

which divides Kent from Sussex here, and no one in the present day visiting the little village, containing now only a few scattered houses, would suppose that it was one of the only two towns in Kent which is returned by Domesday as possessing a market, and that a long controversy (already recorded) had been carried on as to whether it was the site of the ancient Roman city of Anderida, or only one of our earliest British towns. Whichever it was, it has been completely stripped of its importance. The Rev. J. Pughe, the present worthy Rector of the parish, appears to be well acquainted with British encampments, having seen several in Wales, and he is clearly of opinion that the remains still existing are British, and not Roman. He adds, "When the Britons threw up a mound on one side of a valley, it not unfrequently happened that contending chieftains threw up another on the opposite side. So it is here, for there are faint traces of one to be seen in the parish of Rolvenden, at a short distance from the Newenden Camp. Or the two may have been formed by friendly chieftains with a view either of checking the inroads of the Romans, or preventing them from landing here, as the two camps would have been most advantageously situated, especially for the latter purpose."

The pretty little church, evidently reduced materially in size, has been recently restored, and with its font (whether Saxon or Norman is disputed), a drawing of which may be seen on the cover of this book, is deserving of inspection. Not so perhaps the Mound, called the Castle Toll. I have already noticed the establishment here of the Order of Carmelite Friars. At a later period the Colepepers of Bedgebury acquired Losenham, in this parish, by an intermarriage with one of the Aucher family. Beside Losenham, there are the denes of Hamberdene, East Harndene Lamberden (part), in Aldington, Newenden in Great Chart (part), Manor, and an unknown dene, held by St. Radigund's, Canterbury. My list of denes here and elsewhere is no doubt imperfect; but I have failed in several attempts at the public offices to make it complete. Vide "Horsmonden," (note on Gillingham Manor). Newenden and Losenham were held by knight service.

CHAP. XXXV.

ORLESTONE.

[Orl, in Anglo-Saxon, signifies "the border of a garment;" here it would signify "the town on the borders of the Marsh."] A manor held by knight service of Dover Castle, of some antiquity, returned in Domesday as possessing two churches. It is more healthy than the generality of places situate on the borders of Romney Marsh, as its extensive woodlands probably tend to purify the atmosphere. It formed part of the possessions allotted to Hugh de Montfort, a companion in arms of the Conqueror, and afterwards gave name to the family of Orlaston, one of whom is named in the list of Kentish gentlemen present with Richard I. at the siege of Acon, in Palestine. A free warren and weekly market were attached to the Manor, temp. Henry III. The church appears to have been always appendant to the Manor; On the death of Richard de Orlaston, in 1418, it passed to his sister, Joan, wife of Sir William Scot, of Scot's Hall, with whose descendants it continued until A.D. 1706, when it was sold by George Scott to Sir Philip Boteler, of Teston; but I cannot trace any denes in the Manor. Hasted describes this parish, which now contains a station of the South Eastern Rail-

CHAP. XXXV.

way from Ashford to Hastings, as "so obscurely situated as to be little frequented or even known."

PECKHAM, EAST, or Great Peckham [The town on the peak or top of the hill] is a border pariah. The Saxon Queen (Edgiva), who gave Aldington to Christ Church, Canterbury, gave the Manor of Peckham to the same church. She was the daughter-in-law of Alfred, and step-mother of Athelstan. It was held by this Church until the reign of Henry VIII, who granted it to Sir Thomas Wyatt. There were denes in the Weald belonging to this Manor; one of them was in the township of Marden. Sir Roger Twysden (the first Baronet) lies buried in this church.

PECKHAM, WEST, is another border pariah on the peak or top of the hill. This manor was held by Leofwine (a brother to King Harold): who fell with his brothers at Hastings. It was then "*Thane land*," or *allodium*.* It next became part of the barony of Odo of Baux, and is described in Domesday as possessing three denes in the Weald. For the change in the tenure by which it was held, vide Elton, p. 225. Oxenoth in this pariah was held of the King by "the yearly payment of a pair of gilt spurs," Elton, p. 229.

* "The term *alodium* is used only in the description of the south eastern counties. It seems to mean possession as absolute as could be at that time; and it may be a translation of the word Bookland."—*Morgan*, p. 149.

PEMBURY, known in early documents as Peppingeberra and Pepenbery, Magna and Parva. [From Penn, a headland or hill. Bury signifies a fortification, consisting of a mere ridge of earth or walls of loose stone.] From its position here, it may have been deemed the head of the burgh. The chief manor and church were held by Bayham Abbey until its suppression. The Colepepers, so often referred to in these volumes, appear to have been originally settled at Bayhall, in this pariah. From the reign of King John their possessions in this county, especially in West Kent, were considerable, including, as we have seen, Bedgebury, Loosenham, Leeds, Hollingbourne, &c. Bayham appears to have retained its right to the herbage and pannage of hogs in "Pepenbury and Tudely" as late as the reign of Henry VIII. Robert Amherst, a serjeant-at-law, the ancestor of Earl Amherst, purchased Bayhall in 1632. Though it adjoined Tunbridge, the Earls of Gloucester do not appear to have possessed much power here.

The high road from London through Tunbridge to Rye and Hastings ran through the South Frith, on the western side of Pembury.

PENSHURST. ["The head of the wood"—*Philipott*. "Pine-wood."—*Edmunds*.] The manor was held by knight service.—(*Vide* Horshamden, note on Gillingham Manor.) Peshurst possessed denes. There is also a manor here, Peshurst-Halinote, *alias* Otford Weald, part of the possessions of the see of Canterbury. The holdings were partly freehold and partly copyhold. Bromley had also a denes here, Tannera Hole [Tapner's Hole]. Part of Peshurst, formerly called Hall-Borough [Hillborough?], is in the Lowy of Tunbridge. The Liberty of the Duchy of Lancaster, of which I propose to speak in the last Chapter, claimed jurisdiction over Chafford, in this pariah. Iron stone and fine timber abound here.

Peshurst possesses many attractions for the archaeologist and the lover of sylvan scenery, of which the Weald may well b

proud; "Here history points to glories past." In the great hall of the mansion, now possessed by Lord De L'Isle and Dudley, may be seen the ancient fire hearth with the iron frame work sufficient to sustain the trunks of the huge trees grown near it. Duke, the manufacturer of cricket bats and balls, employs forty hands at his establishment in this parish.

CHAP XXXV.

PLUCKLEY. [Pasture produced by grubbing wood.] I do not class Surrenden-Doring among the denes of the Weald. A mansion was erected here by John de Surrenden, temp. Ed. III, and was called after him.—Vide "Bethersden" for the ancient denes of this name. The denes here are West Kingsnorth, in Wye manor, Hilgardene and Iddenden, in Little Chart manor, Ousdene and Pimphurst, (part) in Westwell. The scenery along the avenue from the Church to the mansion is very delightful, and affords a striking contrast to the north-eastern view on reaching the mansion, though that also is very attractive. Pluckley now includes part of Pevington, referred to in Domesday. Roting in this parish was held by knight service.

ROLVENDEN, originally a denes, [contracted Rounden, "named from the rolling valley"—*Philippott*] as well as Benenden, is mentioned in Domesday, but with this distinction:—Rolvenden is returned as a Hundred, while Benenden is noticed as a manor held by Robert de Romanel of the Bishop of Baieux, and possessing a church. Thus Benenden, originally a denes, was a manor when Domesday was completed. With Rolvenden, it made up the Hundred, and the Norman scribe having returned Rolvenden as a Hundred, might deem it unnecessary to notice it again. Rolvenden afterwards formed one of the Seven Hundreds which claimed to be paramount over it. Aldington possessed no less than ten denes or parts of denes here, viz.:—Rolvenden (part), Little Rolvenden, Fordesham, Mileham, Devenhurst, Frencham (part), Standen (part), Dingledene, Keinham, or Cassingham, and Hole (part); Dulverdenne, or Deverdenne, was in Brook; Rustwell, in Halling; Frensham (part), in Swanscombe; Midaell, and Holinden, in Lambin. The other denes here were Hixdene, Thorndene, Maplesden, Iden, Lodendene, Orlovingdene, Great Maytham, and Lowden or Little Maytham. Seven of these ancient denes afterwards became manors, and were held by knight service.

I have referred above to a manor in this parish called Lambin or Halden, and Hasted (without giving any authority) says there were twelve denes which held of it, and there were twelve beoðles appointed on the Court-day to collect the quit-rents. Only two of these denes, however, are in Rolvenden; the other ten are in Benenden, Sandhurst, High Halden, Woodchurch, Tenterden, and Wittersham. There may be similar cases, but this is the only one I have met where a manor situate wholly in the Weald possessed denes in *other* parishes.

Somner says that Domesday gives no account of any one entire independent manor in the Weald. The Prior of Robertsbriidge, in Sussex, possessed denes here.

RUCKINGE. ["*Rough Meadow*."—*Edmunds*] partly in Romney Marsh and partly in the Weald. We have seen that in 791 Offa granted this manor, which was held by knight service, to Christ Church, Canterbury, with swine pastures, "in the wood which is called An-

CHAP. XXXV.

dred." At one time a composition for the tithes on woodland in this parish, at the rate of 2s. in the £ on the amount realised on a sale, was paid by the landowners. Sir Philip Boteler, however, during the last century, disputed his liability with the rector (the Rev. Thomas Lodge) in the Court of Exchequer, and obtained a decree against him, the parish being held to be within the bounds of the Weald.

SANDHURST ["wood on a sandy soil"], originally a dene, and known also as Bether-ynden, perhaps affords the best proof of a remote dene on the borders of Sussex being held by a distant East Kent manor. The swine pastures at Sandhurst were granted by Offa to Christ Church, Canterbury, A.D. 791, as appendant to the manor of Ickham.* Ramesell (part), West Bishopdene (part), and Folkyn-dene (part), in the manor of Lambin (Rolvenden).

No less than eighteen denes, or parts, in Sandhurst, were appendant to the manor of Aldington, viz., Sandhurst (part), East Harnden (part), West Harnden (part), Standen (part), Devemahurst (part), Feild, Sponden, Chellenden (part), Eathnam, Betrynden or Bitherynden (half a dene), Plaashed, Lamberden (part), Lenden, Shrabuwate, Aldrenden, Coombden, Twysden,† and Riseden. An unknown dene was held of Reculver: and Denmalindene of Acrise. Great and Little Chillenden (parts of) in Hothfield, Sandhurst (part) in Lyminge Manor, and Sandhurst (part) in Bromley. There was a Silverdene and other denes which I have been unable to trace, and some were held by the Prior of Robertsbridge. In short, the whole of Sandhurst seems to have been divided into denes long before the Conquest. The following names were given to three hamlets here:—Field Green, Cowbeach, and Ringlecrouch, which last-mentioned place possibly referred to the ringling the swine.

The Rev. George Petter, M.A., was born of Godly parents, of the middle rank of life, in this parish at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and at twenty-four he was presented to the Rectory of Brede, in Sussex, which he held for forty-four years, and where he ended his days. He was a divine of considerable learning and research, and wrote a very able Commentary on the Gospel of St. Mark, in two vols., fol., which was published in 1661 by his brother John, the Rector of Hever, who wrote a Preface to the work (now very scarce), with some account of the author.

* Some of the tenants of this manor were servi, or bondmen.

† From this it would appear that Twysden was not confined to one locality.

SEVENOAKS. ["From seven great oaks which grew there."—*Philipott*. Taylor tells us that in ancient Anglo-Saxon names the numerals which most commonly occur are four and seven, numbers which are supposed to have a mystical meaning.—p. 464. The derivation here may have been from an ancient owner's name]. Sevenoaks is described by Philipott as resembling "a fountain which streams into several places of note." My present concern with this delightful district is its connexion with the Weald. Strangers to Kent are impressed with the idea that almost every acre of land in it is valuable and productive; but they are sadly mistaken. Perhaps no parish will exemplify this better than Sevenoaks. In the immediate vicinity of the old but somewhat neglected Parish Church you see the soil, if not

SEVENOAKS.

if not very productive, well cared for; descend to Sevenoaks-Weald and everything you behold is somewhat sterile, though not neglected. But I am running away from my subject. Hasted, it will be remembered, wrote his History of Kent long before the case of Lord le Despencer v. Eveleigh was tried. He tells us that this parish is "pleasantly and commodiously situated" on that great ridge of hills which run across the county and divide the upland from the Weald or southern district of it. This is general enough. He then adds:—It is divided into three districts, the Town-Borough, Rotherhith or Rethered (I have also seen it written Rotherdene), now called Riverhead, and the Weald. He also tells us that "that part of the parish of Sevenoaks which lies below the chalk hole is in the Weald of Kent, the bound of which is the narrow road which runs along the bottom of the hill and is called Sevenoaks Weald, for where a parish extends below and the church of it is above the hill that part below has the addition of Weald to it, as Sevenoke Weald, Sundriah Weald," &c. He gives no reason for this, and refers to no authority.

CHAP. XXXV.

This certainly is so in Kingmorth, Great Chart, Pluckley, Egerton, and most of the border parishes where the church appears to be the recognized boundary. Now, as the woodlands in the Weald were exempt from tithe, it was not likely that churches would be erected in that part of a parish which did not contribute to the maintenance of the Incumbent; but, that the whole parish might benefit by his services, the edge of the uplands appears to have been selected for the sites. I can give no better reason. To this I will only add that 1377 acres of woodland in this parish are by the Tithe Commissioners' award returned as "exempt from tithe by custom of the country."

SHADOXHURST. ["The hurst of shady oaks."—*Philippot*.] The far-distant Manor of Reculver appears to have possessed a denes in this parish. It is recorded in a document, signed by several of the parishioners, that 8d. in the noble (6s. 8d.), was due to the Rector for all "acre wood." Sir Roger Twyden, (the Hampden of Kemble,) however, stoutly resisted this claim in Shadoxhurst and other places, remarking that "the practice of paying tithe on wood in this or any other parish did not make it due if it could be shown that the parishes stood in the Weald." The boundary between East and West, now Mid-Kent, passes through this parish.

SHIPBOURNE.* ["A brook for sheep."] Became a Manor, held by the Prior of Dartford until its dissolution. Pattendene and Culverdene were two denes here, which afterwards became Manors, and form another of the few instances in Kent of a mixed tenure of freehold and copyhold tenancies.

* Christopher Smart, the author of the "Hop Garden," and other works of merit, was born here in 1722.

SMARDEN. [*Smers*, fat, "the fat denes," *Philippot*; while *Edmunds's* etymology is "the hollow pool"]. Hasted describes it as in a "flat, low situation, very unpleasant and watery," and Dearn, who as usual does not appear to have been very complimentary to the parishes whose history he undertook to record, speaks of it as "obscurely and disagreeably situated." It no longer deserves this character. The recent restoration of its church does great credit to all concerned in it. It was originally a denes, and afterwards became a manor.

CHAP. XXXV. SMARDEN.

Here again all the parish appears to have been made up of denser parts of denses, for there are about thirty of them—Smarden, Kingden (part), Marden, and Hay, held of Chilham Manor; Hookey, of Chartham; Uddenham and Little Biddenden, of Little Chart; Tappenden, of Throwley; Holmhurst, of Shurland in Pluckley; Tarden (part) in Hothfield Manor, two unknown denses, of Halling and Otterden Manors; Bouldridge, of Conningbrook, in Kennington Manor; Hollenhurst, Holnest, Berndene or Barendene, and Northomondene (part), of Westwell Manor; Omondene (part), Povenden (part), Romden, Haffendene, Laabendene, Leesendene, Duesdene, Newindene, Owendene, Southeringdene, Bardledene, Boxdene, Biddendene, Standene, Hamdene, Tildene, and Warndene, form the other denses. The boundary between East and West, now Mid Kent, passes through this parish.

Queen Mary vested the church of Smarden in the See of Canterbury A.D. 1558.

SPELDHURST,* [Speld signifies a torch; probably "The wood of Spalda, a chief's name." *Edmunds*] originally a dene, held of Halling. There was another dene here called Dornden, and the mansion in it is now occupied by the Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne. *Vide* Sundridge.

The Lowy of Tunbridge extends into this parish, and also includes Rushall and the hamlet and manor of Groombridge (an isolated portion of the Hundred of Somerden), which possessed a curious and ancient chapel, built before the reign of Henry III., and rebuilt A.D. 1625, to commemorate the safe return of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., from Spain. Groombridge, with a new chapel at Langton Green, are now chapels of ease to Speldhurst; and Rushall is now separated, for ecclesiastical purposes, from Speldhurst. This district is watered by a branch of the Medway, which once supplied the Barden furnace foundry in Tunbridge and other mills in its course, and abounds with iron stone.

* About three feet below the surface a skull, with a pair of antlers, was found many years ago in this parish.—*Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. xiv., p. 36.

STAPLEHURST, [The wood where a market was held] originally a dene held with Goddendene, of the manor of Milton. The peculiarity in this parish is that eight of the denses here, beside Staplehurst, terminate in "hurst," which Taylor defines as the denser portion of the forest; but I question whether this applies here. It is more probable that in the selection of names the same suffix was preserved.

The following denses (eleven in number) appear to have been held of the Manor of Lenham, viz.: Maplehurst, Exbhurst, Frybhurst, Combdene [now Camden?], Swattynedene, Wypelhurst, Bab-yngdene, Tuntafahurst, Plushinghurst, Friderelah, and Feredene. Engehurst, or Henherst, was held of Debting Manor; Adhurst, or Aydhurst, Herahaff, Little Pagehurst, Little Spelhill or Spil-sill, and Great and Little Iden,* were held of Sutton Valence; and Lovehurst, of Leeds. The Manor of Ospringe had also a dene here. I am unable to assign manors to the two following denses: Loddendene, and Withhurst. Newsted, in this parish, was a manor; its name implies "a new place or station." It appears to have been an inferior manor, held by Lord Wotton of the

Crown, as of the superior manor of East Greenwich, by payment to the sheriff for smoke-silver.†

CHAP. XXXV.

* Iden became a manor, and a court was formerly held on the green under an oak. The oak was felled, the Manor house taken down, and the court, like that of most of the lesser manors, ceased to be held.

† Such a payment was also made in some parishes to the clergy, as a modus in lieu of tithe of wood.—*Vide Boughton Malherbe.*

STONE [sometimes a boundary stone], in the Isle of Oxney. The dene of Smeeth was held of the Manor of Lambin, and the dene of Bromland, of Eastry. Aldington and Wingham had each a dene here.

Leland says that part, if not all, of the Isle of Oxney was formerly in Sussex. He adds, "Some caulle it *forsworen Kent*, by-cause that were the inhabitants of yt were of Southsax, they revolted to have the privileges of Kent."—*Itin.*, Vol. vii., p. 139, quoted by Hasted, Vol. iii., p. 539. There is an old Roman altar in the Vicarage garden said to have been taken from the Church.

SUNDRIDGE ["from the ridge of sand" (*Philippot*). "Sunder-edge, the privileged place on the ridge" (*Edmunds*)] appears to contain two denes or manors, previously denes, viz., Hendene, sometimes written Hethendene, and Owendene.

That part of the parish which lies above the hill, Hasted calls Sundriah Upland, and that below Sundriah Weald.

During the last century (1766) the then Marquis of Lorne, while his father, the then Duke of Argyle, was living, was created a peer of England by the title of Baron Sundridge, of Combe Bank, Kent.—*Vide Speldhurst.*

SUTTON, EAST [South-town, "East;" indicating that there was another town in the same district]. This manor, which extended into Headcorn, appears to have been successively held by several "tall personages," including the renowned Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, Dominus Galfridus Martell, Adomarius de Valencia, Thomas West Dominus La Ware de Hastings, Reginaldus Grey Dominus de Ruthyn, Sir Richard Darell, Sir Henry Guldeford, Thomas Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex. Henry VIII. himself also held it; and in the reign of James I. it passed into the family of the present owner, Sir Edmund Filmer. The great attraction here is East Sutton Place, the seat of Sir E. Filmer, Bart. The views over the Weald from the front of this mansion are extremely fine: they may be equalled in other parts of the district, but cannot be surpassed.

SUTTON VALENCE,* or **TOWN SUTTON**, was part of the possessions of Leofwine, a younger brother of King Harold. Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was afterwards Lord of it. Part of Great Motynden is in this parish, and there is a Devil's dene here.

This parish contains the ruins of a castle which I have already referred to (*ante*, p. 85), and I have brought its ancient owners under the notice of my readers. Fortunately, nature has done more for Sutton Valence than architects, especially ecclesiastical ones.

* Among the earliest presentments in the Court Rolls of the manor of Sutton Valence is one against the inhabitants of Staplehurst for not keeping a "sufficient bridge and holder" over the ditch from Marden Thorn to Staplehurst; and another for not laying "step stones" across the highway at Staplehurst, "between the furses and the kiln field."

CHAP. XXXV. TENTERDEN. [From *thegn* and *denn*, "the nobleman's hollow."—*Edmunds*.] I have striven hard to find an antiquity in Tenterden and Cranbrook coeval with Newenden, Benenden, and Rolvenden, but I have failed. Philipott appears to have done so also. He tells us that Tenterden was "in elder and more true orthography written Theinwarden, that is, the Thane's Ward or Guard in the Valley;" he, however, gives no authority for his assertion. That Tenterden and Cranbrook were of equal antiquity and yielded a large amount of pannage I doubt not; but the demes here were appurtenant to so many outlying manors that in the Survey of Domesday they are passed over and included by implication in those manors. Mr. Dearn's caustic spirit does not forsake him here; writing sixty years ago, he tells us "the town is not remarkable either for the regularity or elegance of its buildings, though it contains *some* respectable houses." What changes it may have undergone I know not, though I think they must have been few, and to my mind, and with the improvements which have taken place in its roads, it is now a very pretty country town.*

Tenterden was originally a deme, part of which was held of the manor of Ickham and part of Aldington, of which last-mentioned manor the following seven demes, or parts of demes, were also held, viz., Heronden† or Harnedene (part), Preston, Ridgeway (part), Housney, Dumborne, Meusden (part), and West Cross. Chepperegge was held of Wye manor, Reading (part) of Great Chart. The following six demes, or parts of them, were held of the manor of Brook, viz., Iggledeu or Ygulvyndenne, Heronden (part), Eldenhurst (part), Lights Notindene, East Asherendene, and Castwistle. Eldenhurst (part), Meusden (part), and Strenchden were held of Lambin manor. Elardendene, or Elarndene, of the manor of Fridd, in Bethereden; Goddene; Bursile, or Boresile, of Northbourne manor; Bugglesdene, of Westwell; Saltkendene,‡ of Boughton Malherbe. A deme was held of Reculver, and Finchdene, Twisdene, Haldene, Little Haldene, Dovedene, Haffendene, and Briansdene, or parts of them, are to be met with in Tenterden. There is a Gallows Green and a Gibbet Farm here.

* Whoever will take the trouble to read Mr. Dearn's account of Tenterden will be satisfied that he was not easily pleased.

† Heronden (now belonging to Mrs. Curteis-Whelan), originally the largest and most important deme here, had assigned to its owners a coat of arms representing "a heron rising on his wings and gasping for breath." The next deme of importance appears to have been Pitledene. Both were purchased by Sir John Baker, of Slingshurst. These and other demes became divided and sub-divided into several parcels.

‡ Goddene appears to have been held with Gatesdene and Morgien, now belonging to Mr. Virgil Pomfret. They were formerly the estate of the Lord Colepeper of the seventeenth century.

§ Salt appears to have formed part of the rent paid by the tenants of this deme, from which we may infer that it was manufactured in the neighbourhood.

TUDELY (sometimes Twidley, "two pastures."—*Philipott*. "The fox's home, from *Tod*, a fox."—*Edmunds*.) Though a place of antiquity, with Chapel, a chapel appurtenant to it and dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, adjoining the Lowy of Tunbridge, I doubt whether a visit to either of them will repay my readers.

TUNBRIDGE ["The Town of Bridges." Taylor tells us that while many towns have the suffix *ford*, very few terminate with *bridge*. In Philipott's

TUNBRIDGE.

time there appear to have been seven bridges in the high roads through it.] has already had its share of notice in these volumes, but I must again return to it and its Lowy, which formed a distinct territory (almost surrounded by the Hundred of Washlingstone.) I collect from the Survey of Domesday that Richard de Tonebridge had enclosed numerous denes or swine pastures in his newly formed Lowy, belonging to the following manors in West Kent then held by the Sees of Canterbury and Rochester and the Bishop of Baleux, which the reader will find noticed more at length towards the end of this Chapter. Thus the See of Canterbury held in the Lowy appendant rights to its manors of Otford, Northfleet, Wrotham, Farningham, Aylesford (with its mill and fishery), East Peckham, Meopham, and East Farleigh. The See of Rochester held in the Lowy rights appendant to its manors of Southfleet, Stone [Rochester], Halling, and Frindsbury; and the Bishop of Baleux held here manorial rights appendant to Swanscombe, Ridley, Ash (in Axton Hundred), Langley [in Beckenham (*Hasted*) in Seal, (*Larking*)], Leybourne, Eccles (Aylesford), Milton (Gravesend), Lidesdune (?), Offham, Hoo, Little Wrotham, and Colinge. (?) Some of its original denes may have been Bardene, Little Bardene, Haydene, Hollendene, Culverdene, and Hildene, which appear also to have been all merged in the Lowy. It had its own gaol delivery and hangman's hill; held all its own pleas, and elected its own coroner. There is, however, one peculiarity which must not be passed over. Tunbridge appears to have been divided into three Tithe Wards, viz., the Postern ward, the Barden ward, and Hilden ward, though the two first are now nearly merged in the third. The Tithe Commissioners declared that the woodlands here were exempt from tithe while so cultivated.

During the seventeenth century the district of Southborough, in Tunbridge, became the chosen resort of the Cavaliers, and Rusthall of the Puritans. (*Macaulay*).

ULCOMB. [Signifying "the old valley."—*Phillipott*. The chief's name, "Uffa's dingle."—*Edmunds*.] Combe is not often met with in Kent; it denotes a cup-shaped depression in the hills, as at Wye, Brabourne, and Crundale.* Cumberland is supposed to take its name from the combes, which are most plentiful in Somersetshire and Devonshire. After the conquest, the Earl of Ewe held Ulcomb of the See of Canterbury, and to him succeeded the ancient and renowned family of St. Leger, who remained settled here until the middle of the sixteenth century. Sir Robert St. Leger, according to *Phillipott*, supported with his hand the Conqueror when he landed at Pevensey, and for many a generation there was scarcely any noble or generous undertaking in England but what we find a St. Leger engaged in it. The connexion of this family with Kent has long ceased.

The division between East and West, now Mid-Kent, passes through this parish, and, according to *Hasted*, so much of the parish as lies on the south of the church is in the Weald. The northern portion extends into King's Wood. The dene of Trencher Hole and Tiffendene (part), are in Ulcomb, and one held of the Manor of Holme-Mill [Harrietsham]. The boundary between East and West, now Mid-Kent, passes through this parish. Kingsnorth, in this parish, was held by the Abbey of Faversham until the dissolution of the Abbey; and Boycot was held by a family

CHAP. XXXV.

CHAP. XXXV.

of that name. Archbishop Langton made the Church (which should be visited) a collegiate one, and the head thereof was styled "Archpresbyter."

* The *combes* in these parishes, indicate former British settlements.

WAREHORNE, [from *weare* and *wier*, or inclosure on a stream; and horn, a store-house, or cattle shed. Thus rendered, it would signify store-houses or cattle sheds on the reclaimed borders of Romney Marsh.] known as "Warehornas in *paludosis locia*." The original grant was by King Egbert, and Ethelwulf, his son; and extended, we are told, over the Limen into the South Saxon limita. Here, as in other parts of the Marsh, there are outlying portions of ancient manors, now parishes. In this parish we again have clear proof of the conversion of denes to manors. St. Alphage, Archbishop of Canterbury, united one moiety of it to his Church; the other passed into lay hands, and in 1338 was held by William Morant, of Morant's Court, to whom Edward III. issued a mandate directing that only one bell should be rung, in war time, in any steeple on the sea coast of Kent. The manor is now held by Sir Henry Tufton. Tinton [Tintintone], referred to in the last chapter in connexion with the late Mr. J. C. Neild's devise to the Queen (which has sometimes been mistaken for Tenterden), will be found near Warehorne in Map No. 2 of Vol. I. It was one of the few denes mentioned by name in the Survey of Domesday, and the only denes that I can discover that possessed a church, which no longer exists. Oxendene was another denes pertaining to Tinton. This manor was at one time held by Horton Priory, and now belongs to Sir Edward Dering. That portion of Warehorne which is not in the Marsh is in the Weald. The boundary between East and West, now Mid-Kent, passes through this parish.

WATERINGBURY [a fortification on a river bank (the Medway). Isaac Taylor remarks, p. 258, that "fortified camps, whether of British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish construction, are very commonly marked with the suffix *bury*"]. It was one of the 184 lordships in Kent granted by William the Conqueror to his half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Balenx. Hasted tells us that the hill is the boundary of the Weald towards the north. But after the proceedings in 1744, and the decision in Lord le Despencer's case, only a very small part of Wateringbury can I think be in the Weald, comprising a hamlet called Lilly-Hoo, containing 86 acres, adjoining Tudely, and more than 4 miles distant from the rest of the parish.

WESTERHAM [the farthest western town in Kent], granted by the Conqueror to Eustace, Earl of Boulogne. The parish gives name to the Hundred, and the Darent rises here. It is a bordering parish to Surrey. Broccsham, partly also in Edenbridge, was one of the denes granted by King Edgar to the See of Rochester, with Bromley. Hasted says—"The southern part of this parish lies below the Sand Hill, and consequently is that district of this county called the Weald;" but, notwithstanding the decision in the case of Lord le Despencer v. Eveleigh, the parishioners adopted the Old Pilgrims' Lane as their boundary, and the Tithe Commissioners awarded, "that such part of the parish as lies south of the road called the Pilgrims' Way is in the Weald of Kent, and the woods there are tithe free." It was

quite competent for them to adopt it as their legal boundary, and it settles the question.

CHAP. XXXV.

Henry III. granted to Thomas de Kamville a weekly market at Westerham, a right which almost every important manor began then to enjoy, and I only refer to it to notice a proviso contained in this and other similar grants, "unless it be to the injury of neighbouring markets." The advowson of Westerham was given by Queen Eleanor, the wife of Edward I., to Christ Church, Canterbury, as part of the exchange for the Port of Sandwich.

WITTERSHAM, in the Isle of Oxney. ["The village surrounded by water."] This is one of the many cases which we meet with where places situate in the Weald are omitted in Domesday, though referred to in much earlier charters. We find it as well as Palstre mentioned in a charter from King Canute and his Queen. The Manor of Aldington extends over a large portion of this parish, but does not appear to have any denes in it. Palstre, though a very ancient Manor (part freehold and part copyhold), was previously a denes extending also into Ebony. Toppendene, in Wittersham, was held of the Manor of Eastry, and Pisendene and Blackbrooks, of Lambin Manor, in Rolvenden. The church was at one time a Collegiate one.

WOODCHURCH. ["The church in the wood."] This manor contributed to the maintenance of Dover Castle. Though Dearn has a good word to say for the church*; he tells us as usual that the parish "is far from being pleasant." Nearly all of it was no doubt held as denes before the Conquest. Aldington had no less than thirteen entire ones, or parts of them, here, viz., Redgway (part), Shyrte, Yeldhatch, Hadlemore, Rumpendene, Blackborne, Rokey, Polackborne, Thorne, Bodendene, Plurendene or Plerendene (part), Shirley Moor, and Rogshay. Plurendene (part), was held of Wye Manor; Coleham of Mersham; Ithendene of Lambin. Plurendene (part), formerly Twiadens, Herlackendene, Henhurst and Thorndene were held of Tinton Manor in Wareborne, Plurendene (part), of Appledore Manor; and Proudennesrede of Horton Manor; Starvendene, Brittonsdene, Haffendene, Redbrook, Brissenden (part), Engeham, Henhurst, Newhurst and Robehurst of unknown Manors.

* The Herlackendens and Sir Edward Waterhouse (Queen Elizabeth's Chancellor of the Exchequer), lie buried here.

WROTHAM. "Secund: G. Lambert the town of worts!" Philipott. ["Wrot"] Probably the same as *rate*, aquatic herbage." Edmunds.] Only a small part of this extensive parish is in the Weald. Hasted, writing, be it remembered, before Lord le Despencer's cause was tried, tells us "there have been several who have contended that all that part of Wrotham which lies below the chalk hill is in the Weald of Kent, as no tithe of wood was paid there." He adds that the generally received opinion is that the Weald begins at the next sand hill above Fairlawn. In the commutation of the tithes of this parish, the Commissioners, no doubt with the consent of the parishioners, as in the case of Westerham, adopted the Pilgrims' Road as the boundary; and the award declares that "the woodland lying to the southward of the Pilgrims' Way is exempt from tithe by prescription."

CHAP. XXXV. ¶ YALDING [anciently written Ealding, "the old meadow"] formed part of the vast possessions of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester. The dene of Trendhurst here was appended to the Manor of Gillingham; and Aylesford had a dene here, and there was a Denemansbrook.

Leland calls Yalding a "pretty townlet" (temp. Henry VIII.); but this again does not please Mr. Dearn, who says that the term could not be applied to it with any propriety.

The modern residence of Bokingsfold, now a farm house, is this parish.

Though I can find Manors for the following denes, I cannot find parishes for them. Some possibly have changed their names, and others may be mere matter of spelling; so that many of them may in reality be included in the preceding list.

Thorndene, held of Bromley Manor, is included in King Edgar's grant to the See of Rochester. There are several Thorndenes in Kent. This one may have been in Boughton-Malherbe.

Godmersdene, Waldyndene, Schirediaknode, Lese, Hachewoldindene, and Bladesfelde, were denes held of Brook Manor. Flochamme, Eatingheld, Halle, Hoke, and Horne were dene held of Chartham Manor; Gerdindene, Henselle, and Walkherst of Estry; Lallington, of East Farleigh; Bellingden,* Coalchyras, Meosdene, and Rindigsell, of Frindsbury Manor.

Selbuddene and Herthe were denes held of Godmersham Manor. Bexle,† of Halling Manor.

Dumvalgdene, Swithelungdene, and Suthhaldemundene were held of Ickham Manor; Wanshurst [in Marden?] and Falkaheath, of Loose; Sponenden, Gyllingham, Held, Plashett, Stenynden, and Rotherynden, of Lyminge Manor.‡

The denes of Elfrethingdene,§ Herbedingdene, Paftringdene, Werberingdene, Humeath, Wafingdene, and Wedafingdene were held of Mersham Manor.

The denes of Heatiden, Hwetonstede, Hese, and Helmanhyrst were held of Snodland Manor; and the denes of Bardindene, Tewesnod, Fortedene, Suthmundene, Bocoledene, Bordene, and Bolmhurst were held of the Manor of Westwall.

In King Offa's grant of Trottesclive to the See of Rochester, the right of pannage is included under *Wealdbera*, but the denes are not enumerated; and in a dateless Customal of the Manor of Newton next Sittingbourne are included seven denes in the wood called the Weald, which I have been unable to trace.

Four of the denes of Andred appertaining to Lewisham Manor were Æschire, Æfchaga, Wingindem, and Sarendene; but I am unable to find parishes for them.

* This and the three following denes are those named in King Offa's grant to Rochester, A.D. 764.

† This dene is named in King Egbert's grant to Rochester with Speldhurst and Marden.

‡ These are the denes named in King Ethelred's grant to Christ Church, Canterbury, together with Blechydene in Headcorn. Hasted says there were twelve but he names only seven.

List of the Denes.

A Table of such of the Denes as I have been able to discover, and of the Parishes in which they were situate, will be found in Appendix C at the end of this Volume.

Now, it would appear from the preceding List (incomplete as it is), that there were more than seventy of the principal outlying manors in different parts of Kent which possessed denes in the Weald, and, making a liberal allowance for repetitions resulting from a change of name and other causes, the number of denes in the district must have originally exceeded 400! But the most striking feature is, that so large a proportion of them became manors at the Conquest. The barons and lay-owners were then naturally anxious to strengthen their position, and the tenure of these denes was converted into military or knight service; while those held by the Church and religious houses were fostered, and many of them preserved to the present day.

CHAP. XXXV.

Number of
manors
possessing
denes

I would also remark that much dependence cannot be placed on the foregoing nomenclature.* Place-names often supply us with the footmarks of the inhabitants that at one time or another dwelt in them; but many places no doubt bear very different names now from those they once bore.

Nomenclature.

As a closing scene to our ancient manorial system in the Weald, I will here record a visit *in propria personâ* by a lord on the Hill to the tenants of his manor. It occurred in the reign of George II. Hoadley, otherwise Hothleigh, is a heriotable manor situate in Lamberhurst, which anciently belonged to the college of St. Peter, Lingfield, in Surrey, and passed after the Reformation to the Filmer family. The infant Marquis of Camden is now the principal tenant. It is minuted on the court rolls that on Michaelmas Day, 1748, the lord, Sir Edward Filmer, accompanied by Lady Filmer, [the parents of twenty children, eleven sons and nine daughters,] and his brother Beversham and the Baronet's eldest son John, started in their coach from East Sutton Place for Lamberhurst, their *route*

Manor of
Hoadley, in
Lamberhurst.

* Philipott is the only one of our Kentish topographers who has given us "the etymology of our hundreds and parishes as they are derived from some Saxon Radix," and very little, I fear, can be said in praise of them.

CHAP. XXXV.

being by Staplehurst, Wilsley Green, Goudhurst, and Kilndown, a distance something less than 20 miles. The journey was accomplished in five hours because the roads were smooth and dry, the summer that year having been a remarkably fine one. Between Kilndown and Hoadley it was "very much up hill and down." The next morning they proceeded to the Gloucester Furnace in Lamberhurst, "viewed the vast stock of mine charcoal, &c. They saw a gun cast there, viz., an eighteen-pounder." The lord's court was then held at the manor house, and the third day they returned home in four hours and three quarters. We are informed by the court rolls (for the benefit of posterity) that "the water at Hoadley is all mineral water and makes bad beer," and that "the best time for holding the court at Lamberhurst is in the summer, when the roads are good."

The relics of the feudal system are fast disappearing. Many of the owners of the lesser manors have become the owners also of the land held of these manors, as in the case of the Linton Estate; there has been, therefore, a merger of the rents; while, as in the case of the Seven Hundreds and many others, the payments, owing to the alteration in the value of money, have become so small that they have not been thought worth the expense of holding courts to collect them. The heriotable manors are, of course, the most valuable, and many of them are still kept up.

I propose now to notice the opinions of modern writers on the Weald.

It has been already stated that we do not find in Kent any trace of a written law, or any charters or grants, anterior to the sixth century. Search as we may, the first knowledge we possess of the district is derived from Anglo-Saxon landboes and donations, and, in the language of one of our earliest modern writers on Anglo-Saxon history (the late Mr. Sharon Turner), "the system of tenures the Anglo-Saxon conquerors established will be best known from the language of their grants." This

Ante, Vol. I.,
p. 324.

The opinions
of modern
writers.

Vol. I., p. 72.

Vol. II., p. 529.
Fourth Ed.

it has been my endeavour to supply; and, after much research and labour, the best account that I can furnish of the history of the most ancient and extensive forest of the kingdom and shire of Kent is, that it was first formed into denes for the mere pannage of swine, and where, according to Lambarde, Somner, and our earliest authorities, scarcely any one monument of great antiquity has been discovered; but this does not satisfy the restless and inquiring spirit of the age. Modern antiquaries and geologists, therefore, have promulgated some extraordinary, and, I believe, inaccurate ideas on the subject,* and, without consulting these documents and court rolls, and studying the legal phrases of the period, have set up their own theories, which must not, however, be passed over unnoticed.

CHAP. XXXV.

The first writer that I shall refer to is the late eminent antiquary, Mr. Kemble, who, as I have already stated in my first volume, has endeavoured to establish "the Mark" as a territorial district in the Weald. The earliest mention of this term in Kent is in the Laws of Lothere and Eadric [Hlothære and Eadric], Kings of Kent between A.D. 678 and 686, which speak of a stranger who has "*come over the march.*" Again, in the laws of their successor, Withred, King of the Kentish Men, between A.D. 690 and 725, we meet with "*over the march.*" Mr. B. Thorpe, the editor of these "Ancient Laws," states that these expressions can hardly mean the marches or boundaries of the Kingdom of Kent, or of any separate part of it, but rather the limits of the estate of the lord.

Ancient Laws,
Vol. I., p. 33,
xv.

My dissent from Mr. Kemble's theory is noticed in the preface, and also in Chapter VII. of the first volume. In confirmation of my opinion I may refer to one of Mr. Kemble's own works, the "Codex Diplomaticus,"

* "It is a curious fact," says Mr. J. R. Daniel-Tyssen, "that most of the woodlands in the Wealds of Sussex, Kent, and Surrey are still exempt from tithes, as in ancient times woods were considered *unproductive property.*" [?]*—Sussex Arch. Coll.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 194 (9). *See* *vide* Vol. I., p. 402, Vol. II., pp. 646, 647 of this work.

CHAP. XXXV.

where we meet with references to the Andred Forest and its boundaries ; but nowhere do I find a reference to its being a *Mark division*. The truth is, that in this, as on other occasions, Mr. Kemble, to use the words of the late Mr. Thorpe, "drew too largely on his imagination, warped by the German medium through which he was so much accustomed to look." He here endeavours to destroy the credit of a tradition (I am now using Mr. Kemble's language) which has long existed, to put something of greater antiquity, and long anterior to any historical record, in its place, which he deems of more value. But I submit we have not a tittle of evidence that the territorial division of the Mark ever existed in Kent, while we possess ample evidence that at the time that Christianity was firmly established here, the soil composing the Kingdom of Kent was held of the King ; the Witan having a voice in the apportionment of it, and in altering the tenure by which it was held, by the conversion of folcland into bocland, and *vice versa* ; and that at this time Andred was the common forest of the kingdom ; for no sooner were the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, and the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, established, than royal grants were made of forest rights over Andred, as appendant to the possessions they held in different parts of Kent.

As the opinions of Mr. Kemble generally carry with them great weight, and as the reader will find, as we proceed that his dictum on the Weald of Kent, vaguely as it has been expressed, has been adopted by no less than four subsequent writers, viz., Mr. Morgan, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, Mr. Elton, and, lastly, by Mr. Topley, it is only proper that I should find space for the expression of his views. He tells us that :—

Vol. I., p. 480.

"In looking over a good county map we are surprised by seeing the systematic succession of places ending in den, holt, wood, hurst, and other words which invariably denote forests and outlying pastures. These are all in the mark, and within them we may trace with equal certainty the 'hams,' 'tuns,' and 'stedes,' which imply settled habitations. * * * I will lay this down as a rule, that the ancient

mark is to be recognised by following the names of places ending in 'den,' (neut.) which always denoted *cubile ferarum*, or pasture, usually for swine. Denu, a valley, (fem.) a British and not Saxon word, is very rarely, perhaps never, found in composition. But there are other remarkable facts bearing upon this subject, which are only to be got at by those who are fortunate enough to have free access to manorial records, before the Act of Charles II. destroyed all feudal services in England. *A striking example of the mark-jurisdiction is the 'Court of Dens,' in Kent.* This appears to have been a mark-court, in the sense in which mark-court is used throughout this second chapter, and which gradually became a lord's-court, only when the head markman succeeded in raising himself at the expense of his fellows: a court of the little marks, marches, or pastures in Kent, long after the meaning of such marks or marches had been forgotten: a court which in earlier times met to regulate the rights of the markmen in the *dens* or pastures. I am indebted (among many civilities, which I gratefully acknowledge) to the Rev. L. Larking, of Ryarsh, for the following extracts from Sir Roger Twysden's journal, which throw some light upon what the court had become in the middle of the seventeenth century, but still show its existence and lead us to a knowledge of its ancient form. * * *

* It was then a happy thing for England that there were Courts of Dens, and squires who did not like them. * * *
If there had not been Courts of Dens to argue about—and unhappily, at last, to fight about—there would most certainly not now be a 'High Court of Parliament,' for there would never have been those who knew how to establish it."

Mr. Kemble then proceeds to describe the "Court of Denes" held at Aldington from the entries in the Twysden Journal, in 1655. It appears Sir Roger attended this court on four occasions. At this time it was the practice to appoint one of the tenants yearly as reeve, to collect the lord's-rents,* and as Aldington was a very extensive manor the rents due from the various denes were collected by a separate reeve. Sir Roger was selected to fill this unthankful office for the year 1656, (during the Commonwealth,) in respect of the lands which he held of the Manor of Aldington, situate in the dene of Plurenden, in Woodchurch. But here, as in other instances in the Weald, the denes were often divided, and Wye also claimed over part of Plurenden, and as Sir Roger had paid in respect of Wye he not unreasonably disputed his liability to pay anything to Aldington, and objected to

CRAP. XXXV.

* This practice is still continued in some manors in Kent,

CHAP. XXXV.

serve the office of reeve.* Hence the controversy, made almost ridiculous by the treatment it has received from the pen of Mr. Kemble; but, what is far worse, it has unfortunately led other clever writers, to whose works I am about to refer, to countenance his error, which local inquiry might have prevented.

It is apparent that Mr. Kemble was anxious to find some place among the earliest possessions of the Saxons in England to which he could apply his Mark theory; and in Sir Roger Twysden's Journal he thought he had discovered what he had been long in quest of, viz., an example of the Mark Jurisdiction, when, in truth, the proceedings at Aldington in 1656 were nothing more than those of the ordinary Kentish Courts Baron, held in fifty other parts of the county at that time, where money payments had been substituted for the customs and services before rendered for the different denes in the Weald belonging to these different manors, and which Sir Roger disputed his liability to pay.

The first writer, in order of time, is Mr. James F. Morgan, M.A., who, in 1858, published his interesting little work, "England under the Norman occupation," and he thus briefly refers to the denes :—

pp. 76, 77.

"The Hall, the principal village, and the lands attached to them, did not always make up the whole lordship. There were often subordinate hamlets, little homes, like the cells of an Abbey, or the satellites of a planet, depending upon the head of the manor. Such were the denes of Domesday, dens or deans, noticed in Kent, Surrey, and Berkshire. Dean in England means a valley. * * * In the Kentish Domesday we meet with large and small dens, halves and third parts of dens, one den of 5 swine, 5 dens of 50 swine. The Confessor gave the manor of Lewisham with all belonging to it, Greenwich, Woolwich, and other places, with the valleys in Andred, or the Weald, adjacent to the same, namely, Thingendene, Scarendene, etc. (6 Mon., 988) * * * Denbers in the Charters are defined to be places supplying food for hogs, but some of the Kentish dens were arable. Mr. Kemble has given an account of the courts of the dens from Sir Roger Twysden's papers, which may contain further information."

* If any further confirmation is needed, I must refer the reader to "Goudhurst," where there are to this day two distinct denes, a mile apart; Twysden, in Kilndown, and TwysSENDENE, near Bedgebury. From one of these denes it is supposed the Twysden family sprang.

The next writer in chronological order is the Rev. Isaac Taylor, who notices the Weald in his "Words and Places :"

CHAP. XXXV.

"The vast tract in Kent and Sussex which is now called the Weald," P. 360.
is the remains of a Saxon forest called the *Andredesleah*, which, with a breadth of thirty miles, stretched for 120 miles along the northern frontier of the kingdom of the South Saxons. In the district of the Weald almost every local name, for miles and miles, terminates in *hurst*, *ley*, *den*, or *feld*. The *hursts*† and charts were the denser portions of the forest; the *leys* were the open forest glades where the cattle love to lie;‡ the *dens*§ were the deep wooded valleys, and the *felds* were little patches of 'felled' or cleared lands in the midst of the surrounding forest. From Petersfield and Midhurst, by Billinghamurst, Cuckfield, Wadhurst, and Lamberhurst, as far as Hawkhurst and Tenterden, these forest names stretch in an uninterrupted string. The *dens* were the swine pastures; and down to the seventeenth century the 'Court of Dens,' as it was called, was held at Aldington to determine disputes arising out of the rights of forest pasture."||

Then Mr. Elton, in his "Tenures of Kent," relying on the authority of Mr. Kemble, gives the following quotation from his "Anglo-Saxons in England :"

"The country of the *denes* (a British word) runs along the *edge* of the Weald, forming a belt [or "mark," *sic*, in original] of forest round the cultivated country, quite independent of the woods which once lay between village and village." He adds :—"There were thirty-two, some say forty-four, *dens* subject to the jurisdiction of the Court of Dens held at Aldington, in this county. Sir R. Twysden, cited by Mr. Kemble in the passage just quoted, has left in his Journal a full account of the nature of this Court of the Weald." p. 195.

* "The German *wald*, wood. Well Street is the name of the Roman road which ran through the wooded district."—Maury, *Hist. des Forêts*, p. 126.

† "Penshurst, Lyndhurst, and Chislehurst."

‡ "The root of the word *leah* or *lea* is the verb 'to lie.'—Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, Vol. III., p. 33.

§ "*Den* is probably a Celtic word adopted by the Saxons. The Ardennes is the 'great forest' on the frontiers of Belgium and France. On the word *den*, see Leo, *Rectitudinas*, p. 91; Kemble, *Saxons*, Vol. I., p. 481; Maury, *Hist. des Forêts*, p. 167.

|| "The surnames Hayward and Howard are corruptions of Hogwarden, an officer elected annually to see that the swine in the common forest pastures or *dens* were duly provided with rings, and were prevented from straying. The Howard family first comes into notice in the Weald, where their name would lead us to expect to find them. So the family name of Woodward is *Vudu Vcard*, the wood warden, whose duties were analogous to those of the hogward." Haywardens have been appointed for the Honour, Castle, and Manor of Chilham up to a recent period. The same remark applies to the name of Oxenden. Vide p. 726, under "Warehorne." Why not a *dene* for oxen as well as cows? "Cow-dene."

CHAP. XXXV.

The last writer that I shall refer to is Mr. Topley, F.G.S.* (employed on the Geological Survey of England and Wales), who at the annual meeting of the British Association, held at Brighton, in 1872, read a paper, subsequently published in Vol. III., (1873), of the Anthropological Institute Journal, "On the Relation of the Parish Boundaries in the South-East of England to great Physical Features, particularly to the Chalk Escarpment," in which he endeavours to show that such a relation exists, more especially in the chalk and greensand areas, around the district in the south-east of England known as the Weald.

Mr. Topley tells us, as a geologist, that the chalk escarpment† is the boundary of the Weald, but adds, "its true and ancient boundary is somewhat doubtful; probably it was generally the lower greensand escarpment." He also states that the densest parts of Anderrida were the clay lands, which at present give no idea of the old forest, for the parts now most resembling forest are those which then were least thickly wooded.

p. 40.

This writer refers to Brook, near Ashford, with an area of 582 acres, as a remarkable parish, being "the only one in the Weald that is wholly on Gault." This is the first time I have ever seen Brook included within the boundary of the Weald. It lies away from it, at the foot of the chalk escarpment of Wye Downs.

I regret I am unable to follow the writer through the whole of his paper, but must be content to touch shortly on its salient points. Mr. Topley modestly remarks that he has avoided rash theories of his own, and relied chiefly on the authority of Mr. Kemble; and, in noticing the

* Messrs. Foster and Topley published a paper in the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society (Nov. 1865), "On the Superficial Deposits of the Valley of the Medway, with Remarks on the Denudation of the Weald."

† An escarpment, according to Mr. Whitaker's definition, is "the bounding ridge of a formation or bed, that is to say, the ridge along which a formation or bed is cut off, and beyond which it does not extend except in the form of outliers: it follows the line of strike." Hence we see that whilst an escarpment is necessarily a hill, all hills are not escarpments.—Topley, p. 34.

denes, he says their distribution is very remarkable. CHAP. XXXV.
p. 46.
"They occur most thickly in the eastern part of the Kentish Weald, and diminish westwards, comparatively few being met with on the Weald Clay west of Marden." This information he must have derived from the Ordnance Map, and not from the Court Rolls of the Manors extending over these parishes. Had he searched them, he would have found that nearly every manor south-west of Marden originally possessed denes, and some of them more than twenty, the decrease being about the Lowy of Tunbridge and its vicinity. The reason is obvious. A large portion of this district was swallowed up by the forest, friths, parks, and warrens belonging to the Castle, which formed the south-western angle of the Weald of Kent, and became at the Conquest the military division of Richard de Tonbridge; while Hugh de Montfort held the south-eastern corner. The Lowy is imperfectly described in Domesday, it being quit of geld, or out of hundred law; the Forest also was out of ordinary jurisdiction. A few denes in and near the Lowy have preserved their names, but all rights of pannage, &c., were abolished, if not by Richard de Tonebridge, by his descendants, the all-powerful Earls of Gloucester, who were constantly extending their territory by encroachments even on the rights of the Crown, until "no man's tenants, save the Earl's, were within the Lowy," as found by the inquest in the reign of Edward I. If Hugh de Montfort had possessed a castle within his military division, is it unreasonable to conclude that not one of the Anglo-Saxon denes in it would have been preserved?

The Hundred of Washlingstone is returned as one of the Domesday Hundreds; and what constituted the Lowy of Tunbridge must have been in Anglo-Saxon times part of this Hundred, which encircles it on all sides except where it abuts on the Hundred of Littlefield. The Lowy was five miles in length from north to south, and six miles in width from west to east. It comprised the borough of Tunbridge-town with the boroughs of Hilden

CHAP. XXXV.

Vol. II., p. 311.

and South, in short, what now constitutes the parish of Tunbridge; also the borough of Hadlow and part of Capel. Previous to the Conquest we have seen that the Archbishop held the Castle and Manor, and, according to Hasted, *portions of land held by tenants of the Lowy in different parts of the county, at some distance from the Lowy, were accounted within the bounds of it*, "of which there are several examples in the Book of Domesday, in which Ricardus de Tonebridge is said to have held lands *in sua leuga*, that is, within his Lowy, in Otford, Northfleet, Wrotham, &c., &c., including Milton by Gravesend."

The late Mr. Larking appears to have adopted Hasted's statement, for he tells us—

Domesday,
p. 190.

"His name [Richard de Tonebridge] occurs again and again in the Kent Domesday, as holding lands and seignoral rights in nearly twenty different parishes [Manors?], *many of these probably being detached appendants of his Manor or Lowy of Tunbridge*. * * * His title of Richard de Tonebridge he acquired from his seat in that town, which, with its castle, he obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury [Lanfranc], in exchange for the Castle of Brion."

Now, the Lowy of Tunbridge has always been deemed part of the Weald, and I know of no instance on record where property in the Weald enjoyed liberties and privileges out of it; so that, instead of these scattered lands being detached appendants of the Lowy, as represented by Hasted and Mr. Larking, they were the very reverse of it; they were patches from different outlying properties, and comprised, in Anglo-Saxon times, the swine pastures and denes in and near Tunbridge, appendant to more than twenty Manors in West Kent, particularized in the preceding list under "Tunbridge," and belonging to the Sees of Canterbury and Rochester, and to the Bishop of Baieux.

Larking,
p. 11.

To prove this, one quotation from Domesday among many will suffice. Take the Manor of Northfleet, part of the Archbishop's possessions:—"Ricardus de Tonebridge quod tenet in sua leuga de hoc manerio valet xxx solidos." ("What Richard de Tonebridge holds of this manor in his Lowy is worth 80s.")

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 76.

We know that Otford and most of the West Kent

manors possessed their denes even as early as A.D. 791; but we have been unable to identify them, which is accounted for by the fact that most of the denes and pannage rights in West Kent were merged at the Conquest to complete the forest and parks at Tunbridge, like the New Forest, and we never hear any more of them afterwards.

CHAP. XXXV.

If, then, what I am here contending for is correct, we have a complete answer to Mr. Topley's theory. We find nearly as many manors held by the Church in West Kent, and possessing denes and rights of pannage in that part of the county, as were held by the East Kent manors in that vicinity, and we are thus enabled to furnish one uniform and consistent history from the eastern confines of the Weald to its western extremity.

Mr. Topley's error appears to me the result of a too great reliance on the writings of Mr. Kemble, and a defective knowledge, in common with Mr. Kemble,* of the tenure by which the Weald of Kent was first held, as handed down to us by documentary evidence, and not by tradition. He is also unfortunate in his legal references. For instance:—

“It was long ago pointed out by Blackstone that ‘it p. 53. very seldom happens that a manor extends itself over more parishes than one, though there are often many manors in one parish.’ He infers that the manorial divisions are the oldest, and that parishes were formed from them.”

This dictum of the learned judge has been long exploded; in fact, I do not know a single instance in Kent where the parish and manor are co-extensive; and the

* It is due to the memory of Mr. Kemble that I should state that he felt the want of easier access to the court rolls of our principal manors. He says: “It is deeply to be lamented that the very early customs found in the copies of court rolls in England have not been collected and published. Such a step could not possibly affect the interests of Lords of Manors, or their stewards; but the collection would furnish invaluable materials for law and history.”—*Saxons in England*, Vol. I., p. 55.

CHAP. XXXV.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 87.

reader has only to turn to the List of Parishes in this chapter to be satisfied on this point.* But more than this, the denes held by these manors *were not all situate in the Weald*. There was the dene of Otterden, near Faversham, held of the manor of Sutton Valence; the dene of West Hythe, held of the manor of Wye; the dene of Hamwold, in Woodnesborough, near Eastry, held of the manor of Ospringe; and I have already shown that there were the denes of Sampson Hope, Snargate, and Ivychurch, in Romney Marsh, belonging to the manors of Chartham, Great Chart, and Appledore.

Then as to the manorial divisions being older than the parochial ones, I must venture to question this as far as Kent is concerned (though the subject is obscure and intricate), for the reader must bear in mind that manors, as such, were not recognized until the Conquest, and could be created afterwards until 18 Edward I. [1290]. I take it that the property first set apart for the maintenance of the clergy and religious houses was carved out of the *prædia* or territorial division of the Anglo-Saxon proprietors of the soil. Thus at a council held at Tribur,† A.D. 895, it was enacted that "if any one repaired a ruin in a wood [unreclaimed land], and built a church there by consent of the Bishop, he might appoint a priest to it and give his new tithe to the new church;" in other words, erect a new parish.

The learned geologist next remarks that

p. 53 (†).

"It very often happens that parishes have detached portions lying at some distance from the main mass. The parishes along the chalk border often have such out-lying patches *within* the Weald, but it is remarkable that very few parishes within the Weald have outlying patches on the chalk."

Here again the reason is obvious. Many of the parishes

Morgan, p. 5.

Rogers,
Vol. II., p. 675.

* Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rogers both commit the same error as far as Kent is concerned. The former remarks, "*occasionally* the manors had different boundaries from the parish." The latter, in a more qualified way, states, "the bounds of an ancient manor must not be confounded with the limits of a modern parish; *they do not always exactly coincide*. The manor is more extensive than the parish, or the parish contains more than one manor."

† Triburnea, now Teuver, near Mayence, in Germany.

on the chalk were formed more than 200 years before the greater part of the parishes in the Weald. For instance, the parish of Headcorn, a portion of which was originally a dene of that name, and is not referred to in the Domesday Survey, was at last made up of denes and fragments of denes taken from five different Hundreds.

CHAP. XXXV

Ante, p. 14.

Mr. Topley closes his paper, valuable no doubt in a geological point of view, not with facts, but by reasoning on probabilities.

"For the original unit of the land divisions we must, then, go further back [than the conquest]. Is it not probable that in what we consider to be the earlier settlements at least—with their arable, down, pasture, and wood land—and preserving so often their antique names, we have the sites of the original mark? * * *

p. 54.

"Mr. Freeman regards the modern parish or manor as the representative of the mark; and he looks upon the parishioners assembled in vestry as equally representing the assembly of the markmen.

"Tempting as this view of the subject is, this is not the place to pursue it further. I am content to have shown, as it appears to me beyond all dispute, that the land divisions of the south-east of England have a well-marked and constant relation to the great physical features; a relation which cannot possibly have been the result of accident. From this relation we may safely infer that, whatever may have been the origin of manors or parishes, as such, they both depend upon older divisions of the land, which were not formed by the arbitrary act of Church or King, but resulted necessarily from the great physical features of the country."

The reasoning here is very unfortunate; it is, in fact, merely an ingenious speculation. We must not be asked in Kent to adopt such fanciful theories, or to regard the modern parish or manor as the representative of the mark. Parish and manor with us are, as I have already stated, in no way synonymous; they have not near the connection that the Hundred and manor often had.* The manor of Maidstone extended over the whole Hundred, and was styled "The Hundred and manor of Maidstone,"

* Professor Brewer, in his valuable little work just published on "The Endowments and Establishment of the Church of England," which should be read by all the clergy and friends of a Church Establishment, states, "the districts assigned to parochial churches were indefinite, and this alone is sufficient to show that their origin could not have been manorial."—p. 136, Appendix to Part I.

CHAP. XXXV

and the manor of Faversham extended over the whole of that Hundred: both were superior manors.

Modern writers, especially non-professional ones, not only erroneously mix up manorial and parochial divisions, but they also lose sight of the fact that there were two distinct classes of manors, the superior and the subordinate. The superior were held by the chief Lords of the Fee, as returned in Domesday, who were the principal owners of the denes; the inferior were carved out of them by subinfeudation, and these lesser or reputed manors were to be found in every part of Kent. Egerton possessed three of them; Lenham, eight; and Boughton Aluph, five.

p. 48 (*).

Mr. Topley has stated, in this publication, that I have in my first volume discussed and rejected "Mr. Kemble's ingenious theory of the Court of Dens" at Aldington; I must, therefore, be pardoned for having again referred to it, and for giving more at length my reasons for so doing. Here we must leave the matter, merely adding in conclusion that it is to be regretted that many of our learned and scientific writers do not take the trouble to visit the districts they write about; if they did, and would consult those competent to furnish them with local information, who, it may be hoped, are still to be found, we should meet with fewer inaccuracies and perplexing statements, which are so prejudicial to the cause of truth.

Forest rights
near
Canterbury.

p. 389.

Before I bring this Chapter to a close I must briefly notice the forest rights enjoyed by the inhabitants east and north-east of Canterbury, as they do not appear to have derived any material benefit from the Weald. On referring to Chapter XXXI. of Volume I. the reader will find that their sylvan rights extended over "the King's ancient forest of the Blean," a district second only to the Weald in point of importance and extent, and now the largest wood in the county. The woodlands round Canterbury were once very extensive; and we have seen that Domesday returned 1,000 acres as unproductive, *i.e.*, not yielding acorns.

We do not meet with many grants of land in West Kent

to "the Abbot of the Church of St. Augustine, Canterbury" (for so he is described in Domesday); nor does this church appear to have possessed any considerable forest rights in the Weald. Some of the chief holdings of this monastery were Fordwich (Forewic), Sturrey (Esturai), Chislet (Cistelet), and Selling (Sellinges);* and there appear to have been several extensive salt works in this locality, especially about Chislet, requiring a considerable quantity of firewood, which must, I conclude, have been supplied from the Blean, where there were a few denes, and where gatesilver and other customs similar to those in the Weald existed. Here, as in the Weald, the original folkland of the people became in process of time the land of the King, first, as the *sylva regalis*, and then as the *terra regis*.

CHAP. XXXV.

The earliest of our ancient castles in or near the Weald included Appledore, Belerica (Bello-Castrum, Lympne?), about which we have no authentic information, Lympne Castle, on the hill (now known as the "Archdeacon's House"), Stutfall (now a ruin), half-way down the hill, and Newenden, supposed to have been but little more than earthworks. Then there were Colbridge, anciently called Colewebregges, in Boughton Malherbe (towards Headcorn), Hever, Sutton, and Tunbridge Castles. The Weald also possessed the following forests and ancient parks, many of which were disparked before the close of the 16th century. The forests of South and North Frith, the Postern or Inner Park, the Cage Park, and South Park, all in Tunbridge, and the forest of Whitley (Sevenoaks). The parks of Groombridge (Tunbridge Wells), Penshurst, Brasted, Henden (Sundridge), Hever, Wrotham, Sutton, Mereworth, Ashowre (Penshurst), Calehill, Bedgebury, Panthurst or Panters (Sevenoaks Weald), Halden, Leigh, Aldington, Sissinghurst, Glassenbury, Oxenhoth (two). There were several warrens and heaths in the Weald, and in addition to the ordinary Greens, portions of it appear

Ancient castles, parks, &c., in the Weald.

* Longport, Canterbury (Lanport), possessed pannage and other rights of common in the woods of Stelling and its Minnis.

CHAP. XXXV.

Ante, p. 414.

The principal
modern
landowners.

Ante, p. 318.

to have been divided into Quarters, which seem peculiar to the district. Thus we meet with Haffenden Quarter, Water Lane Quarter, Middle, and Further Quarter, &c. I have also met with about ten places in the district bearing the name of Cold Harbour.

Though the oldest county families connected with the Weald of Kent are those of Dering, Toke, Roberts, and Filmer, I must place at the head of its modern owners Lady Julia Mann Cornwallis, of Linton Park (married in 1862 to Viscount Holmesdale, M.P., the eldest son of Earl Amherst), who, on the death of her father, the last Earl Cornwallis, inherited between fifteen and sixteen thousand acres of land in Kent, of which about ten thousand are in the Weald, a property equal to if it does not exceed in extent the possessions of the celebrated Infanta of Kent, the Lady Juliana de Leyburne, who lived in the reign of Edward II.* The additions made from time to time to this extensive estate have led to the extinction of many of the lesser manors in the district, and the conversion of

* These extensive possessions were thus acquired :—Mr. Robert Mann, who had realized a large fortune by contracts for army clothing during the Administration of his intimate friend, Sir Robert Walpole, having purchased Linton Place, re-built the mansion and resided there till his death in 1752. I need only refer to three of his sons, Edward Louisa, Horatio, and Galfridus. The eldest died in 1775, unmarried, when his brother Horatio, who was created a Baronet for his eminent diplomatic services, inherited Linton. Sir Horatio Mann died, unmarried, at Florence, in 1786, and was buried at Linton with great pomp. The third son, Galfridus, purchased of the Earl of Chesterfield, in 1750, the Boughton Malherbe and Egerton estates; in fact, all the Wotton possessions in the Weald. He left a son, Horatio, generally called Horace, who succeeded to his uncle's Baronetcy under a special remainder, and to whom Sir Horatio, while living, gave Linton Place, where Sir Horace occasionally resided, spending most of his time at Egerton House and Bourne Place, near Canterbury. He sat in the House of Commons as M.P. for Maidstone; and was a great patron of horse-racing, cricket, and other field sports. Sir Horace, who had no male issue, sold the Linton Estate to his son-in-law, Mr. James White, who assumed the name of Mann, and who again sold it in 1819 to James Cornwallis, Esq., the son of Catherine, daughter of Galfridus Mann, by the Hon. and Rev. James Cornwallis, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Mr. Cornwallis, who inherited the Egerton and Boughton Malherbe estates, having also assumed the name of Mann, and made considerable additions to his property by purchase, eventually succeeded to the Earldom of Cornwallis, resumed his original name, and died in 1852 (when his titles became extinct, his son, Viscount Brome, having pre-deceased him), bequeathing his vast Kentish estates to his daughter, the Lady Julia Mann Cornwallis, now Viscountess Holmesdale.

some of the ancient manor houses into cottages. The next estate in the district in point of extent is Bedgebury Park, belonging to Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P., containing about 6,000 acres. The Surrenden-Dering estate in the Weald contains about 5,000 acres. Hemsted, the seat of the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, M.P., comprises about 5,000 acres. Sir Edmund Filmer holds about 4,000 acres in the district. The estate of Mr. T. W. Roberts, of Glassenbury, contains about 4,000 acres. That belonging to Mr. Husey, of Scotney Castle, comprises about 4,000 acres. Then there are the Penshurst, Hever, and Chiddingstone estates, as well as those of Mr. W. C. Morland, of Lamberhurst, the Rev. Hugh F. Marriott, of Horsmonden, and Mr. Henry Hoare, of Staplehurst. The late Mr. Schreiber,* of Henhurst, Woodchurch, acquired during the present century by separate purchases between 3,000 and 4,000 acres. But the most rapid acquisition of detached property in the Weald has been achieved by Mr. D. Norton, a London merchant, who has bought during the last twenty years upwards of 5,000 acres; and who (I am permitted to say) entered London fifty years ago, without a penny in his pocket.

CHAP XXXV.

Modern
Landowner.

* I cannot forbear here referring to the late Mr. John C. Schreiber, who conferred incalculable benefit on the parish of Woodchurch, in which he resided, and the neighbourhood, from 1828 up to his death in 1863. The living of Woodchurch at this time was held by the Rev. George Nott, D.D., who was collated to that Rectory, as well as the Rectory of Harrietsham, in 1813, and held them both up to his death in 1841. Woodchurch was commuted at £685, and Harrietsham at £600 a year. Dr. Nott held both livings twenty-eight years, and never resided a week in either parish. He happened also to be a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and a Prebend of Winchester; and was the Preceptor in English History to Princess Charlotte, the daughter of George IV. He was permitted, by the then existing law, to divide his time between Winchester and Rome on the ground of ill-health. I shall be told this state of things no longer exists; why, then, refer to it? I reply, that it is the system, and not the particular individual, that is here condemned. This it is which has led to much of the wide-spread dissent that has so long prevailed in the Weald. I also wish to pay a passing tribute to the memory of the late Mr. J. C. Schreiber, (now that he is no more), who at a most trying time (the change in the system of administering the Poor Laws), had all the cares of an agricultural parish, containing 1,200 inhabitants, thrown upon him without any sympathy and co-operation from its wealthy non-resident Rector, beyond a contribution of £50 towards the improvement of the roads, and £500 towards the restoration of the Chancel of the Church. I am precluded from referring to the part Mrs. Schreiber took in this good work, as she is still living.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Scotts, of Scott's Hall, Smeeth, and many other old families of Kent, have disappeared. Sir Egerton Brydges tells us that there was a saying among the people in the vicinity of Ashford, which had been verified in his day:—

Somerfield* [*Sellindge, Hythe*]
 Shall quickly yield ;
 Scott's Hall† [*Smeeth*]
 Shall have a fall ;
 Merham Hatch ‡
 Shall win the match.

The possessions of the Church in the Weald.

Beyond the rectorial tithes and the denes and manorial rights, the Churches of Canterbury and Rochester never held much property in the Weald when compared with their vast possessions in the rest of the county.

In the present day the Church, and Ecclesiastical Commissioners in her right, hold only about 1,220 acres here and on its borders ; but the rectorial tithes (exclusive of the lay rectories) received by them from the same district amount to £8,400 yearly. Of this, Maidstone yields no less than £1,620, and as only a very small part of it is in the Weald we ought not to take it into account. Still, a large balance is left, and this is the more surprising when we remember that this is only the rectorial tithe, and that most of the land was exempt whilst cultivated as wood. It shows what the improvement in its cultivation has done for it. I should add that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners receive from four almost adjoining parishes, viz., Tenterden, Cranbrook, Goudhurst, and Rolvenden, no less than £8,626 per annum. Surely the poor Vicars in this locality ought to participate in this wealth, and they are at last beginning to do so ; but the process of rendering justice in the secular affairs of the Church resembles the movements of the tortoise—sure, as we may hope, but painfully slow.

Changes in the district.

Though the denes, except in name, and their peculiar customs had gradually died out, still, until the formation of our iron roads and the consequent increase of inter-

* The old seat of the Gomeldons. † The Scotts. ‡ The Knatchbulls.

course, there was a marked difference between the inhabitants of the Weald and the rest of the county. In dress, habits, and religious opinions they appeared a distinct and independent race. They were frugal, long-lived, hard-working, resolute, and, I may say, a God-fearing and God-loving people; but, like the Scotch, if they once ascended the Hill and crossed the border to improve their position, they rarely returned.

The Kentish portion of the Weald is supposed to contain about 256,000 acres [400 square miles], and extends in length from Lingfield in Surrey to Aldington forty-two miles. Its breadth where it leaves Surrey is seven miles; and from Egerton to Newenden fourteen miles.

The Weald of Kent can point with pride to the two learned Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, for which it has found able representatives in the persons of the Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy and Mr. Beresford Hope; and though it can no longer boast of the iron it manufactures, or the dyes of that broad cloth for which it once was famous, it can refer with pride to the vivid colours transferred to canvas by artists who have pitched their easels in the pleasant scenery around the good town of Cranbrook. Here we have Webster, who has been said to have especially directed his attention to the portraiture of children, "whether in the sunshine of their joy, or under the cloud of a passing sorrow," a truth well illustrated by the companion pictures, which the engraver has made so popular, "The Smile" and "The Frown." Also, Horsley, equally well known, and hardly less popular for his dramatic and historical pictures, of which engravings may be seen in every corner of Europe and America. Beside these we have Mr. G. B. O'Neill and the two Hardys, all of whom have gained well-deserved laurels on the walls of the Royal Academy.

In Appendix D at the end of this Volume I have given a List of all the Parishes and Hundreds in and on the borders of the Weald, with the Names of the present Incumbents, Patrons of the Livings, and Population.

CHAP. XXXV

Colony of
Artists.

Appendix D.

CHAP. XXXV. A collection of Tradesmen's Tokens, issued in the Weald
Appendix E. of Kent during the seventeenth century, has been made
Weald of Kent and kindly placed at my service by Mr. J. S. Smallfield,
Tokens. London Secretary of the Kent Archæological Society.*
A List of them, with some introductory remarks by Mr.
Smallfield, will be found in Appendix E.

* Mr. F. Brothers, of Ashford, has been also a collector, and he has presented his collection to Mr. Smallfield.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SUMMARY OF THE PRECEDING HISTORY OF KENT AS A KINGDOM AND AS A SHIRE, ITS BOUNDARY, AND CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DIVISIONS.

ADOPTING the course pursued in the last chapter with respect to the Weald, I propose, though at the cost of some little repetition, to devote this my concluding chapter to a *résumé* of Kent as a Kingdom, and subsequently as a Shire, or County, with its civil and ecclesiastical boundaries and divisions.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Bearing in mind that England was not colonized at one period, nor peopled by only one race, we find that Kent, a corner, nook, or angle of land, with a settled population on its coast, reputed more civilized than other parts of Britain, was invaded by the Romans 55 years B.C., who called it Cantium (the letter K not being then in use). The Romans settled in greater numbers in Kent than in any of the adjoining districts, and held it with the rest of the island about 500 years. They abandoned it, and it was next invaded by three German tribes A.D. 446. On the authority of Bede we are enabled to identify the three tribes; from one of them (the Jutes) sprang the men of Kent. Their first settlement here appears to have been in the island of "Ruim," or Thanet, which was granted to their leaders, Hengist and Horsa, by Vortigern (a British chief), as a price of the services which they were to render against the Picts and Scots. It has been suggested that the names Hengist and Horsa were only poetical epithets, rather than real denomina-

Palgrave,
Vol. I., p. 38.

Ib., pp. 39, 393.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Palgrave's
English
Common-
wealth,
Vol. I., p. 279.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 110.

tions; both have the same meaning,* and both only designate the snow white steed which adorned the standard which led them forth to victory.† Still these names have been adopted by the chroniclers as history, and we accept them.‡ Eric, surnamed Esc [ash-tree], the son of Hengist, acquired the dominion of Kent, which was wrested from Vortigern about A.D. 488. He was styled the King of "Cantwara," and was acknowledged the founder of the dynasty by whom the country was afterwards governed.¶ These rulers of Kent originally united the offices of king, priest, and warrior.§

St. Augustine raised the standard of the Cross in Kent, A.D. 597. The See of Rochester was formed shortly after that of Canterbury. Kent was divided, and the East Kentish-men and the West Kentish-men were afterwards roughly represented by the Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, though not according to the boundary which existed at the commencement of the present century. These divisions were often governed at the same time by two sovereigns, and the dioceses presided over by two bishops;¶ but the entire kingdom having been conquered

* The words are synonymous, and in Anglo-Saxon designate the same animal (Lye). Usage distinguished them in later dialects: the German *Hengist* is a stallion, the Danish *Hors* is a mare.—Palgrave, Vol. i., 395 (10).

† The white horse, as is well known, yet constitutes the insignia of the modern county of Kent, and affords a strong support to the opinion that the armorial bearings of modern nations are derived from their primitive emblems.—Palgrave, Vol. i., 395 (11).

‡ Sir Francis Palgrave very justly remarks that it is contrary to all rules of criticism to deny the authenticity of an ancient compiler because he quotes authorities who are lost to us, or because he relates facts which do not suit our theories.—Vol. i., p. 405.

¶ Thus the inhabitants of Kent were sometimes called *Rakins*. Esc reigned over the county several years, but his memory vanishing, the name also vanished.—Kilburne, p. 2.

§ "When Hengist and Horsa first settled in Kent they were not called Kings, but Leaders or Dukes. It was not until after some victories that Hengist took the Kingdom, and that his son, Esc, is called King."—*Freeman's Growth of the English Constitution*, p. 34.

¶ The opinion that I ventured to express in Chapters XII. and XIII. of Vol. I., on the civil and ecclesiastical division of Kent, I am glad to find, is in accordance with so great an authority as Sir Francis Palgrave, who says that the division into the countries of the East Kentish-men and West Kentish-men (Text. Roff., 116; Sax. Chron. ad an. 999) has existed from immemorial antiquity.

by Egbert, the king of the West Saxons, Kent ceased to be a distinct state, A.D. 823. It is thus recorded by Sir Francis Palgrave :—

CHAP. XXXVI.

"Egbert sent his son, Ethelwulf, into Kent, together with Alstan, Bishop of Shirburne and Wulfheard, his Eardorman, who drove Baldred, King of Kent, across the Thames. The *Cantware*, the South Saxons, Surrey * and Essex, submitted to Egbert, who appointed his son, Ethelwulf, King of Kent, but Egbert retained the supremacy of the kingdom, and was acknowledged the Eighth Bretwalda, or Emperor, of Britain."

Palgrave's
English Com-
monwealth,
Vol. II.,
p. ccxxxix.

From this period, Sussex and Surrey appear to have been integral portions of the Empire of Wessex, but annexed to the Kingdom of Kent, and passing with it.

Ib., p. cclxxiv.

The son of Egbert, and after him the grandson, thus held Kent as an appanage of the Empire of Wessex, together with Sussex and Surrey, and so it continued a subordinate kingdom. They were united, but not incorporated. The men of Kent and the men of Sussex obeyed the same rule, and were fellow-subjects without being fellow-citizens. Shires † were known a century before Egbert subdued Kent and two centuries before the time of Alfred ; but we have no authentic information as to the precise time when Kent became one ; all we know is, that it was the only entire one which passed from a kingdom. ‡ We also know it was a shire long before the Norman Conquest. During the latter part of this period Kent was under the rule and government of Earls : Godwin and, after him, Harold were successively Earls of Kent. We

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 103.

* "No notices of the first settlement of 'Suthrige,' or the Southern Kingdom (so called with respect to Middlesex), are preserved ; but it seems to have belonged to Wessex from a very early period, as it was included in the original Diocese of Winchester."—Palgrave, Vol. ii., p. 226 (1).

† The term "Shire" [from *Seyran*, a part, or cut off] was anciently very elastic ; it was sometimes used to denote a smaller division than an entire county : thus, in the *Saxon Chron.*, A.D. 1011, Hastings is spoken of as a distinct shire. In York City, before the conquest, beside the shire of the Archbishop, there were six shires. Again, in Durham, some of the places denominated shires were little more than what we should now term large parishes.

‡ Freeman says that the earliest instance of the use of the word "Englaland" is in A.D. 991 ; and its earliest use in the *English Chronicles* is in A.D. 1014.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Pearson's
Hist. Maps,
p. 25.

The Kentish
Boundary.

may form an idea of the relative importance of some of the different Kentish towns at this time. Excepting Canterbury, those along the coast appear to have been more populous than the inland towns. The number of burghesses at Canterbury was 263 ; at Hythe, 281 ; Romney, 156 ; Rochester, 5 ; Fordwich, 6 ; while Sandwich possessed 388 houses. Dover is mentioned, but the numbers are not given.

The great forest in Cæsar's time formed the principal inland boundary of the Cantii, the Regni, and the Belgæ ; and it afterwards separated the South Saxons from the men of Kent on the east and the West Saxons on the west.

The boundary of Kent has undergone very little change, especially its inland frontier, which appears only to have varied with the altered course of the river Rother.*

When Kent ceased to be a kingdom, the power to regulate and alter its boundaries, including its laths, hundreds, boroughs, townships, and even manors, was vested in the Earl or Shireman for the time being, as the representative of the sovereign. To this day, venerable oaks, crosses, streams, fords, bridges, mills, and even ditches, denote the boundaries between Kent and its adjoining counties of Surrey and Sussex.

Commencing with Deptford on the western confines of the county, we find Surrey claiming jurisdiction over the hamlet of Hatcham, part of the parish of St. Paul, Deptford, which is the only parish partly in Kent and partly

* Upon this Mr. Thomas Elliott, of Playden, remarks :—"There can not be much doubt but that the boundary line of the two counties was originally the bed of the old river Rother—that is, from the Marsh near to the Willow Farm to Corkwood, within about one mile of Blackwall, where the boundary line falls into the Rother, and so continues to about two miles above Newenden, where it finally leaves the Rother and goes up by what is again called the Kent Ditch, passing between Sandhurst and Bodiam. That part of the Kent Ditch lying on the east side of the parish of Guldeford was cut into a sewer in the year 1687 by the Commissioners of Walland Marsh as a drain for the Wainway Watering in that Marsh. The boundary line of the two counties in the parish of Broomhill is rather more one of imagination than a well defined one."

in Surrey; and even here several early inquisitions found Hatcham to be in Kent. CHAP. XXXVI.

From the confines of Surrey* we pass on to Sussex, and the only parishes which are now partly in that county and partly in Kent are Frant, Lamberhurst, Horsmonden, Hawkhurst, and Proomhill, generally called Broomhill.

The marked distinction at the Conquest between the two counties was, that while Kent was divided into laths and hundreds, Sussex was divided literally by the rope into six rapes, or military divisions, with a castle in each rape; though no one, I suppose, will contend that the rapes in Sussex are of equal antiquity with the laths in Kent.

Proceeding from Cowden, in Kent, the boundary line passes through Frant, Lamberhurst, Horsmonden, and Hawkhurst, and it then follows the old bed of the Rother, distinguished by a ditch called the Kent Ditch, separating Sandhurst from Bodiam. It then takes the course of the Rother, and at Newenden a bridge over this river is erected, with the following inscription:—"This bridge was built by Kent and Sussex in the year 1706," when some settlement of the boundary must have taken place. It then passes through another Kent Ditch, and reaches the sea coast at Proomhill. Only a small portion of Frant is in Kent. The church and a greater part of the village street of Lamberhurst are in Kent. Two acres in Horsmonden extend into Sussex. A small portion of Hawkhurst is in Sussex,† and the church of Proomhill stood

* "In 1692 it was decided by the Court of Exchequer, after two well contested law suits, that woodlands in the Weald of Surrey, like those of Kent and Sussex, were exempt from tithe."—*Wood's Tithe Causes*, Vol. L., p. 302.

† The county authorities of Kent have not, I believe, as yet recognized this fact. In the Register of Electors for East Sussex I find in the Wadhurst Polling District, "Hawkhurst parish (that part of which lies in Sussex);" the quantity of land does not exceed 150 acres. The list contains two names, the Right Hon. George J. Goschen, one of the present members for the City of London, and Gideon Rumens; their qualifications being for land at Hazeldene and Brook Gate. Kilburne says, "Hazeldene, with two houses and a small quantity of land to each, is in the Hundred of Shoyswell, in Sussex;" the Ordnance Survey and the 1871 Census agree therewith, and I have satisfied myself it is correct.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Coast
Boundary.

Ants, p 250.

p. 53.

in the same county ; but the greater part of the parish is in Kent.

We now reach the sea coast boundary, and here Kent, as well as Sussex, has lost considerably by the encroachments of the ocean,* which are still going on. Some of the most considerable have been in the vicinity of Proom-hill, on the south-west corner of Romney Marsh, partly in Kent and partly in Sussex. The earliest recorded occurred in the thirteenth century, when the inhabitants removed to Lydd, and, as has been already stated, the course of the Rother was changed. The church stood in Sussex, and its ruins were visible in 1687. If Dr. Harris's statement (given on the authority of one of the Dering MSS.) is correct, Proomhill possessed at one time fifty taverns and inns ; Camden, however, describes it as a little populous village. There have been further encroachments here during the present century ; while at Dungeness there has been a vast accumulation of shingle between the lighthouse and the sea.† With these exceptions, very little change in the coast boundary between Rye and Dymchurch has taken place during the last two centuries.

Taylor, p. 351.

Passing on by the sea coast boundaries and walls of Walland and Romney Marsh, we reach Lympne, one of the great fortified harbours which protected the communications of the Romans with the Continent. The ruins of the Roman port are now nearly two miles from the sea. The names of West Hythe (which is more than a mile from the shore) and of Hythe (which is about half a mile) chronicle the silting-up of the back water which formed the ancient port, and the successive seaward advances of the shingle since the time of the Saxon

* In Norfolk, on the other hand, the land in some parts has gained considerably on the sea.

† "Dungeness, at the southern extremity of Romney Marsh, is a long spit of shingle derived from the disintegration of the cliff at Beachy Head, and has for the last two centuries been advancing seaward at the rate of nearly twenty feet per annum."—*Lyell, Principles*, p. 316.

word *Hiths*, now superseded by its English equivalent, "haven." CHAP. XXXVI.

Near Sandgate the sea has encroached a little, while between Folkestone, Dover, and Deal, the margin of shingle has undergone little change, and the falls of cliff have been inconsiderable, beyond what has resulted from the harbour works at Folkestone and Dover.

The sea has encroached at the north-east of Deal, near the site of Sandown Castle, as well as along the coast from Deal to Ramsgate, Margate, Reculver, Herne Bay, and Whitstable, and still continues to encroach. Ante, p. 161.

The Isle of Sheppy is also suffering from the encroachments of the sea, especially about Warden. Part of the churchyard is gone, the church is in danger, and is now closed.

Reaching the Thames, I have only to notice that North Woolwich, which is on the northern side of the river, forms part of the Kentish parish of Woolwich.

Having completed the boundary line of Kent, I will next notice the marked and striking distinctions which exist in the tenure by which the soil is held even to the very borders of the adjoining counties. These are not the result of any physical features, as has been surmised, for the great forest we have seen was, and had been from its first division into kingdoms and then into shires, its principal inland boundary, proving beyond any possible doubt that these separate kingdoms were established at different periods, by different Germanic races, and governed by different laws and customs. Thus commencing with Westerham (the Oisterham of Domesday), the bordering parish to Surrey, we find that the Kentish tenure of Gavelkind does not universally prevail here, but the custom of Borough English, or the descent to the youngest son, exists in the *manor* of Westerham; this is the only manor in Kent where this custom is met with; while in Surrey, which abuts on Westerham, the descent of freeholds is to the eldest son, and there are no less than thirty-three Borough English Manors, including Limpsfield, on the Ante, p. 736.

Ante, p. 189.

Surrey side of Westerham, and Lambeth, Kennington, Battersea, Richmond, Croydon, Dorking, &c. *

Then, as to Sussex, the distinctions are even more marked and striking. Here we find in the two freehold manors of Bayham and Frant, situate partly in Kent and partly in Sussex, and both in the Weald, the tenure of Gavelkind prevails in the Kentish portion of them, and the law of primogeniture on the Sussex side.†

Here, again, the custom of descent varies; Gavelkind prevails at Rye‡ and other parts of Sussex, and in other places near the Kentish boundary. In Sussex the manors which are entirely freehold are generally small, and not so numerous as those in which there are both freeholds and copyholds. In East Sussex, sub-infeudation manors are not unfrequently met with, and freeholds as well as copyholds are held of them.

Heriots are in most instances due from the freeholds as well as the copyholds; from the freeholds, on death only; from the copyholds, generally on surrender as well as death.

The customs in Sussex as to descents vary. That of Borough English is of most frequent occurrence, and is chiefly confined to copyholds, the freeholds generally descending to the eldest son. Battle is an exception. Here Borough English prevails over the freeholds as well as the copyholds of this manor, the watch-crosses being the boundaries; beyond them, the descent is to the eldest son. Battle, it will be remembered, was associated with Wye from the Conquest down to the Reformation. There are about 150 Borough English manors in Sussex, including

* I am indebted to Mr. J. D. Norwood, of Ashford, for the use of a list of Borough English Manors in England, collected by him with considerable labour and research.

† I am of opinion that anterior to the Conquest the out-lying denes were not peculiar to Kent, but existed in Sussex and elsewhere. They were extinguished by the formation of the forests of the Norman Barons, as in the case of Tunbridge. I have met with the dene of Flackley, in Peasmarsh, and the dene of Padyham [Padgham], in Ewhurst.

‡ The custom does not extend over the whole parish, but only to the Port, now the Borough.

Wadhurst, Frant, Playden, and Iden among the frontier manors. CHAP. XXXVI.

Bondland tenants are to be found in Guestling, Brede, Peasmarsh, and other parts of Sussex, "*tenet in bondagio*;" the tenant bound himself by covenants to serve his lord. This never appears to have been required from the men of Kent; at least, I never remember to have met with bondland tenants in this county. Ante,
Vol. I., p. 263.
Vol. II., p. 9.

The Saxon popular tribunal of the County Court was retained by the Conqueror, shorn, however, as we have seen, of its dignity by the withdrawal of Ecclesiastical matters from its cognizance. These courts and popular meetings were always held in the open air. Natural hills, or artificial tumuli such as Penenden Heath, upon whose summit the judges might debate visible to the surrounding multitude, yet separated from the throng, were generally selected; there every Kentish freeman could raise his voice, or clash his weapon, in an assembly which chose Bishops, Ealdormen, and even Kings, and could boast that the laws he made were of his own making, and that the men who bore rule over him were rulers of his own choosing. By assembling in the open air the suitors of Kent retained an importance which they would have lost had they been confined within the limits of the Moot-Hall; and it is not too much to assert, says Sir Francis Palgrave, "that the present political influence of the body of the people is in a great measure derived from the mode and manner of their meeting." The County Court.

Palgrave,
Vol. I., p. 138.

Freeman, p. 54.

Sir Francis adds:—

"William the Conqueror, by enacting a law like the Capitulary of Charlemagne [which directed that Courts should be holden in covered buildings], would have more effectually checked the growth of the influence of the English people than by erecting all the massy dungeon towers whose ruins are yet frowning over the land. If, instead of causing the men of Kent to assemble on the wide heath of Penenden, to witness the discussion of his pleas, he had commanded those who were selected and chosen to testify on behalf of the county to meet in the Speech-House of Canterbury,* the elections of Knights of the Shire would now, at this day, be made by a close Corporation." p. 150.

* "The Guildhall was anciently called the Speech-House."—Somner, pp. 28, 126.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Vol. I., pp. 106,
186, 283, 287.
Vol. II.,
pp. 168, 217,
418, 419.

I must refer my readers to the previous pages of this Work for an account of the different officers who successively presided over the Shire, the holding of the County Court at Penenden Heath once a month for civic matters, and of the Sheriff's tourn, as the Court Leet of the whole county, twice a year in each Hundred for criminal matters, at which every free tenant of a manor was compelled to attend, unless the privilege was compounded for by sending one tenant to represent the rest; and the curtailment of the powers and functions of the Sheriff by the holding of the assizes by men of superior learning, first at Canterbury and Rochester, then at different intervals at East Greenwich, Dartford, Maidstone, Milton-next-Gravesend, Sevenoaks, and ultimately at Maidstone. Only I have also to remind them that the Cinque Ports, ecclesiastics and religious houses, were for a time exempt from the civil jurisdiction of the shire and its several sub-divisions. I have before me the certificate that Mr. Thomas Elphicke, of Tenterden, is a combaron and freeman of the Cinque Ports as late as 1825, in which all the ancient and obsolete rights of the freemen of the Ports are set forth. But the exemptions from tollages, &c., did not extend to property which the combarons might possess beyond the limits of the Cinque Ports. Thus we meet in the reign of Elizabeth with certificates that William Finch, John Robartes, John Hatche, and John Payne, all of Tenterden, "annexed to the port of Rye," possessed property in Ivychurch and Snave liable to subsidies.

Though not within the immediate scope of my Work, yet, as part of the outline of the History of Kent, Romney Marsh and its Liberty* deserves a separate notice, which, however, shall be chiefly confined to two disputed or questionable points.

The great authority on embanking and drainage is Sir William Dugdale, who wrote upon it about the middle of the seventeenth century. He tells us that works of drain-

Court of
Augmenta-
tions,
Vol. XII.,
No. 161.
Vol. XVIII.,
No. 17.

Romney
Marsh.

Ante, Vol. I.,
p. 28.

Ante, p. 250.

* For a brief notice of the customs, laws, and charters which govern this district, I must refer the reader to my first volume.

ing are most ancient, and of Divine institution; and in support of this he refers to the first and eighth chapters of the Book of Genesis. He also tells us that those nations which were of the greatest renown and antiquity were all famous for embanking and draining.

The district of Romney Marsh appears to have been secured from the inundations of the sea sooner than any other part of Britain. Most of our writers, including Dugdale, give the Romans the credit, if not of teaching this art, of materially improving our ancestors in the knowledge of it, especially in this district, where it was carried on with great success. Tacitus, we have seen, says that the Britons complained that the Romans wore out and consumed their bodies "in clearing the woods and banking the fens." The Roman embankments apparently were confined to Romney Marsh proper (where Roman remains are constantly found), and did not extend to its twin sister, Walland Marsh, and the two lesser ones, known as Denge and Guildford Marshes, as may be inferred from their absence.

After the Romans quitted England a long interval of darkness and obscurity in the history of this district ensued, and if the main embankments were preserved, much of the Roman drainage was effaced. No mention appears to be made of it until A.D. 796, when Cenulph, King of Mercia, ravaged the Province called Merscware (supposed to be Romney Marsh), which implies that it was inhabited, cultivated, and worth ravaging. The inhabitants were then called *viri palustres*, marsh, or fen-men, which Dugdale says "accordeth fitly with the nature of this place." Herebryht was its Ealdorman or Comes, A.D. 838, and was slain by the Danes. I will merely add that this important district was for centuries governed by ancient and approved customs, which at last became the English parent of all embankment laws.

The two disputed points which I propose to notice in connection with it are:

1st.—Did any part of Romney Marsh ever form part of the Andred or any other forest?

CHAP. XXXVI.

Anto,
Vol. I., p. 28.

ib., 29, 114.

ib., (3.

p. 17.
Palgrave,
Vol. II.,
p. cclxxii.

CHAP. XXXVI.

2nd.—Did the district ever possess a population of any magnitude in proportion to the number and size of the existing churches and the sites of those which are now in ruins?

Vol. III.,
p. 122, fo. Ed.

(1.) Hasted, referring to the invasion A.D. 893 (temp. King Alfred), states the Danes sailed with their fleet "as high as Appledore, to which, at that time, the Weald or great forest of Andred extended itself eastward." In a note he adds that there are strong appearances remaining to support this opinion; as, that a tract of land called the Dowles, in Appledore,* in the south-east part of the parish nearer to Romney, was once covered with wood; and that there was a wood, called Appledore Wood, on the western part of the Dowles, in which, at the depth of from three to six feet, large trees of various kinds and sizes were found, lying in different directions, cut down with an axe or sharp instrument, and not with a saw, as also oak leaves, acorns, and the stalks of brakes, &c., in high preservation, affording strong evidence that this part of Romney Marsh was once part of the Andred forest, and covered with timber.†

Sed ride
Hasted,
Vol. III.,
p. 537.

After a lapse of 70 years we are enabled to confirm a part of Hasted's statement, for when the branch railway from Ashford to Hastings was in the course of construction a considerable quantity of timber was discovered below the surface; but, notwithstanding this, I cannot

* Appledore Dowles is about two miles long and one wide, and was formerly an entire swamp, but it has since been drained; portions of it are in great repute, and would now sell without any difficulty for £100 per acre.

† This argument will not appear of much weight when we consider what Sir William Jardine says in his notes to White's *Natural History of Selborne*, p. 20: "The remains of trees are found in most of the marshes of Great Britain; but the mosses in the north of England and all those of Scotland contain trees often of immense size. These are generally oak, birch, different willows, or alder and the Scotch fir. Being embedded to considerable depths, they are sometimes in a perfect state and completely saturated with the soil in which they lie. In the Highlands the Scotch fir abounds, and retains so much resin as to be used for lights during the winter, for which purpose it is dug out, dried, and split into narrow lengths."

agree with him that these deposits justify the conclusion that the Dowles ever formed part of any forest.

CHAP XXXVI.

Appledore has been described as situate on the borders of the Weald, as well as of the Marsh, in a low situation ; it was once a maritime town, and there can be no doubt that it skirted the forest. The Romans appear to have understood embanking better than drainage, for the Dowles, being much lower than the adjoining lands, were only partially drained, and were periodically covered with water until the present century, and still the effect of every heavy and continued rain-fall is always visible here.

With the facility of procuring timber from the Forest, it must have been freely used by the Saxons and Danes, if not by the Romans, in their earthworks and fortifications along our coast, so that there is nothing very remarkable in the finding of timber below the surface. We must also remember that this district had to encounter the overflow of the Limen or Rother, arising from violent periodical storms, which were so destructive in their consequence, overturning churches, sweeping away houses, destroying man and beast, and ultimately causing the Rother to change its course. Is it not, therefore, in the absence of all positive testimony, more reasonable to conclude, that the trees so discovered, with the other sylvan products, were swept into the Dowles by these inundations and tempests, rather than that this district ever formed part of the Forest ? In support of my opinion that the trees never grew where they were found, I may appeal to the following communications from Mr. James and Mr. Thomas Elliott, both of whom have an intimate knowledge of the district. I may also mention that I am informed by Mr. Thomas W. Burden, of Headcorn, that in the bed of the river Beult there is a considerable quantity of oak timber buried, including trees of large size, extending for some distance beneath the soil into the adjoining meadows, eight feet below the surface.

Altered course
of the Rother.
Ante, p. 250.

Vide also
Vol. I., p. 93.

Mr. James Elliott, of Dymchurch, states :—

“A large quantity of timber, principally oak, was found in the sewers

CHAP. XXXVI.

in the formation of the South Eastern Railway. Many of the trees were found in such a position as to give a strong impression of having grown there; but when, or under what circumstances? The surface of the land is now *thirteen feet under high water*. No trees could have grown in such a position, that is certain; and the relative levels of sea and land must have wonderfully changed if they really grew where now found. The whole country around is full of timber a few feet under ground. We have peat here (Dymchurch), and I have never met with timber; but taking a circuit of four miles from Appledore in any direction into the Marsh, timber will be found a few feet under the surface. Many years ago the river Rother had to be deepened from Scot's Float to Bodiam; in doing this some enormous oak trees were found, and, I may say, bushels of hazle nuts as bright and sound as the day they fell from the trees, as well as a great variety of leaves of oak, hazel, &c., showing most unmistakeably that there had been no action of the water over them, no rubbing, no scouring going on. What a state of things to reconcile with the present thirteen to fifteen feet *below* present high-water mark!"

Mr. Thomas Elliott, of Playden, says:—

"I am quite of your opinion that no portion of Romney or Walland Marsh formed at any period part of the Forest; and I think there is sufficient proof that it could not have been so. If it had been a submerged forest, there would have been in some places remains of soil in which the timber grew; whereas, this timber and peat rests on the *sea sand* covered by the alluvial soil from the after-deposit; and further, the bulk of the *timber* is found immediately in front of the entrances to the valleys through which the Weald poured its waters into the sea. Now, in Romney Marsh the timber, that is, the bulk of it, lies near to the hills, whereas, further out in the Marsh the bulk is of the lighter or the leafy deposit. So soon as floods from the Weald arrived out in the open Marsh the timber would then be in comparatively dead or easy-going waters, consequently, the timber settled down as it is at this day found."

The population of Romney Marsh.

(2.) As to the question of population. Assuming that the Romans were as skilful in draining as in embanking, yet, as both require constant watching and renewing, their drainage would be more likely to disappear, after they quitted Britain, than their embankments. As the Anglo-Saxons were not well skilled in either the one or the other, much of the land that the Romans had reclaimed was afterwards often in a state of submersion, and in these parts of course no population would settle; while in a few of the more elevated spots formed by the heaping up of shingle banks at the seaward edge of the muddy flats at Romney, as well as on the margin of the Marsh from Lydd to Hythe, it will be found that the names of

several places are Saxon or Celtic, which proves the existence of habitable land there earlier than in any other part of the district. All, however, seems darkness and obscurity beyond a few grants of land at Old Longport, in Lydd [Hlyde], from King Offa to Janbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 774, and, again, of Agney Court, in Old Romney, by the same king, a little later, to the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury; and from these and similar grants we may infer that "the Marsh or Fen men" had settled here, with their flocks and herds, particularly as we have seen that Cenulph, King of Mercia, ravaged the district A.D. 796; and we read of an invasion by the Northmen, under Hasten, about a century afterwards. But it is not until the Norman conquest that we meet with any certain information about Romney Marsh. In the survey of Domesday we find it mentioned by name, "In Maresco de Romenel;" it formed part of the Lath of Lympne [Lest de Limowart*], and included the Hundreds [parts only in some cases] of Blackborne, Bircholt, Street, Worth, Newchurch, Ham, Aloesbridge, Langport, and Oxney, which certainly betokens a settled population.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ante, p. 295.

The following fifteen manors, since parishes, in and on its borders, are referred to in this survey. Those marked * are returned as then possessing churches.

Aldington *	Newington
Appledore *—part W.	Newchurch [as a Hundred]
Bilsington *	Orlestone **
Blackmanstone *	Oxney as a Hundred, including
Bonnington *	Palstre* and Wittersham
Burmarsh	Romney
Eastbridge **	Ruckinge
Midley *	Warehorne, including Tinton*

I have on more than one occasion stated that Domesday is not conclusive evidence as to the non-existence of churches, as no return of them was required. Old Romney is not distinguished from New Romney, and no

* The reader should bear in mind that there is no reference in Domesday to the "Grand Lath," held at Dymchurch, which must be of comparatively modern origin.

CHAP. XXIV.

Ante, Vol. I.,
pp. 210, 211.

Vol. II., p. 737.

mention is made of a church under Romney; but both Old and New Romney must have possessed churches at this time, and there must have been a considerable population here; for the inhabitants successfully opposed the landing of a portion of the Norman fleet, for which they were subsequently punished by the Conqueror. I can only suggest that, like Tunbridge, it belonged to the See of Canterbury, and was held quit of geld and out of ordinary jurisdiction, and so only partially noticed. All these manors were held of ecclesiastics and religious houses, except Eastbridge, Newchurch, Orlestone, and Tinton in Warehorne, which formed part of the possessions of the Norman Baron, Hugh de Montfort. Two of them, Eastbridge and Orlestone [now small parishes], had two churches each, and I would suggest that in the case of Eastbridge, as the manor extended over Dymchurch, in ancient writings called Demæcherche,* this formed one of the two, and one of the two Orlestone churches may have been appendant either to Newchurch or Warehorne, which were held with Orlestone, or the Manor of Capel (signifying Chapel), now in Warehorne, may have formed one of the two churches. All the several manors in the above list returned without churches at the Conquest possessed them A.D. 1291, as is shewn in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of Pope Nicholas.

The only other remark I will make in confirmation of the antiquity of the level of Romney Marsh is, that Midley (if intended for the present parish) is the only manor in this list situate in Walland Marsh.

The following parishes in and on the borders of the Marsh are not named in Domesday. All of them possessed churches, A.D. 1291.

* Churches, we know, were often divided. We meet in Domesday with "*half a church and half a priest*." The duty was then performed on alternate Sundays by the incumbent of each moiety. At Wantage, in Berkshire, and at Willengale, in Essex, there were formerly two churches in the same churchyard; those at Willengale still remain.—Morgan, p. 103. But we need not go beyond our own county, for at Ore, near Faversham, there is a return of "*half a church*."

Brenzett.	Kennardington, part in East and	CHAP. XXXVI.
Brookland.	part in Mid Kent.	
Broomhill.	Lydd.	
Dymchurch.	Lympne.	
(Oxney) Ebony, part in East and	Orgarawick.	
part in Mid Kent.	Saint Mary.	
Fairfield.	Sellindge.	
Hope-all-Saints.	Snargate.	
Hythe, West.	Snave.	
Ivychurch.	(Oxney) Stone.	
	(Oxney) Wittersham.	

Brenzett, now belonging to Mr. Brockman, was for a long time annexed to Newington next Hythe, and, though not mentioned by name in Domesday, no doubt passed under that manor.

The Abbot of St. Augustine had a marsh in Brookland, containing 200 acres, called the Abbot's Marsh. The Church of Fairfield was appendant to the manor, and dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr [Becket]. The Manor of Chartham extended into Snargate, and the Manor of Ickham into Ivychurch and Snave. Stone, in Oxney, was burnt by the Danes.

The church patronage of the several parishes enumerated in this and the preceding list is now vested as follows : In the Crown, 8 ; See of Canterbury, 15 ; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, 8 ; All Souls College, 1 ; private patronage, 6. The Crown, the Church, and All Souls College, therefore, now hold 22 out of the 28 pieces of church preferment in and on the borders of the Marsh. Here, as in the Weald, we meet with most of the earliest churches on the borders.

Let me next dispose of a remark of Isaac Taylor's:—

“The recent origin of this tract of land [Romney Marsh], and the gradual progress of its reclamation, are curiously illustrated by the fact that over the greater portion of the Marsh the local names present a marked contrast to the ancient names which so abound in Kent. They are purely English, such as Ivychurch, Fairfield, Brookland, and Newchurch.”

Here we find another instance of the value of the caution already recommended on the subject of nomenclature. The “purely English” modern names are corruptions of Ante, p. 729.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ancient ones. Newchurch, in the Level of Romney Marsh, was one of the original Hundreds of the county, and is written in Domesday "Nevvecerce." There does not appear to have been any manor of the name. It possessed a church anterior to 1291. Ivychurch was anciently written Eyveychurch, from its watery situation—the church on the brink of the water. Being appendant to Aldington manor, it may have anciently passed with it, which would account for its not being noticed in Domesday. Four ancient manors extend over it, and parts of it are detached. Fairfield, dedicated to Becket, was anciently written Feyrsfelde; Brookland, Brokelande. Nearly the whole of the last three places is situate in Walland Marsh, and was reclaimed after Romney Marsh; still, neither of them is the modern creation which Mr. Taylor would induce his readers to suppose.

Ante, Vol. I.,
pp. 157, 262.

One of the peculiarities attached to this district in Domesday is the mention of the Socmen, who are returned as holding a considerable portion of it during the reign of Edward the Confessor. There is a reference to about sixty of them. There is much obscurity as regards their origin* and classes, and the services they rendered. Some were tenants in chief, others were under-tenants. They appear to have been always considered below the territorial aristocracy, and yet distinguished from the villeinage; and these are the men that we should imagine the heads of the Church and religious houses would select for reclaiming a district. These socmen are described in Domesday as holding land in the Hundred of Aloesbridge, "without halls and demesnes." Now all this would be consistent with their holdings, the land not being thoroughly reclaimed and built upon.

Palgrave,
Vol. I., p. 15.

New Romney rose on the decline of Old Romney. This must have occurred before the Conquest, but when?

* "They were the 'commended men' of great lords, and there can be no doubt that the services they rendered and the privileges they enjoyed differed in different parts of England. In some cases they possessed their own fold-yards; in others, they had the privilege, or there was the obligation, of using the lord's fold."—*Morgan*, p. 125.

Until the thirteenth century we only meet with the "*Port of Romney*." Between the time of Edward the Confessor and the reign of Edward I. (that is, from the middle of the eleventh until the latter end of the thirteenth century), when the great tempest occurred which is said to have destroyed Old Winchelsea and other towns and villages, we collect that New Romney, then part of the possessions of the See of Canterbury, had become a commodious harbour for shipping and a populous town, divided into twelve wards, with five parish churches, a priory, and a hospital for the sick; and Hasted records that at Romenhale (temp. Henry III.), one Lauretta le Portur in a crowd of people was trodden under foot and stifled to death. The number of its burgesses at the Conquest (156) was large in proportion to other cities and towns in Kent. If there were four or more parish churches in New Romney beside the present one of St. Nicolas the Bishop, they must have been erected after 1291, as I only find one mentioned in the Taxatio; it is entered "*Eccl'ia de Romenel*," and in the margin "*Rex P'eip'*," Old Romney being returned "*Eccl'ia de Vet'i Romenel*." Neither Dymchurch nor Lydd* is referred to in Domesday, though the churches of both are returned A.D. 1291. In 1549 there appears to have been a chapel at New Romney dedicated to St. Martin, in addition to the church of St. Nicolas, and the bailiff, jurats, and Vicar of New Romney petitioned Archbishop Cranmer for a faculty to remove one of them, the income being insufficient to provide two curates, both the church and chapel being held by All Souls' College, Oxford; the Archbishop sanctioned the removal of the chapel, and directed the proceeds to be applied for the use of the poor of the parish. I must refer the reader to Map No. 2, p. 251, and he will there see how Walland Marsh, separated from the Level of Romney Marsh by the Rhee wall, was reclaimed by the different Archbishops of Canterbury, commencing with the "*innings*" by Archbishop Becket between

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ante, p. 378.

Vol. III., p. 521
(n).

* Cardinal Wolsey was Vicar of Lydd, A.D. 1506.

CHAP. XXXVI.

A.D. 1162 and 1170, followed by Archbishop Baldwin between A.D. 1184 and 1190; Archbishop Boniface, between A.D. 1240 and 1270; Archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1279 to 1292; and this shows what the Church did in bygone days towards establishing the reputation of what is now one of the first grazing districts in the world, all which must have produced some emulation among the laity.

The reclaiming of the land, and the erection of churches, appears to have been carried on simultaneously until the year 1291, by which time every one of the parishes in the Marsh possessed a church, though perhaps not those which now exist; but who is prepared to say that the number of inhabitants kept pace with the churches? It may be conceded that a fluctuating population had taken up their abode along our coast; but do we really possess any evidence beyond the numerous capacious and well-built churches which still exist, that the population in the interior of the Marsh was ever much greater than at the present time? Winchelsea, Rye, Lydd, Romney,* and Hythe, had all greater or less privileges, in addition to their parliamentary and corporate rights, conferred upon them as members, or limbs, of the Cinque Ports. They were quit of toll, and independent of the shire, the lath, and the hundred; and all this was done to tempt people to settle at one or the other of these places, and, by fostering our naval force, to defend the country from invading foes. Did these inducements extend to the interior of the Marsh? I think not, to any great extent.

Churches in
Kent, p. 2.

Some writers, however (including the Rev. A. Hussey), judging from these existing churches, and those now in a state of ruin, are of opinion that this district was once more thickly populated. It should be borne in mind that Romney Marsh was held almost exclusively by Ecclesiastics, who may have been induced to erect these churches with a view to secure, if possible, a settled popu-

* These ports, except Lydd, first returned their Barons to Parliament in the reign of Edward III.

lation ; but I think it is a fallacy to suppose that the size and number of churches frequently met with in the Fen districts, either of Kent or the eastern counties, are to be relied on as conclusive evidence of a large population. CHAP. XXXVI.

The charter granted in 1462 by Edward IV., already noticed, it must be allowed, refers to the decrease of the inhabitants of the Marsh, but I take this to mean along the coast ; and, with the view to encourage parties to reside there, a corporation consisting of a bailiff, jurats, and commonalty was formed. This does not appear to have had the desired effect "of alluring men to inhabit the Marsh, which they had before abandoned, partly from the unwholesomeness of the soil, and partly for fear of the enemy;" for Leland, who wrote his *Itinerary temp. Henry VIII.*, says—

"Romney is one of the five ports, and hath been a very good haven, in so much that within the remembrance of men ships have come hard up to the town and cast anchor in one of the churchyards. The sea is now two miles from the town, which has so decayed that, where there were three great parishes and churches sometime, is now scant one well maintained." Vol. VII.,
p. 142.

Lambarde, in the next reign, under Romney Marsh, sings its praises for its fertility, and the ancient and wholesome ordinances for its drainage, which then cost, yearly, in that level, only a halfpenny an acre ; and he proceeds : "The place hath in it sundry villages, although not thick set, nor much inhabited, because it is evil in winter, grievous in summer, and never good."

In those days wealth might be accumulated, but men decayed here, and the conclusion I have come to is, that at no one period was the population of the interior of the Marsh in proportion to the number and size of its churches.

Notwithstanding all the efforts made to reclaim the district, it was not until within the last century that the art of drainage began really to be *understood* ; and a considerable portion of this now most valuable and productive district was a swamp in winter, and a mass of hard, dry-baked [panny] grass land in summer. The grazing here

CHAP. XXXVI.

Romney
Marsh.

is not surpassed in any part of the world, and the land, except at a few places, is now rarely flooded.

Mr. H. T. Riley, M.A., one of the Inspectors under Her Majesty's Historical Manuscripts Commission, has been recently engaged in examining the ancient records and accounts of the Corporations of New Romney, Hythe, and Rye, and he has kindly supplied me with the following memoranda in connection with Romney Marsh, the result of some of his researches :—

1.—During the fourteenth century (temp. Rich. II.), the quay at New Romney was close to the Churchyard of St. Nicolas, and was called "the Quay of St. Nicolas ;" but the haven would seem to have been of very limited dimensions, and there are repeated items in the Town Books for the repair of its slough or sluice.

2.—In the same reign some of the "Wards" forming the Liberty of New Romney extended far into the interior. Thus, Hope-all-Saints was in "Hope Ward ;" Dymchurch was in "Deme Ward ;" and, not improbably, "Hamersnoth Ward" extended as far as Hamstreet.

3.—At about the same date the Corporation of New Romney had a sluice, with a sluice-house and keeper, at Snargate. In the next century it was abandoned, and the land sold.

4.—In the fifteenth century vessels of some burden, used in war, were moored at Rading (now, I believe, Reading), near Tenterden.

5.—With reference to the Churches in the Marsh, Mr. Riley adds :—"There was continually a large proportion of strangers, many of them foreigners, resorting to and passing through the Marsh for commercial purposes. From the fragments of the Corporation Records of New Romney that still survive, it is surprising to find what a number of persons from all parts of England, and even from Calais and Holland, became freemen of Romney by paying the dues ; and this down to the reign of Henry VII. ; though comparatively few became residents."

I have already given the late Mr. Cobbett's opinion of the Weald of Kent fifty years ago, and, though his view about the churches differs from mine, it is right that the reader should have the opportunity of knowing what he said about Romney Marsh ; this will be found in the Appendix F, at the end of this volume.

The ancient parochial division between East and West, now Mid, Kent, and the modern parochial division for Parliamentary Elections between Mid and West Kent, will be found in Appendix G.

My next division is the Laths of Kent, placing them before the Hundreds, as all our topographers have done.

Appendix F.

Appendix G.

The Laths of
Kent.

Not one of them, however, has, I believe, given a reason for it: I will try and do so. They certainly have not hitherto received the attention which, from their great antiquity, they deserve. CHAP. XXXVI.

I must first return to the derivation of Lath from a Saxon word, "gelathian," "to assemble together," which meaning has been generally adopted. I will notice here such further authorities on its etymology as I have met with since my first volume was published. Ante, Vol. I, p. 114.

"The Leth or Lath," says Somner, "is a larger sort of divisions in counties, containing so many Hundreds. I think there is no doubt it comes from the Saxon word *Gelathian*, *congregare*, *convocare*, from convening the inhabitants within such a jurisdiction." Ports and Forts, p. 19.

Cowel and Blount adopt, without much variation, this etymology, based on the authority of Spelman, who cites the Laws of Edward the Confessor, c. 81.

The following is Sir Francis Palgrave's etymology:—

"*Lista*, *Lath*, *Leth*, and *Leet* are but one word; sometimes used as an equivalent to a Hundred. According to some, from the Anglo-Saxon 'Gelathian,' to assemble (*Ellis's Intro. Domesday*, p. 54), a verb of which the root is found in 'Leod,' people." Vol. I, p. 101 (59).

Taylor is silent about its derivation, and Edmunds does not help us.

In looking over an old "Dictionarium Rusticum" I found a lath called "a Barn." The meaning is obvious, "an ingathering," which is thus adopted in a qualified manner by Holinshed:

"What a Lath is—some as it were roming or roving at the name of Lath doo saie that it is derived of a barne, which is called in old English a lath, as they conjecture. From which speech in like sort some derive the word Laistow, as if it should be trulie written Lath-stow, or place wherein to laie up or laie on things, of whatsoever condition. But hereof, as yet, I cannot absolutelie be satisfied, although, peradventure, some likelihood in their judgements may seeme to be therein." Vol. I., p. 258.

The uncertainty as to the precise time when our system of Hundreds was organized, prevails also as to our Laths.

When the Romans invaded Britain, Kent was one of its most civilized settlements, and it soon became more thickly peopled than any adjoining district. When they abandoned it and anarchy prevailed, is it a wild and idle

CHAP. XXXVI.

conjecture to imagine that the district was formed into Laths (even before Kent became a separate kingdom), thus constituting its earliest elements of self-government and mutual protection? Laths certainly cannot be classed with ridings, trythings, wapentakes, or rapes.

Somner, p. 109.

From the grant to Minster Abbey (Thanet) of pannage in the Weald for the men of the Laths of Limen-wera-Weald and Wy-wera-weald, by Ethelbert, with the consent of his father, King Withred, we have some reliable evidence of their antiquity, for Withred died A.D. 725, and King Alfred, who is supposed to have perfected, but not originated, our Hundred system, did not begin to reign until A.D. 871.

The names of the original Laths also serve to establish their great antiquity, viz., Milton, Eastry, Wye, Lympne, Borowart (Canterbury), Sutton at Hone, and Aylesford, each deriving its name from the chief town of the particular Lath. Those in East Kent had previously been Roman villas or towns, which had been adopted by the Saxons, while Sutton and Aylesford, in West Kent, were also places of great antiquity. If, as I believe to be the case, the population, and not the area, regulated all the earliest divisions in Kent, the disproportion of the population between East and West Kent is indicated by the fact that five of the Laths were in East Kent* and only two in West Kent, and it was no accident that each of these Laths, long before there were any Hundreds in the Weald, stretched inward from the sea towards the Forest, to participate in its rights. The Lowy of Tunbridge, the Seven Hundreds, in short, the centre of the Weald of Kent, formed at first no part of these Laths.

In the Survey of Domesday it is not the men of the Hundreds, as in other shires, who agree to the laws of the Conqueror, but the men of the Laths, showing that they

p. 19.

* Somner, who is generally very accurate, has named Sandwich as one of the Laths. He says, "*Sandwic est Leth et Hundredum in seipso*," and he adds it is so called in Domesday Book. This, however, is not the fact; it is only returned as a Hundred. — Larking's Edit., pp. 10-99.

were at that time a recognized and organized body. Our Kentish Coroners* and Justices were afterwards appointed, and the jurors selected from the Laths †; and in the Testa de Nevill, compiled in the 18th century, the Laths, and not the Hundreds, are referred to.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ante, Vol. I.,
p. 205.
Ante, Vol. II.,
p. 49.

Kent was one of the smallest of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms in point of territory, so that had it not needed its Laths, on account of its population, before the Hundreds were generally in use, it would not have required them afterwards, for no other district on its borders or elsewhere possessed them; and when the Hundreds were firmly established, the Laths were suffered to remain. Such is the conclusion I have come to, and the reader must take it for what it is worth. But Sir Francis Palgrave appears to go further than this, and to assume that while in Sussex, which was composed of Rapes, the Hundreds retained their proper jurisdiction, in Kent they were Hundreds only in name, the jurisdiction being exercised in the Lath. He adds, "All the powers of judicature elsewhere appropriated to the Hundred belonged to these municipalities." Was this really so? With much deference to so great an authority, I think not. Such causes only were heard in the Lath Courts, before the Lath Reeve, as could not be determined in the Hundred Court, and causes of difficulty were taken from the Lath Court to the "County Court" at Penenden Heath. In the Plea Roll, temp. Henry III., and in the return, temp. Edward I., of the several Hundreds of Kent, the Laths are rarely referred to, and each Hundred appears to exercise its own functions in mustering men, &c., holding its Courts, and making its presentments in independence of the Laths.

Vol. I., p. 102.

Ante,
pp. 30, 115.

Of the revenue derived by the Crown from the shire and its several divisions we know but little. The Laths

* There are still five Coroners for the county, corresponding with the existing Laths. By Statute 7 and 8 Vic., c. 92, the Justices are empowered to define and alter these districts.

† The Overseers now prepare the Jury Lists and superintend this business. For changes in our Trial by Jury vide Vol. I., p. 167.

CHAP. XXXVI

were often farmed out, and the Sovereign was entitled to Lath-silver, collected from the different Hundreds; but how it was assessed and in what proportions it was originally paid we are uninformed. I have seen Lath-silver also called "homestall sylver," "smoke money," "Hundred sylver," and "Shyreffe's yeld," so that it may have been a house-tax on the principal residences. The King was entitled to a portion of the fines inflicted in the different courts of the shire, which were collected by the different fiscal officers, though in the course of time they were nearly all absorbed by the cost of collection. These forfeitures to the Crown are referred to in the Domesday of Kent, and extended "over all the *allodiaries* in the entire county of Kent and over their men."

Larking's Ed.,
p. 93.

We collect from the Hundred Roll published in this Volume that one of the Kentish grievances in the reign of Edward I. was, that "the Laths of the county had been let at a higher rent than formerly, to the great damage of the inhabitants." One example will suffice; the Sheriff had let the lath of Shepway to his bailiff for £32, previously let at £14. They, therefore, formed part of the revenue of the Crown.

Ante, pp. 123
139, 153.Madox. Firma
Burgi, p. 102.

I will here notice another incident connected with Kent, its Knights of the Shire, and its *Laths*. John de Bourne (8rd Edward III.) had attended Parliament as one of the Knights for the community of the county of Kent. He demanded his wages of the Sheriff, and obtained writs under the Great Seal for levying the money on the Laths "*et de hominibus Septem Hundredorum*;" showing that the Seven Hundreds in the Weald had no connexion with the Laths at this time.

Exc. Roll,
6 Ed. VI.,
m. 32.

At a later period (temp. Edward VI., 1552) the Bailiff, Jurats, and Commonalty of Romney Marsh were exonerated from the payment of 42s. 6d. for "a certain rent called Lath Silver," which had not been collected since the reign of Edward IV., "when the district was depopulated owing to the incursion of the King's enemies."

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 301.

In the reign of James I. [1624] proceedings were insti-

tuted in the Court of Exchequer to recover 28s. 4d., an ancient yearly payment due from the Seven Hundreds in the Weald to the Crown, for Lath Silver, and the Bailiff was ordered to collect 8s. 4d. yearly from each Hundred, and pay it over to the Sheriff of the county.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Again, during the Commonwealth there was a Survey made by order of Parliament of the Bailiwick of Scray, with its several Hundreds, "belonging to Charles Stuart, late King of England," which includes a Return of a rent of 8s. 6d., commonly called "Lath Silver" or "Tything Silver," due from about twenty townships and boroughs in that district; and of 10s. payable by the Hundreds of Faversham and Felborough for Blanch-rent. Lath Silver was also paid to the Crown from other parts of Kent.

The latest notice that I have met with relating to the collection of Lath-Silver is A.D. 1748, when the precept to the constable of the upper half hundred of Street directs the several borsholders within his half hundred, "to collect and gather their Lath-Silver or Smoake Money."

These payments have all now been long discontinued. Hasted has the following note:—"The Sheriff of Kent accounts yearly in his quietus for six yearly rents, being obsolete rents, within the Lath of Hedelinth* (now part of the Lath of St. Augustine), amounting to 10s. 5½d." On inquiry at the Sheriff's office I find that this rent is no longer paid. This is the only Lath I have had any difficulty in tracing. It is written in various ways; sometimes Hedelinge. It is not to be found in Domesday. In the Hundred Roll of Edward I. it is separately returned (making a sixth Lath), and then included the Hundreds of Wingham, Eastry, and Bewsborough. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the return is "the Lath of St. Augustine, otherwise called Hedelinth;" but in modern times it has

Vol. III.,
p. 549 (c).

* Mr. Riley considers it should be written Hedelinch, *c* and *t* in old MSS. being often scarcely distinguishable. He adds: "There are 14 or 15 'Legas,' in Devonshire, in Domesday: divisions of land on some principle not now understood. The equivalent of 'Lega' has always been either 'Ledge' or 'Linch.' I know of one 'Lega' in Domesday, the little harbour of which has for the last five or six centuries given the property the name of Port-Lynche, or (as now) Portledge."

CHAP. XXXVI.

been merged in the lath of St. Augustine. The Earl of Guilford, I find, is possessed of a large and ancient wood in Waldershare called Hedlinge, and this is in the Hundred of Eastry. Could this have given the name to the Lath?

In the *Nomina Villarum* (temp. Ed. II.) the number of the laths (five) were the same as in the present day, and so were the names, with one exception; "*Scrawyngehope*" is now called "*Scray*."

From a remark of Sir Francis Palgrave, one might infer that the "*Grand Lath*" held at Dymchurch for the Level of Romney Marsh formed one of the original Laths. He says:—

"The government of the Lath of Romney, with some changes, has been perpetuated to the present day; and in the ancient jury of twenty-four whose presentments, confirmed by Lords of Fees [the present Lords of the adjacent manors] and the reeves or *præpositi* of such as were absent, became the laws by which it is governed, we may discover the *Thanes* of the Saxon age."

Now I am clearly of opinion that this *Grand Lath* never existed before the Conquest, and all Sir F. Palgrave's references go to prove this. In *Domesday* we meet with no other Lath for this district than "*Limowart*" [*Limowarca*], a name which in the reign of Edward I. is changed to *Shipway*.

Bircholt Barony, which included *Bircholt*, *Brabourne*, and *Hastingleigh*, formerly held by the constable of Dover Castle, was exempt from the jurisdiction of any Lath.

A Table showing the changes in the names of the Laths will be found at p. 168 of this Volume.

Next in order I shall place the *Kentish Hundreds*; but as they have been already so frequently referred to, accompanied by a Table, I have not much to add here.

We have seen that a hundred freemen, a hundred families, a hundred hides of land, a hundred tithings, and a hundred villages have all been assumed as the basis of calculation from which these divisions derived their well-known name, and that every one of them is liable to objection. Whatever may have been the *basis*, we all know that no division founded on numbers could last

The Kentish
Hundreds,
p. 163.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 116.

long, so that in process of time the *names only* survived. Still, their original formation in Kent, which generally took the lead in civilization, must, I submit, have been regulated by population; for we find the Hundreds smaller, and their numbers greater, in East Kent, which was first inhabited, than in West Kent. The Hundreds of Kent as returned by Domesday were 63. In the time of Edward I. they exceeded 70. The present number is 73, but this includes Ashford, Seasalter and the Isle of Sheppy, in East Kent, and Hadlow, West Malling, and Newenden, in West Kent, for registration of voters and county rate purposes; 38 being in East Kent and 35 in West Kent. Thus, while Kent, with more than one-fourth of the county forest land, contained at the Conquest 68 Hundreds, Dorset had 48, Yorkshire only 26, and Lancashire but 6.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Vide Table,
p. 163.

"The manner," says Isaac Taylor, "in which this island was gradually peopled, and the distribution and relative density of the Saxon population, are curiously indicated by the varying sizes of the Hundreds. In Kent, which was one of the earliest settlements, the small dimensions of the Hundreds prove that the Saxon population was very dense. Thus, the average number of square miles in each Hundred in Kent was 24; Sussex, 23; Surrey, 58; and in Lancashire, 302." p. 365.

No difference of population, however, can account for such a disparity. Mr. Hallam, therefore, naturally imagines that the divisions of the north, properly called Wapentakes, were planned on a different system, and incorrectly obtained the denominations of Hundreds after the union of all England under a single Sovereign. In Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland they have no Hundreds by that name; such divisions are there called Wards. I believe the fact to be, that after the conquest, the then existing hundreds were remodelled and consolidated at the pleasure of the Earls and Sheriffs, and to suit the convenience of powerful Barons, who wished their tenants to attend the same court; but very little change took place in Kent. Buckinghamshire had formerly eighteen Hundreds, and has now only eight. If the reader will refer to the Table, I think he will

Vol. II,
c. VIII., part I.

p. 163.

CHAP. XXXVI.

agree with me that Mr. Edmunds' remark on the obliteration of the ancient names and boundaries of Hundreds is too sweeping as far as Kent is concerned. In his "Names and Places," under "Forgotten Names," he says:—

Appendix,
p. 299.

"The changes which time has brought about, in substituting names altogether new for those which were formerly in use, are most evident on a comparison of the designations of the Hundreds as given in 'Domesday Book' with those by which they are now known. So completely are the old names obliterated in many instances, that it is only by reference to the places named as situated in particular Hundreds that we can form a guess as to the parts of the country which were included; no precise idea of the boundaries of the ancient Hundreds is obtainable in any way, nor can we even ascertain when the change took place."

In Kent there is very little difficulty in identifying most of the ancient with the modern names of the Hundreds.

Ante, p. 293.

The greater part of the Kentish Hundreds were, we have seen, held by the Crown and heads of the Church, sometimes jointly, and were farmed out, which frequently led to numerous acts of oppression, contrary to the provisions of Magna Charta, and this sometimes drove the inhabitants from the Hundreds held by the Crown to those belonging to the Archbishop.

Ib., pp. 120,
139, 217.

The district was at first presided over by a Centenary, or Hundredo, afterwards called Custos Præfectus, or Præpositus de Hundredor. The court was one of voluntary as well as contentious jurisdiction, with the usual right of appeal even to the Sovereign himself. It was held every three weeks in the open air on the Hundred Hill, or some eminence or convenient spot, and exercised its rights quite independent of the Laths or Shire Courts. Its privileges, however, extended only to the really free; the servi, or dependents, were excluded, and their Thane, and subsequently their Lord, answered for them. In some of the grants of Edward the Confessor, he forbade the Sheriff to meddle in these courts: after the Conquest important changes in them took place.

As may be supposed, the records of those hundreds which were held by the Crown or the Church were best preserved. Thus in the case of Marden, belonging to the

Ante, p. 55.

Crown (appendant to Milton, to which it used to do suit, but after the Conquest it became a separate hundred), we learn how justice was brought home to every man's door as far back as the reign of Henry III.

We find the borsholder complaining of sixteen brewers [our modern licensed victuallers and retailers of beer] for breaking the assize; *i.e.*, by selling short measure. They were all females, brewsters, or alewives, and were all fined in sums varying from 8*d.* to 10*d.* The bakers, too, were fined in those days for short weight.

The repair of bridges, cleansing of ditches, and recovery of debts under 40*s.*, also came under the cognizance of the Marden Hundred Court. It being a royal hundred, offenders, and those guilty of contempt, were committed to the king's prison, the Fleet.

As late as the reign of Edward III. the Reeve of Marden makes a return for money received from the "pannage of hogs."

The original hundred courts for Marden (which subsequently became court leets, or views of Frankpledge, and of which I will presently speak) appear to have been held by the Crown and its lessees with great regularity down to the middle of the present century; and the sovereign's rights, as well as those of the inhabitants, were protected. We meet, during the last century, with indictments against the inhabitants for neglecting to serve the office of constable; also for the non-repair of hundred bridges, including "Gaffer's Bridge,"* (dividing Marden from Horsmonden,) as well as for the non-repair of the highways. In one case the road led from Horsmonden to Yalding, and it is worthy of remark that the inhabitants, even as late as 1768, were not for civil purposes styled inhabitants of these parishes, but of the Ville of Horsmonden and the Ville of Yalding; the parish, in truth, as a parish, formed no part of the hun-

* In the eastern part of Sussex the bridges are repaired by the rapes, and in the western part by the county.—*Lower's Sussex*, Vol. I., p. 84.

CHAP. XXXVI.

dred. In these cases the boundaries of the Hundred of Marden are all carefully set out.*

Then as to the revenue, or fiscal rights of the hundreds. A collection was originally made by the Lord of the Hundred for the support of his office, which was called the Hundred Penig [penny]. He was also entitled to the profits of the courts derived from fines and amercia-ments.

From one of the earliest returns in the Exchequer [9th Edward I.] we can form some idea of the revenue derived by the Crown from a hundred in the Weald:—

The rent of assize for Marden was ... £14 15s. 9d.

With dangers, reliefs and perquisites £17 7s. 6d.

Except in the Weald, where we should not expect to find them, most of the principal Hundreds of the county had, after the Conquest, Manors or Lordships appendant to them (before known as *predia* or *villæ*,) which were named after them, and included Maidstone, Faversham, Milton, Eastry, Folkestone, Petham, Teynham, Westerham, Westgate, Whitstable, Wingham, Wye, &c.; and in these cases the owners were styled Lords of Hundreds as well as of Manors. Aldington and Chilham were exceptions. Appendant to the Manor of Aldington were no less than four Hundreds and a half in East Kent; and appendant to the Manor of Chilham was the Upper Half Hundred of Felborough. The dignity and perquisites attaching to these Lordships of Hundreds gradually dwindled away by successive changes until they were no longer coveted, as in the case of the Seven Hundreds in the Weald already noticed. Not so the appendant manors, which I have already spoken of in connexion with the feudal system, with their Courts, known in modern times as the Courts Baron or Lords' Courts.

But there was another Court which I must here notice, the Court Leet or View of Frankpledge which is still held in some parts of Kent, and was either appendant to the

* They were taken from a presentment, in 1575, of the Jury of Twenty, before Sir Roger Manwood.—Ante, p. 502.

Hundred or to some manor in it, and superseded the Sheriff's Tourn and Hundred Court.* It ranks before the Court Baron, because its authority is derived from the Crown; and it is a Court of Record.

Leet means the *populi curia*, and in ancient Statutes it is sometimes used for a law-day; while Frankpledge means the examination or survey of the free pledges or sureties which every unprivileged man had to provide.

Only the *tenants* of the manor were summoned to the Court Baron, which was held in the lord's hall; while the Leet required the attendance of all the *residents* within the particular Hundred or Half Hundred, Lordship, or Manor; and it was originally held in the open air, every three weeks. It was formerly held before the lord's bailiff, and subsequently before his steward, who might take recognizances of the peace, fine, and imprison; and if he was in want of jurors, he might compel a stranger riding along the highway to alight and serve.

The reader should understand that, like the Manors to which they were generally appendant, there were two distinct classes of Courts Leet. The Superior, or Hundred Courts, were held by the Crown and chief Lords, and were frequently called Baronies, and the Inferior Courts Leet were appendant to the lesser Manors, often acquired by sub-infeudation. The Superior claimed a military jurisdiction, the high constable, and in some cases the borsholders of the different boroughs in it, were appointed at its Court, at the subordinate Court. Borsholders only for each borough were appointed, though constables were sometimes elected. The Superior Courts would also appoint the constables residing in the boroughs of the Inferior Courts. The residents of the Hundred being amenable to its Court, their houses and lands in it were held of subordinate Manors.

* Creasy is of opinion that Courts Leet were the original Hundred Courts of the Saxon times, though the area of a manor often became the area of their jurisdiction instead of the old area of a Hundred.-- Pa. 171 (*).

CHAP. XXXVI.

The largest Hundred in the county is Eythorne, which originally belonged to the Crown, and includes twenty-six parishes, or parts of parishes. It derived its name from a green in Hollingbourne. Two constables and such bors-holders as were not elected in their own boroughs were formerly chosen at this Court.

The different Hundreds had to provide watch and ward for our sea coast, the Hundred of Milton had charge of the Isle of Sheppy. The Lords had to provide prisons, stocks, pounds, &c.

We have seen also that if any offence was committed the Hundred was bound to produce the offender or pay a fine; it consequently had the privilege of electing its own police, at the head of which was the High Constable, who was chosen yearly, first at the Hundred court, and in later times at the Court Leet. He was originally a person of some importance, and was the conservator of the peace until he was superseded by the Justice. He regulated the military musters;* he pursued offenders with the power of the county, and with spear and sword; and could even commit to gaol until superseded by the Sheriff and his officers.

The constable was appointed annually for the entire Hundred; but subsequently, by the Statute of Winchester (18 Edw. I., 1290) it is enacted that

"In every Hundred and Franchise two constables shall be chosen to make the view of armour; and they shall present defaults of armour, and of suits of towns, and of highways, and such as lodge strangers in 'uplandish' towns, for whom they will not answer."

In Kent there appear to have been about 118 constables, exclusive of those for the Cinque Ports. Two were appointed for the greater portion of the Hundreds (one to each Half Hundred). They could serve by deputy. In the above number, fifteen towns and places were included which were called "in the Foreign," that is, towns, vills,

Ante, p. 166.

* As one example, we find that after the battle of Lewes each Hundred in Kent was required to provide a given number of men for the service of the Crown.

and boroughs situate *within* the Hundreds, but electing their own constables. Among them were Brasted, a vill; Hadlow, a borough; Hilden, a borough; South, a borough; Newenden, a township; and Tunbridge, a town; all situate in the Weald.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Subordinate to the High Constable were the borsholders appointed for each borough [not parish] in the Hundred, who could act only in their own boroughs.

Thus, while the Court Baron was the court of the lord, and its powers vested in the homage, composed of three or four tenants of the manor, the Court Leet was the Sovereign's court, and its powers exercised by a jury selected from the inhabitants of the Hundred. The lords being subject only to the King, were Princes and Judges within their respective districts.

Hundreds such as Marden, which was held by the Crown, and other civil jurisdictions in Kent held by ecclesiastics, &c., were deemed franchises: over these the Sheriff had no jurisdiction. Thus we find the Earls of Gloucester claiming view of Frankpledge, with all its privileges, within their territories, and that their tenants should be free of all suit and service in the Hundreds of the county. These courts might, we have seen, be appendant to a Manor or to a Hundred.

In other counties, such as Worcestershire, the Hundreds are often very detached; we have only a few examples of this in Kent, and they are upon a small scale; among them is Reculver, a place of great antiquity, originally a Hundred, which possessed two detached boroughs, one in the Weald, Chilmington, in Great Chart, and the other, Shottington, in Selling.

The assessment and collection of the land tax, the organization of our county elections, until 1882, and the embodying of our Militia were put in force by the Hundred. It was also responsible for all robberies committed in it, and in cases of arson, &c.; but, by a statute passed in the reign of George IV., it is now only liable for losses occasioned by riots. Until the present reign the County

CHAP. XXXVI.

Rate was collected by the High Constable and handed over to the County Treasurer, but by the 15th and 16th Vic., c. 81, the charge is now made on the different parishes and paid by the Guardians of the Unions; while modern legislation, including the establishment of petty sessional divisions for the administration of justice, and the appointment of the County Constabulary, have limited the powers of the Court Leet to the appointment of constables, who are required to make Hundred Rates for the repair of Hundred Bridges*; and to the presentments of public nuisances, encroachments, &c.; so that what were in former days important local courts, have become mere shadows, and are now very rarely held. If these duties must be still discharged by the Hundreds, care should be taken to preserve their boundaries.

The Boroughs
of Kent.

The next ancient division of the county of Kent was into boroughs, which are of Anglo-Saxon origin; the corresponding divisions of Hundreds in many other counties being tithings. The reader must not suppose that I am referring here to Corporate Boroughs, as Maidstone, many of which were formerly walled in; I am speaking of an ancient term of much more simple signification, but which describes an association, of Anglo-Saxon origin, equally designed for mutual protection—"Boroe," "Borhoe," a place of safety, protection, and privilege, consisting of ten families, who were to be pledges for one another. It has also been described as a street or row of houses close to one another.

Thus every ancient village in Kent with ten families in it formed one of the Boroës of the Hundred. The term is admirably explained by Lambarde, in 1582, in his "Treatise on the Duties of Constables, Borsholders, Tything Men," &c.

p. 6.

"Before the coming of William the Conqueror it was ordained, for the more sure keeping of the peace and for the better repressing of thieves and robbers, that all free born men should cast themselves into several

* "There are about nineteen Hundreds or Half Hundreds in Kent, which have at least eighty-one bridges or parts of bridges to repair."—*The Clerk of the Peace's Report, April Sessions, 1874.*

Companies, by ten in each Company; and that every of these ten men of the Company should be surety and pledge for the forthcoming of his fellows. * * * And for this cause these Companies be yet in some places of England (and, namely, with us in Kent) called Boroos, of the word Borhes, pledges or sureties; albeit in the western part of the world they be called Tithings. And even as ten times ten do make a hundred, so, because it was then also appointed that ten of these Companies should at certain times meet together for their matters of greater weight, therefore the General Assembly or Court was (and yet is) called a Hundred." CHAP. XXXVI.

Lambarde wrote this Treatise for the especial benefit of constables and other peace officers, and he tells them that if any man was of evil credit and could not be admitted into one of these our Boroos he was imprisoned as unworthy of liberty, and could not be released without the assent of the rest of his pledges. We also learn from him that in his day in each Boroos in Kent a Boroos-Elder was selected, then called Borsholder, who in Anglo-Saxon times spoke and acted for the others; that an oath "to the King" was taken from every one of the age of twelve years; that no one could change his Boroos without lawful warrant; and that, yearly, every one of these pledges was presented by his Elder or Chief at a general assembly for that purpose, well known at the present day as the View of Frankpledge or the Court Leet, which has been already referred to. This is the best account of its origin that I have met with. These Borsholders* were known in other counties as Petty Constables.

Where one or more Boroos could not be made responsible for the crimes committed by its members, resort was had to the collective Hundred.

The population of Kent, in very early times, was divided into three classes. In the first were the Archbishop, Bishop, Earls, and Barons, who were responsible for their military followers, whether knights or soldiers, as well as their domestic retainers. In the second class were those who possessed sufficient freehold property as a permanent security for their good behaviour, and this in- Division of classes.

* Wateringbury had its Dumb-Borsholder, of which Hasted gives a full description and drawing.—Vol. II., p. 284, fo. Ed.: see also Arch. Cant., Vol. II., p. 85.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Villages of
Kent.Ante,
pp. 31, 32.Palgrave,
Vol. I., p. 117.Kemble,
Vol. I., p. 263.

cluded ecclesiastics, women, and children under twelve. In the third class were the burghers, who were free men, and all enrolled in their Decennary. This mutual pledge formed a military organization, and there was then no distinction between the soldier and the citizen.

But, besides the borough [burgus], the terms town [villa] and township [villata] were *preserved* in Kent after the Conquest, and borough and town are often used as generic terms, and as corresponding subdivisions of the Hundred, but not correctly, I think.

If the reader will turn to the Plea Rolls, temp. Henry III., he will find Appledore at one place described as a ville, and in the next page as a borough; and this is not a singular case. In the Subsidy Rolls, temp. Elizabeth, every place with one exception in the hundred of Wingham, including Wingham, Nonington, &c., is returned as a borough [burgus]; and every place in Ringslow Hundred, including Monkton, Minster, Birchington, &c., is returned as a town [villa]; but, notwithstanding these apparent anomalies, when we next come to speak of parishes I think we shall find that the town [villa], in Kent, more correctly represented the whole parish for civil purposes, while the burgus or borough often represented only a part of it.

Thus much of our earliest civil jurisdiction. I will only add that Kent, once a monarchy, but afterwards reduced to a dependency, has been termed one of the "mediatised kingdoms," in consequence of which it possessed much greater powers than the secondary shires.

I have briefly described the means by which her internal peace was attempted to be secured in bygone times. Could a better system have been devised "in a state of society where population was not very widely dispersed, and where property hardly existed save in land, and in almost equal unmanageable cattle?"

The changes which have followed, especially during the present century, including our Poor Law and Highway Boards, and the recent alteration in our County Court

practice, are all developments of the same system of local jurisprudence, rendered necessary by altered circumstances. CHAP. XXX I

I have already noticed the Bailiwicks, Liberties, and Franchises (now almost obsolete) which formerly existed in Kent. I will remind the reader, as a matter of history, that one of our Liberties belonged to the Duchy of Lancaster, for which a bailiff was appointed. It extended over several manors, &c., principally in West Kent and the Weald. Edward III. granted, A.D. 1371, Ashdown Forest in Sussex (part of the Weald), which acquired the name of Lancaster Great Park, to his fourth son, John of Gaunt; and the father and son frequently sported there. This Kentish Liberty was no doubt conferred on the Duke about the same time. Vol. I., p. 288.

Hastings formerly extended over the parish of Beakesbourne, near Canterbury, and also the Ville of Grange, in Gillingham; which were severed from the Liberty of the Cinque Ports by the Statute of 51 Geo. III., c. 86.

Before I refer to the Ecclesiastical division of Kent, it may be convenient and desirable to notice here our Parochial system (originally purely Ecclesiastical), because of late years this has almost entirely superseded our ancient civil divisions. The subject is one of the most difficult and complicated parts of the history of Kent and other counties, and has been passed over by all our Kentish topographers.

Lower's
Sussex,
Vol. I., p. 1.

The Kentish
Parishes.

I have spoken of the origin of our Ecclesiastical establishments and Parochial system under our Anglo-Saxon government, and I have also stated that the word "parish" is not to be met with in the Domesday of Kent. But as there is, perhaps, no word in the English language more frequently used in every-day life, the origin and meaning of which the generality of our countrymen, especially the rising generation, are so little acquainted with, I must, at the risk of being considered a little tedious, again remind the reader that, though from the time of Elizabeth we have been disposed to treat it as a civil

Vol. I., c. XIII.
Ib., p. 198.

CHAP. XXXVI.

division, in Saxon times it signified what we now call the diocese of a Bishop, as distinguished from the "provincia" of the two Archbishops or Metropolitans. These Episcopal dioceses proper, were gradually and almost imperceptibly broken up into sub-divisions, for which ministers were appointed either permanently or occasionally, who were under the rule of the Bishop, were paid out of the common treasury of the diocese, and had no individual interest in the oblations or profits of the church in which they exercised their ministry. The word is derived from *preost scyre*, which signifies the precinct of which one priest had the care—in English, priest-shire, in Latin, *parochia*, in French, *paroisse*. As churches increased and were endowed, the term became limited to the precinct or territory of a parish church, every church being originally either cathedral, conventual, or parochial. The parochial (which most concerns us) was instituted for the performance of Divine worship and ministering the holy sacraments to the people dwelling within a certain compass of ground, purposes all purely ecclesiastical. Camden erroneously states that:—

Brit., p. 160.

"Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year of our redemption 636, began first to divide England [Kent ?] into parishes, as we read in the History of Canterbury.*"

Theodore† was the next Archbishop but one to Honorius, and he endeavoured to check the migratory spirit of the bishops and monks, and to confine their labours to their respective dioceses: while Sir Henry Hobart was of opinion that the parochial division was the result of a decree of the Council of Lateran, held A.D. 1179. [?] Here

* This statement (which was formerly the commonly received opinion) is supposed to have been made on the authority of Archbishop Parker, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but Selden, one of our first authorities, seems rightly to understand the Archbishop's expression—(*Provinciam suam in parochias divisit*)—as meaning, dividing his province into new dioceses; a view advocated also by Bishop Kennett, in his invaluable "Parochial Antiquities," Vol. II., p. 269.

† It was during the time that Theodore was Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 669) that the churches generally were instructed in sacred music, which until then had been only known in Kent.—Giles' *Bele*, p. 173.

we have a difference of 543 years between Camden and Hobart; one writer fixing the date perhaps as much too soon as the other too late. We need not be surprised at the various and conflicting opinions of learned men as to how the work was accomplished, and the circuits and boundaries defined, when we reflect that it originated in an unlettered period, and that no Anglo-Saxon or Norman episcopal register has been preserved. We may, however, rest satisfied it was never the work of any one age; had it been so, plainer footmarks would have been left. Honorius may have shadowed forth some faint outline, and Theodore may have devoted his energies to advance such a system, but the completion must have been the work of centuries. For, unlike the establishment of feudalism, it did not depend on the absolute will of a despotic sovereign, but mainly on the voluntary and pious concessions of the faithful, who did not fully complete the work until long after the Norman Conquest.

That Kent, however, under its metropolitans, took the lead in this movement there can be little doubt. The area of the county, we have seen, had undergone but little change since its establishment as a separate kingdom. It retained the two earliest sees, and with the extensive possessions of the clergy it was the better prepared for a parochial subdivision. Thus, in Kent, the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester at first formed only two great parishes, in which the inferior clergy were the curates of missionary churches, appointed and removed wholly at the discretion of the bishop, and the funds they raised, with the income of their recently-acquired possessions, formed part of a common treasure.

But we must now inquire how and when were the two Dioceses in Kent gradually, silently, and imperceptibly formed into parishes, without any legislative enactment?

We have seen that we possess no reliable evidence as to when Kent first became a shire, when it was first divided into East and West Kent, into Laths, Hundreds, and

CHAP. XXXVI. Boroughs ; but here we have a more recent division than either of these, not for civil, but for religious purposes, effected not by the ignorant and illiterate, but by men of talent and learning, and yet we are again without any evidence of a general compulsory or parochial payment to the Anglo-Saxon Church, though their kings often enjoined it.

Let me, before we proceed further, remind the reader that we are speaking of Kent only ; and, that this important subject may be better understood, I will engraft two or three important remarks from Professor Brewer's recent and valuable little work "On the Endowment of the Church of England."*

From the arrival of St. Augustine, A.D. 597, those who presided over the Sees of Canterbury and Rochester and the members of their newly formed churches and religious houses underwent many vicissitudes and trials, and their Sees were often vacant. The Danes landed in England A.D. 787, and for more than a century the Christian churches in Kent and other counties were ravaged by them with fire and sword. As plunder was their object, their fury was chiefly directed against the wealthy monasteries.

CH. X, XL,
XIV.

For an account of the injuries inflicted by them in this county I must refer the reader to my first volume.

The monks thus killed or dispersed, the burthen of maintaining the Faith and keeping Christianity alive fell on the Bishops and secular, or what would now be called parochial clergy, who had been held in little respect and were ill-educated ; but they began to stand higher in public estimation. "No one hitherto who could be admitted into a monastery would become a rural priest" for the work of the ministry. By degrees churches, originally very rude fabrics, were built for them, and they

* "The Endowment and Establishment of the Church of England," by J. S. Brewer, M.A., Preacher of the Rolls and Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford ; London, Social Science Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.—12mo.

were established throughout the county. Archbishop Dunstan revived monasticism, but not so exclusively as before; and accordingly we find at the Conquest "a rural clergy of mean attainments and rank" the companions and teachers of the humblest cultivators of the soil, holding only very small portions of land. Such was the state of the clergy when our present parochial system began to be generally adopted.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 196.

Brewer, p. 69.

With the exception of the Weald, antiquity is stamped upon most of the early possessions of the Christian church in Kent. We have seen that Aldington, Appledore, Boughton, Brabourne, Chart, Faversham, Ickham, Lenham, Mersham, Otford, Palstre in Wittersham, Ruckinge, Sandhurst, Trottescliffe, Warehorne, Westwell, Wye, and numerous other places, are mentioned by name in Anglo-Saxon Charters; and they formed part of the possessions of the Church, as *predia*, which must not be confounded with the manors of a later period. Of these *predia*, some have given names to Laths and Hundreds, and others are known to us as the designations of Norman manors or of existing parishes. The question whether any of them were manors before they became parishes, as we now understand the term, must be answered in the affirmative, if the word *parochia*, as some writers think, did not acquire its present limited signification until about the twelfth century.

"I cannot trace," says Mr. Pearson, "the word 'parish' in its present sense of a small district attached to a church, with the rights of baptism and burial, before the Norman Conquest, when the mother parish church is distinguished from the chapel in the Conqueror's laws. Down to that time *Parochia* in England is always a diocese, and is so used by Lanfranc, Anselm, and Faricius, in their respective writings."

Hist. Maps of
Eng., p. 52.

As opposed to this statement, Professor Brewer refers to the case of Robert D'Oyley, a powerful Norman noble, who repaired the ruinous *parochial* churches in and out of Oxford in the reign of William I. Great latitude, however, must be allowed when we attempt to define *parochia* at this juncture.

p. 74 (5).

If the reader will take the trouble to refer to the map

CHAP XXXVI

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 198.

Middle Ages,
Vol. II., p. 205.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 275.

at the commencement of the first part of this volume, he will find the names of such places as existed in Kent when Domesday was compiled. They are easily recognised, and have undergone comparatively very little change in their name at least. The greater part of them are now parishes. A large proportion of them then possessed churches and had become manors. With such a network of churches, there surely must have been some previous recognised ecclesiastical division, some rudiment of a parochial system, based on resolutions made by prelates or councils; though all writers agree that the establishment of the parochial system was not a simultaneous act, coinciding with the statement of Hallam, that it was the gradual result of circumstances, and was not fully effected until about the time of the Conquest. The machinery in Kent for such a system had been in existence for more than three centuries; add to this the fact that the whole of the county, with the exception of less than sixty Manors or Lordships, was, according to Domesday, in the hands of ecclesiastics; and it will be obvious that in the formation of our Kentish parishes, whatever it might be elsewhere, the Church here was well prepared for a parochial subdivision, and possessed unlimited powers to do as it would with its own.

Then, as to the building and endowment of churches, rude as they were, little appears to have been left for the laity to do in Kent; but what the Church and religious houses failed to do was done by the voluntary bounty of pious and devout persons, who built churches *on their own possessions*. In such cases the chaplain or priest was not paid by the Archbishop or Bishop, but was permitted to receive for his own maintenance, and to the particular use of his own church, the profits or proportion of profits of the lands with which the founder had endowed it, as well as the offerings of such as repaired thither for divine service. These churches then became appendant to one,

generally the most important of the lesser manors created after the conquest.* CHAP. XXXVI.

But little is to be gleaned from our Kentish writers. For instance, Hasted merely says, "The Hundreds are divided into parishes, of which there are 418 in this county, most of which are subdivided into vills, boroughs, and hamlets."

Among our modern writers my friend, Mr. Charles H. Pearson, under "*Anglia Ecclesiastica*," in his "*Historical Maps of England*," refers to "three different theories of the origin of the parish, promulgated by three eminent authorities, Blackstone, Kemble, and Mr. Toulmin Smith;" and these I will now proceed to examine. p. 50.

Blackstone's theory, that the manor and parish are generally co-extensive, has been already noticed, and has been long since exploded. Ante, p. 739.

Mr. Kemble, faithful to his theory, considered that the parish was substantially identical with the old mark, and that the baptismal church was the natural and regular substitute for the pagan temple. Conceding, as we may do, that "the temple used for the worship of the gods of Saxon paganism" by King Ethelbert, became the Christian church of St. Pancras, of Canterbury, and that the sites granted by him for our present Cathedral, for St. Paul's, London, and St. Peter's, Westminster, were, with many others in England, originally places of heathen worship; still it must be remembered that the honour of actively putting down heathendom in Kent is due to King Ercenbert, the grandson of Ethelbert, who according to Malmesbury, also destroyed their chapels ("*sacella deorum*."). He did not begin to reign till nearly half a century after the coming of Augustine; surely, then, it must be a wild stretch of the imagination to suppose that the baptismal church *generally* became the regular substi-

* I am of opinion that about one fourth of our parochial churches in Kent were appendant to manors, not formed by the laity alone; for the Sovereign and the heads of the Church and religious houses all joined in this work, parts of four or five small manors being often grouped together to secure a proper endowment.

CHAP. XXXVI. tute for the pagan temple. We must also consider that it occupied a period of more than 500 years to complete the first net-work of our Christian churches throughout the kingdom, and that long before the landing of William the Conqueror all trace of pagan temples must have been effaced. No great dependence therefore can, I submit, be placed on Mr. Kemble's pagan mark theory, except in some very peculiar cases.

Mr. Toulmin Smith held that as in later times the word "tithing" [burgus, villa, and villata, in Kent] disappears, and is replaced by parish, both, in fact, are one; and that the parish was a *political* division.

Mr. Toulmin
Smith on
"The Parish."

Now, as it has hitherto been pretty generally admitted that the parishes in Kent were originally purely ecclesiastical creations, I must notice more fully this gentleman's extraordinary production. He was a barrister, and member of Lincoln's Inn, and from his style must, I conclude, have been one of the founders of the "Church Liberation" Society. A few years ago he wrote a work entitled "The Parish," which reached a second edition. In this book he has endeavoured to overturn most of our preconceived notions and settled ideas respecting "The Parish." I have neither time nor inclination to refer to all his fallacies; but as the work has been widely circulated, I must notice a few of them. He tells us that our ancient hundreds were divided into integral parts under the name of tithings, which gave way many centuries ago to that of town, parish, or vill, meaning the same thing. Next, that "the parish," whether as a mere territorial division or an active institution, is not *ecclesiastical either in origin or in purpose*: that the modern practice of describing parishes "by the addition of the saints, to whom the Church has been dedicated," is highly improper;* that its original and main work is secular: and, finally, that those who seek to represent it as ecclesiastical are

* How would Mr. T. Smith have described parishes in our cities and towns often numbering more than 10?

enemies to the civil and religious institutions of the country. CHAP. XXXVI.

On the alleged authority of the Statute of Exeter (A.D. 1286) he also says: "The earliest records which we have of the proceedings of Parliament treat *parishes* as the known and established *integral* subdivisions of the hundred;" which is quite a mistake. By this statute, which has been already noticed in Vol. I., a return is required of all "the Vills, half Vills, and Hamlets," and if the definition which I have there given, on the authority of Spelman, of these terms is correct, then there is no pretence for substituting "parish" for them, though Mr. Smith has so interpreted the passage. And as to parishes being "the known and integral subdivisions of the hundred." "Integral," I suppose, means whole, complete, entire, not fractional; if so, how is this term applicable to the hundreds in Kent? Of our existing ones, no less than fifty-seven possess parishes, situate partly in one and partly in another hundred. p. 16.
p. 121.
Ib., 119.

He further states that it was through the parishes that the public taxes were assessed and collected, and that "the existence of a separate constable is an unquestionable criterion of the separate recognition of a parish." These are to me startling statements, and I know of no authority for them in the early history of Kent.

"The English Hundreds," says Creasy, "subsist to this day, though the townships [in some parts of England?] have become almost obsolete, having been superseded partly by the Norman manors, and partly in consequence of the ecclesiastical division into parishes having been adopted for the purposes of petty local self-government."

This appears much nearer the truth than the surprising statements of Mr. Toulmin Smith.

The latest of our modern writers on this subject, Professor Brewer, is of opinion: (1) That parishes, in their modern sense, were created long before the Norman Conquest. (2) That they are ecclesiastical in their origin, and not manorial. (8) That their progress to a uniform system was gradual.

Having thus given the opinions of others on this difficult

CHAP. XXXVI.

Freeman, on
"The Growth
of the English
Constitution,"
p. 165.

subject I feel now called upon to express my own, but I do it with the greatest diffidence, for one of our most acute modern historians has recently told us, with much greater modesty than was evinced by Mr. Toulmin Smith, that "*The real history of English parishes has yet to be worked out.*" No one feels the truth of this remark more than I do; and if I can lend a helping hand, so far as Kent is concerned, or be the pioneer of others, my object will be gained.

I will venture, then, on my own responsibility, to state that the sites on which our earliest Anglo-Saxon churches in Kent were erected, formed, with very few exceptions, the nucleus for our present parochial system. As an example, let us take eight places situate in different parts of East Kent and eight in West Kent.

Aldington	Allington
Appledore	Chatham
Chisleth	Eynsford
Godmersham	Gravesend
Ickham	Harrietsham
Lyminge	Maidstone
Preston (Faversham)	Trottescliffe
Wye	Wrotham

All these places possessed churches at the Conquest, most of them no doubt much ruder fabrics than the present ones. Every one of the Manors (the names then given to them) on which these churches then stood was held either by ecclesiastics or religious houses. The reader will, therefore, at once perceive the great facilities which existed for forming parishes round them. The two dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester had been long formed. They were dealing with their own possessions, and needed no Acts of Parliament or Orders in Council. In short, their powers were absolute; they had only to say the word, and it was done.

The question naturally arises, "*How was it done?*" Let me try and answer this.

In modern county divisions, for electoral purposes and in the organization of Poor Law Unions and Highway

Boards, it is the practice to have regard, as far as possible, CHAP. XXXVI
to any existing recognized boundaries, and I think we may very fairly conclude that the heads of the Church, from its earliest history, acted on a like principle. We have seen that, with a few exceptional cases, our most ancient civil divisions were into Laths, Hundreds, and Boroughs,* and the question arises—had the Lath or Hundred anything to do with the formation of our parishes? I think not; for we constantly find parishes whose boundaries agree with neither Lath nor Hundred,† and this would not occasion inconvenience, the parish then being, as I contend, purely ecclesiastical.

As evidence of the greater antiquity of our Laths, I have shewn that some of the Hundreds derived their names from them; so with the same object I will now show that some of our earliest parishes derived their names from the Hundreds, though not formed from them. Besides Canterbury and Rochester, there were Barham, Chatham, Chislett, Folkestone, Hoo, Maidstone, Minster (Thanet), Reculver, Stowting, Sturry, Wrotham, and Wye. These places all possessed churches at the Conquest, and at a much later period thirty-five Hundreds gave names to parishes.

Having disposed of the Laths and Hundreds, and I think satisfactorily shewn that the Kentish parishes were formed irrespectively of them, let us next speak of our Boroughs, as it is from them either singly or in groups that I contend that our Kentish parishes, with some

* Often called also *villes*, towns, and townships, and used sometimes, I think, incorrectly, as synonymous; but I prefer using "borough" only in connection with this part of my subject. At a later period we constantly meet in Kent with the *ville* associated with the borough for civil purposes. Thus in the account of the levy for the tenth and fifteenth in the reign of Elizabeth, about one half of the different hundreds return the whole parish as a borough, and the other half as a *ville*.

† The Lath of Scray severs the parishes of Boughton Malherbe, Headcorn, Smarden, Appledore, &c., while Blackborne and Barkley, two of the Seven Hundreds in the Weald, contain only one entire parish in each; but there are parts of seven other parishes in the former, and six in the latter.

CHAP. XXXVI. exceptional cases, were, not perhaps in the first instance, but ultimately, organized without reference to Manors.

The boroughs of Kent existed for centuries before parishes; they were coeval with Christianity, and, what is very strong presumptive evidence, though they are sometimes severed by parishes in West Kent, we do not often meet with this severance in East Kent. The greater part of our Hundreds, especially those in East Kent, were held either by the Crown or the See of Canterbury; and the boroughs, it will be remembered, were fractional parts of them, and formed a more compact division here than in most other counties. The facilities thus afforded by the union of the civil with the ecclesiastical power for forming parishes were very great. Do you, then, I shall be asked, ignore the Manor? I reply, certainly not; but I am now speaking only of the *organization of parishes*, and not of their endowments.

Ante, Vol. I.,
pp. 268, 340.

I am also of opinion that the greater part of these ecclesiastical divisions, though previously existing in embryo, like our manorial system, were not perfected until after the Norman Conquest. Two impolitic acts that are recorded, one committed by the Conqueror himself, and the other by his Norman Archbishop, may have hastened it on. King William separated the ecclesiastical from the civil tribunals, which, as far as Kent was concerned, had been before held together on Penenden Heath, and Lanfranc (adopting the practice pursued in Normandy and on the Continent) took from the monks the lion's share of the cathedral property, which had before been enjoyed in common. Might not these changes have made it requisite that a different parochial system, as the term was then understood, should be adopted? The policy of the Church no doubt was to proceed with the work as quietly and unostentatiously as possible.

To illustrate what I am contending for, I cannot commence with an earlier or better case than Adisham [the oft-mentioned "*Libera sicut Adisham*"]. It was given by Ethelbald, son of Ethelbert, to the monks of Canterbury,

with its pastures, &c., as early as A.D. 816, which was more than 400 years before manors were legally recognized in England. It is returned in Domesday without a church, and as part of the ancient possessions of the Archbishop,* and formed, with Staple, the Hundred of Downhamford. Staple, which lies north-east of Adisham, but is entirely separated from it by the Hundred and parish of Wingham, is not referred to in Domesday, as it was appendant to Adisham. After the Conquest, the manor of Adisham possessed a Court Leet as well as a Court Baron, which extended over Staple. *Each place formed a borough for civil purposes, with co-extensive boundaries*; and when Adisham and Staple became distinct parishes, as we now understand them, the ancient boundaries of each borough held by the Archbishop in right of his manor were preserved. I do not remember to have met with more than one parish in East Kent that was quite co-extensive with a manor; there may have been some few in West Kent, but in the following seventeen additional cases in East Kent the parish and borough are co-extensive.† None of them are very large parishes.

Barfrestone	Kingston
Bishopshourne	Littlebourne
Buckland, near Dover	Nackington
Denton	St. Margaret-at-Cliffe
Elmstone	Sholden
Ewell	Stodmarsh
Guston	Waldershare
Hardres (Lower)	Wickhambreaux
Hardres (Upper)	

The boundaries of the hundreds as well as the boroughs we have seen, could be changed to meet the wishes of the lords and their tenants, and these changes were constantly going on before they were finally settled. We must keep in view also, that some of the places above referred to, may from their particular situation with

Ante, p. 160.

* Somner is in error in stating that Adisham once formed a hundred in itself, and is so returned in Domesday.—Vide Larking's *Domesday*, p. 108.

† Hasted is my authority for this.

CHAP. XXXVI.

reference to the Cathedral and Monastery at Canterbury and the coast, have become ecclesiastical districts at a very early period. But let us pass on from the formation of small parishes from single boroughs, to larger ones comprising a cluster. I will not tire the reader by referring to many of them. The number thus grouped varied, in some instances there were as many as eight; as might be expected in consequence of the extent of the parishes, we meet with most of them in West Kent, though their names are not so well preserved. The Hundred of Cornillo was held by the Abbot and Convent of St. Augustine; Northborne is within it, and was given to this Monastery, A.D. 818, by the son of Ethelbert; it originally comprised three boroughs. Separated from these boroughs by the parishes of Ham, Betshanger, and Eastry, was a borough, called in Domesday, Ticheteste * [Tickenherst], now belonging to Mr. Narbrough D'Aeth; Odo, Bishop of Baieux, then held it, and he gave its tithes to the Monastery. Tickenhurst thus became united to Northborne for ecclesiastical purposes, and the four boroughs (formerly only three) then constituted the present parish, under the title of "Norborne" the ancient name of one of them. Hackington, otherwise St. Stephen, Canterbury, is formed from three different Boroughs in three different Hundreds, viz., the Borough of Hackington, in Westgate; the Borough of Shoarte, in Downhamford; and a third, in Bridge and Petham.

Sometimes we meet with cases where a detached borough in one Hundred and Manor is grouped with boroughs in another Hundred and Manor to form a parish, the tithe still remaining payable to the district from which the borough was taken. The Hundred and Manor of Faversham belonged to the Crown, and the adjoining Hundred and Manor of Boughton Blean to the See of Canterbury, and though Rhode, a detached

* It is classed by the Norman scribe under a wrong hundred in Domesday.

borough in the Hundred of Faversham, formed part of the parochial boundary of Selling, in the Hundred of Boughton, the tithes of the borough of Rhode were formerly paid to the Rectory of Faversham and not to Selling. CHAP. XXXVI.

If we go to the western part of the county we find the same course pursued. In Sevenoaks (part of the Hundred of Codsheath) the parish appears to have been formed from three boroughs, the town, and the Weald of Sevenoaks, and the liberty of Riverhead. Chevening and other neighbouring parishes are formed from single boroughs. Two boroughs (the Town, and the Upland) made up the ville of Brasted. Ightham is "vulgarly but corruptly and falsely so called," says Philipott; its proper name, he adds, being "Eightham," from the eight hams or boroughs which lie within it; from the first of them it derives its name.* It is written *Ehtcham* in the *Textus Roffensis*, and is a place of great antiquity, though not noticed in Domesday. Here though the rectory is appendant to the manor, the parish must have been organised from the eight ancient boroughs. To form the parish of West, or Little Peckham (returned in Domesday as one of the Bishop of Baieux's Manors), one or more neighbouring manors were not added to it, but the adjoining borough of Oxenhoath, held of the distant hundred of Hoo, near Rochester, was annexed, and that hundred continued to appoint its borsholder. p. 140.

Let us next examine the formation of parishes in the Weald. The large and important parish of Tunbridge affords strong evidence in support of my theory. It included three extensive boroughs, Town, Hilden, and South. Two of them have of late become district parishes, while the third comprises the present town. The shape The Parishes in the Weald.

* The correctness of this derivation may be questioned, though there were eight boroughs in the parish. I think this is one of the few instances in Kent where neither the manor nor the advowson was ever held by the Church. Orlestone is another instance.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Parishes
in the Weald,
and in Romney
Marsh.

and extent of this and other parishes in the Weald, including Marden, Staplehurst, Goudhurst, Brenchley, &c., when contrasted with those in the adjoining district of Romney Marsh, is very striking. The lesser lords, and tenants of the denes, as they gradually grubbed the forest and laid field to field (each small in point of extent), were enabled soon after the Conquest to organize extensive parishes and erect churches with some degree of uniformity; while in the Marsh the ecclesiastics and monks snatched from the sea every detached slip of land as fast as they could reclaim it. These inclosures were subsequently formed into parishes of a most curious shape, with outlying portions in every direction in the Marsh.

To return to the Weald. Its civil and ecclesiastical divisions were the most modern; and here we might have expected that the severance of Hundreds would not have been so great; but it is not so. Take the Seven Hundreds. The Hundred of Tenterden comprises the whole of that parish and part of another. Selbritten, the whole of Sandhurst and parts of three others. Blackbourn, the whole of Woodchurch and parts of seven others. Cranbrook, parts of nine parishes but not one entire one. Barkley, parts of seven parishes. Great Barnfield, parts of two; and Rolvenden, parts of two.*

The village of Brenchley, though a hundred as well as a parish, is divided by the Hundred of Twyford. The borough of Rugmerhill is in this parish, and, as part of the manor of Aylesford,† was held by ancient demesne, and thus exempt from the jurisdiction of the Hundred. There were two other boroughs here, Stoberfield and Roeden, held of the manors of East Farleigh and East Peckham.‡ To form the parish of Biddenden there was a

* The Seven Hundreds were divided into boroughs like the rest of the county. Blackbourne possessed eight; and subordinate to the borough holders were "suitermen," whose duty it was to see that the inhabitants attended the court or paid their suit-silver.

† Rugmerhill, I am of opinion, constituted the dene or denes of Aylesford.

‡ These boroughs were no doubt part of the denes or forest land.

grouping of seven boroughs from two Hundreds. Staple-
hurst, situate in two laths and four hundreds, appears to
me to have been formed from a grouping of boroughs, or
parts of boroughs; and so was Cranbrook. Parts of eight
parishes, all in the Weald, make up the Hundred of Somer-
den, (returned in Domesday without reference to a single
place in it). One of these eight parishes (Hever) in-
cludes the Castle and demesne lands, to which is added
the borough of Linckhill in the Hundred of Ruxley.

CHAP. XXXVI.

With respect to the other parishes in the Weald, but
little further need be said, though what has been already
stated with respect to our Laths and Hundreds having no
connexion with the formation of our parishes, is fully
confirmed here. We have seen that the greater part
of the district originally formed no part of either Laths
or Hundreds, and when its parochial boundaries were
at last set out, they were unlike other parts of the county,
having very few existing churches to assist in the or-
ganization. The ecclesiastical possessions here, beyond
the denes (which often gave or derived their names from
the boroughs) were comparatively small; still it would
appear that the boroughs, and even, in some cases, those
belonging to outlying Hundreds and Manors, formed the
basis of them.

At the end of the thirteenth century the whole of the
district possessed churches, not the existing ones in many
cases; we, however, know but very little how, or with
whom, they originated. I have already stated that the
ancient law books recognized the right of the Sovereign to
the tithes of forests and extra-parochial places, so that
in forming the parishes here, the Church and religious
houses, and the newly-created lay lords of the lesser
manors, may, with the concurrence of the Crown, have
completed the work. "The Common Stock" at Canter-
bury may also have assisted in their erection.

Ante, p. 22.

If we except Hawkhurst (a very doubtful exception)
none of the churches in the *Weald* were appendant to
manors. This is only what might have been expected.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Stone
Street Road.

pp. 144, 411.

As an incidental piece of evidence in connexion with the formation of our parishes, I propose to show how the skill and labour of one age and century is sometimes, though with a very different object, utilized by succeeding ones. The fact is, perhaps, known to some of my readers, that a still existing boundary of parts of some of our East Kent parishes was set out by the Romans, though not with that object. Wherever the landing of Julius Cæsar in Britain may have taken place, it is beyond all doubt that the Romans constructed the Stone Street road from the Portus Lemanus to Canterbury; it is the most direct one in Kent. Turn to the first Volume of this work, and you will find a Charter of King Ethelred, in which this road is referred to by name, "*Kasernstrete* [Cæsar's Road], by the Crucifix," Saltwood and Nackington being the boundaries *there* referred to.* Now, if the reader will look at a coloured Ordnance Map he will find what is not to be met with in any other part of Kent, perhaps not in England, a road forming, for ten miles at least, one of the boundaries of fifteen different parishes. This was no accident. The Laths were not concerned in it, for these parishes are in two different Laths, and one of them gave the name to Lympne. The Hundreds were not concerned in it, for these parishes are in six different Hundreds; while different manors cross the road in every direction. We have nothing left, then, but our ancient boroughs, and in organizing them in this locality resort must have been had to Cæsar's Road, "*paved with flag-stones of all shapes and sizes, and fitted together with care,*" with its cross pointing to the wearied traveller the way to our metropolitan City. If I am right in this, these boroughs, singly or in groups, constituted the existing parishes comprised in the following list:—

EAST OF THE ROAD.

Saltwood,
Standford,
Postling.

WEST OF THE ROAD.

Lympne,
Westenhanger,
Monks' Horton,

* The extremities of the road were Lympne and Canterbury.

Lyminge,
Stelling,
Upper Hardres,
Lower Hardres,

Stouting,
Elmsted,
Waltham,
Petham,
Nackington.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Stone
Street Road.

The road, I admit, severs Standford [the ford by the Stanestreet]; but it must be remembered that Standford *now* includes Westenhanger, formerly a separate parish. There are also a few slight deviations, the result, no doubt, of time. In point of extent and strict adherence to this Roman Road, Lyminge is the most remarkable. A narrow area, though nearly two miles in length, in one Parish (Stelling), is extra-parochial, somewhat unusual in Kent, where the Church possessed so much property and influence. The parishes of Upper and Lower Hardres appear to have been both formed from one borough, while Petham and Waltham were each formed from the grouping of four boroughs. The evidence that these parishes were so formed is not, I admit, so conclusive as in the other cases already referred to; but I place them here because I can trace no other source of organization. One thing is certain; it serves to refute other theories, if it does not go far to advance mine.

Let us now endeavour to discover whether there really was in Kent any connexion between the boundaries of *ancient manors existing at the Conquest* and of parishes, or between the lesser manors created *after* the Conquest and parishes, as suggested by Blackstone.

We will first take the ancient manors, and begin with Charing. Charing (in the Hundred of Calehill), one of the earliest possessions of the See of Canterbury. After the Conquest, it became one of Archbishop Lanfranc's manors. There is no reference in Domesday to the church, which, if not then existing, was built soon afterwards, as well as the adjoining one, Egerton. Both churches became appendant to the manor, and so continued until the Reformation. In Charing, *the paramount manor*, there were no less than eight lesser manors, and yet the parish appears to me to

CHAP. XXXVI.

have been formed from the five boroughs of Town, Sandpet, Acton, Field, and East Lenham, which still exist. Charing was also paramount of Westwell, and that parish was formed from the boroughs of Nash, Highslade, and Sandhatch.

Aldington
and Ashford.

Let us next take Aldington and Ashford, two very dissimilar places. Aldington, which in many respects resembled Charing, belonged before the Conquest to Christ Church, Canterbury, and Ashford to Earl Godwin. Both are returned in Domesday as possessing churches, and both then became manors. Archbishop Lanfranc took Aldington; and the Conqueror allotted Ashford to Hugh de Montfort. In addition to its denes in the Weald, four entire Hundreds and a half were appendant to Aldington, in which Hundreds were twenty-four boroughs and parts of twenty-three parishes; but only three of these boroughs gave names to parishes—Hurst, Ivychurch, and Lydd. The churches of Hurst and Lydd were never appendant to the manor. Ivychurch may have been; but this is doubtful. Admitting it was, the patronage would have nothing to do with its boundaries. We have now to dispose of Aldington, the *Caput Baronie*, and its appendant chapel, Smeeth. Aldington appears to have been formed from the boroughs of two Hundreds held with the manor, viz., Street and Bircholt franchise, while Smeeth must have been formed from boroughs in the Hundred of Bircholt franchise. As both these Hundreds, with the boroughs and inferior manors within them, were appurtenant to the manor of Aldington, it was competent for the holder thereof to assign to them such boundaries as he thought proper; but we have no evidence that this was done, or that, if so, the division was a manorial one; on the contrary, the position and extent of the boroughs indicate that the boundaries in both cases were formed from them.

Then, as to Ashford, which became a manor (partly copyhold) at the Conquest. The district was exempt from the Hundred, and appointed its own constable. What more could be required? But the Liberty of Ashford alone

may have been deemed too small;* so, to extend its limits, a *borough* on the north-east side of the town, called Henwood, part of the Hundred and Manor of Wye, and another *borough* on the south-west side (Rudlow),† in the Hundred of Chart and Longbridge, make up the parish, neither borough having any previous connexion with the Liberty or Manor of Ashford. Had the object been to have added manors here instead of boroughs, it might have been easily done, as there was the "Ripentone" of Domesday [Ripton], in Ashford, adjoining the Liberty. The church passed from lay hands, first to the Priory of Horton, then to that of Leeds, and ultimately (temp. Henry VIII.) to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ashford.

Before I proceed to notice the *lesser manors*, most of which were *created after the Conquest* by sub-infeudation, and their connexion with parishes, let me remind the reader that laths, hundreds, and manors are the only descriptive terms used in the Domesday of Kent; we do not meet with either borough or ville, except in the cases of Seasalter and Fordwich. The laths and hundreds in Kent, like the rapes and hundreds in Sussex, then formed the military divisions. Domesday furnishes us with the names of some of the earliest of our knights and undertenants, who had to render military service to the tenants *in capite*. Among them were the Earl of Ow, for four denes; Robert de Romenel, Richard de Tonebridge, Hugh de Montfort; the Archbishop's knights, monks, and men; the Bishop of Baieux's knights, the monks of Canterbury, the men of the Weald, the clergy of Canterbury for their guild; the burgesses of Canterbury, Romney, and Hythe, and cer-

* There are three entries in Domesday apparently connected with Ashford. One of them states:—"Three men held it [Esella] of King Edward, and could go whither they pleased with their land;" and from this entry I infer that Ashford was thenceforth returned as a separate Franchise or Liberty.—*Ante*, Vol. I., p. 288.

Larking's
Domesday,
p. 141.

† When a bridge in the Hundred of Chart and Longbridge requires repair, no other part of the parish of Ashford contributes towards it but the borough of Rudlow, situate in that Hundred, showing that the original union was only for Ecclesiastical purposes.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Erection of
Churches, and
creation of
Manors.

Ante,
Vol. I., p. 272.

tain Thanes and Soomen; "a certain Frenchman," "a certain woman," &c.

During the 200 years which succeeded the Conquest the Anglo-Normans completed, in Kent, the work of Church building commenced by the Anglo-Saxons; and at the end of this time very few of our parishes were left without churches, as may be seen from the return in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of A.D. 1291. This parochial organization was perfected by the Sovereign for the time being, and his eleven tenants-in-chief mentioned in Domesday, and their several undertenants just referred to, and their descendants. The feudal system was a military one, based on honour and mutual dependence. To enable the temporal as well as spiritual tenants-in-chief to perform their contract with the Sovereign, they had to rely on undertenants; and as it was *then* competent for them by sub-infeudation to create lesser manors from their own fiefs, they proceeded to do so, in return for stipulated military and other services. These sublettings might, as I have already shown, go on *ad infinitum*. Hence we often see, as in the case of Charing recently noticed, six or more lesser manors in a parish, many of them in point of extent not much bigger than large farms. Now, it is somewhat remarkable that this system, which at last became so injurious to the manorial rights of the superior lords, was put an end to by the statute of *Quia Emptores* within a year of the Ecclesiastical taxation by Pope Nicholas; the reader should, therefore, bear in mind that the completion of our parochial system in Kent was contemporaneous with the power to create lesser manors. The necessity of this digression will thus become apparent.

A further digression is also necessary, that we may notice another change which took place at this time. The chief military officer of the Hundred was the High Constable,*

* Chatham and Ramsgate were, I think, the two latest of our towns that upheld the dignity of the office in Kent.

and to secure a better view of the armour, &c., in each County Edward I. provided that Hundreds should be divided, and a constable appointed for each; hence our Upper and Lower Half Hundreds. This, as a matter of course, was followed by a separation of the boroughs; and to many of these lesser and newly created manors a Court Leet was attached, with power to appoint the borsholders for the adjacent boroughs, but not the constables, who were still selected from all the boroughs in turn at the Hundred Court. The military jurisdiction still remained in the Hundred, and the civil in these lesser Courts Leet. From the introduction of Christianity, Kent was never without some military or civil organization; and it has been my endeavour to show that the Church ultimately resorted to it in defining the boundaries of its parishes, though changes among them may have subsequently occurred.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Division of
Hundreds.

To show that the boundaries of lesser manors created after the Conquest had no connexion with the boundaries of parishes, but that they were formed from our boroughs, let us take the Hundred of Milton-next-Sittingbourne, remarkable in many respects. It was one of the most ancient of the Kentish possessions of the Crown, and from it the queens of England derived a portion of their dower. It included the Isle of Sheppy and also a part of the Weald, and it once gave the name to a lath. It is the most extensive Hundred in East Kent, and the parishes now forming part of it are:—

The Hundred
of Milton.

Bapchild,	Milton,
Bicknor, part of	Murston,
Bobbing,	Newington,
Borden,	Rainham,
Bregar,	Rodmersham,
Halstow,	Sittingbourne,
Hartlip,	Stockbury, part of
Iwade, part	Tong,
Kingsdowne,	Tunstall,
Milsted,	Upchurch.

and the Isle of Sheppy, including Harty and Elmley. Its ancient manor was co-extensive with the Hundred, and

CHAP. XXXVI.
The Hundred
of Milton.

the king was its lord paramount ; and yet, strange to say, with all its vast possessions, neither the Church nor any religious house appears to have held a single manor in this Hundred at the time of the Conquest. We will try to find a reason for this.

The Roman Road, afterwards called by the Saxons "Watling Street," passed through the centre of the Hundred ; and with its privileges and advantages by sea and land, one would have supposed it would have been the most populous district in Kent ; but if we refer to the Map No. 1 at the commencement of this volume, we find only four places noticed besides Milton (for we must omit Stockbury, which is only partly in this Hundred), viz., Newington, Tunstall, and Tong ; and Eastchurch, in Sheppy ; while the only church referred to in the whole Hundred is Tong.* I can only account for this from the fact that the Isle of Sheppy was, as we learn from the Saxon Chronicle, resorted to as winter quarters by the Northmen ; and the whole district had been laid waste by them. Here, as elsewhere, they destroyed the churches and religious houses, and scattered abroad the population. The Lath and Hundred are described in Domesday as "Terra Regis." Newington, which the Conqueror granted to Albert, his chaplain, we may conclude was (like Newenden, in another part of the county) a new hamlet erected on the site of one which had been destroyed ; and he gave Tunstall and Tong to Odo, Bishop of Baieux. Neither Sittingbourne, Rainham, nor any other of the present parishes were then in existence ; and if the Church or any religious house had (as we may conclude they had) property here, it was abandoned ; so that this was quite an exceptional Hundred, especially so far as the Church was concerned. Milton, with its boroughs, had long

Ante, Vol. 1,
p.p. 79, 129.

* It is right that I should again notice that there was no injunction on the jurors to make a return of churches, so that the mention of them is likely to be irregular, and that the whole no doubt falls short of what they must have amounted to at that time ; so that Domesday cannot be implicitly relied on for the non-existence of churches at that date.—Appendix to 2nd Report from the Commissioners on Public Records, p. 455.

existed as a military division, which could not be effaced ; and it was from these boroughs and not from the superior or lesser manors, afterwards created, that upwards of twenty parishes were organized in this Hundred before the commencement of the fourteenth century.

CHAP. XXXVI.

It is worthy of remark that we rarely meet in Domesday with any reference to tithes ; but under the Lath and Hundred of Milton it is stated that "the Abbot of S. Augustine holds the churches [implying that there were more than one] and tithes of this Manor." Nearly all the church patronage of the Hundred appears to have passed gradually from the Crown to the Sees of Canterbury or Rochester, and the different monasteries and religious houses in the county, and so matters remained until the Reformation.

Larking's Ed.
p. 99.

There may have been a few small parishes where the *Manor* constituted the boundary at one time, but, if so, most of them have since been united to adjoining parishes. The Manor of Woodland, in the Hundred of Codsheath, appears to have once formed a parish. It was united to Wrotham, (temp. Eliz.) and the church has long since been in ruins. Milton, known as Milton Chapel, near Canterbury, appears to be another instance of a very small parish and manor being co-extensive ; and there are, of course, other exceptional instances.*

I am willing to rest my case here, without over-loading it with further evidence, however inviting the subject may be. I will therefore sum it up as briefly as possible.

My theory.

The first object of the Christian Church was simply to provide for the spiritual wants of its converts scattered throughout the county, and ease the labours of the Archbishop and Bishop and their clergy. The ecclesiastics themselves therefore erected our earliest Anglo-Saxon churches upon their own rapidly-increasing pos-

* Among them I may notice Leeds, which comprised six yokes, over which three borsholders were appointed. There is also the yoke of Swington, in Elmsted, held of the manor of Barton, Canterbury.—Ante, p. 411.

CHAP. XXXVI.

My theory.

sessions, and for the benefit of the people settled near them; in this work they were no doubt assisted by wealthy and pious laymen. The necessity of journeying to and from Canterbury and Rochester, except at stated periods, now ceased, and the converts were at first recommended or enjoined to pay tithe of what they possessed, for the advantage of having the comforts of religion brought near to their own homes. The parochia, or diocese as we now understand it, soon required subdivision, and this for a time may have been regulated by custom, which would often leave the boundaries imperfectly defined; so we find that as early as A.D. 823 it was ordered by a capitulary that every church should have the precise limits assigned of the villas [boroughs] from which it should take tithes, and this ordinance was repeated A.D. 885.*

Brewer, p. 167.

Churches continued to increase, and this necessitated a more certain and better defined parochial boundary. For this purpose the ancient boroughs of Kent, formed out of the hundreds for civil purposes, co-extensive with Christianity, were resorted to. This, in a few words, is my theory. It simply disposes of the question of boundary, without trenching in any way on the subject of the endowment of the churches erected within such boundaries.† My object has been to shew that our parochial system was for centuries growing up by the side of an earlier one, "which even at the present day has not been wholly, but only partially, displaced."

Ante, p. 807.†

If we substitute tithing for borough, it will, after all,

Ib., p. 136.

* Between these periods another capitulary, dated A.D. 832, ordained that if there be an unendowed church, it shall be endowed with a manse and glebe and two villani by the freemen who frequent it, and if they refuse it shall be pulled down. There is no mistaking the language of these capitularies. The limits of manors could not be resorted to, because they did not then exist.

† The formation of parishes was going on as late as the reign of Henry III., from the complaint, in 1237, that *secular* judges ought not to decide whether a particular chapel should have a baptistery and church yard. (Annales de Burton, p. 284.) During the rule of the Parliament large parishes were frequently divided. Thus by an ordinance, in 1647, Flaxted was severed from Wrotham; it was re-united to it at the Restoration, but it was again severed about thirty years since.

be seen that I arrive at pretty much the same conclusion as Mr. Toulmin Smith, with the important exception that I cannot agree with him in ignoring the ecclesiastical origin of "the Parish"* and making it a political division. His judgment here was warped by his strong dislike to an Established Church.

CHAP. XXXVI.

I should add, that it was necessary for the due administration of justice that every part of the county should be under watch and ward, and form part of some borough, or civil jurisdiction, or liberty, (including districts like the Cinque Ports and the Lowy of Tunbridge, &c.) though we have seen that a *borough* could be withdrawn from one hundred and transferred to another. Thus in the Hundred Roll, (temp. Ed. I.) we find "Eythorne is withdrawn from the Hundred of Eastry, and now does suit with the Hundred of Wingham;" but a borough could not be withdrawn from one parish and added to another, and there was no law to make it compulsory that every district of the county should be under some ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction. This was left to the conscience of the owners of the soil, and here the influence of religion and its ministers generally prevailed, but did not always succeed; hence until recently we meet with *villes* and *boroughs* without churches; such as the *Villes* of Sheerness, Dunkirk, &c.,† and the *boroughs* of Staplegate, Longport, &c.

Ante, p. 160.

My remarks on the boundaries of parishes have extended beyond the limits I originally proposed; but, as I have only incidentally touched on the subject of Endowment,‡ I cannot so hastily dismiss it. I propose therefore to speak briefly of Endowments—

The endowment of churches.

(1) before, and (2) after the Conquest.

* The organization of the parish of Ashford already referred to, p. 807, is to my mind quite conclusive on this point; for though the boroughs in it form part of the *parish*, they still remain, for some civil purposes, separated from its liberty.

† A church was built a few years ago at Dunkirk, and one has been recently built at Sheerness.

‡ I am indebted to Mr. Brewer's little work on the Endowments, &c., of the Church of England for much of what follows on endowments.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The endow-
ment of
churches.

Brewer, p 134.

Ib.

(1.) We may, I think, conclude that by far the greatest part of the churches erected in Kent before the Conquest were built either by the Church itself or the religious houses in the county, and that they were for the most part constructed of wood,* and were dependent at first on the mother church, and supplied by the Bishop from his family of resident clergy with ministers or curates, who were supported by the common stock of the diocese. Though our towns may have possessed more than one sacred edifice, it is conjectured that there was originally only one Baptismal Church in each. If they were erected for the use of the inhabitants generally, the consent of the bishop was required for such building. It was also necessary that the relics of some saint should be placed in the church, or that the picture of the saint to whom it was dedicated should be painted on its walls, and that there should be a consecrated altar and a baptistry, as well as consecrated ground, if the right of sepulture was required. To secure these rights to a Baptismal Church the whole of the income received from the tithes, offerings, &c., was first paid into the common fund of the diocese to which it belonged, so that these missionary churches at first became chapels of ease to the Cathedrals, in the same way as Charing at a later period had its chapel of ease at Egerton, and Aldington at Smeeth, on account of their extent or population. "These churches," says Professor Brewer, "are repeatedly called *baptismales*, *parochiales*, *plebes*, and they were strictly the ancient parochial churches and not the manorial, as is too often assumed." I quite agree with the Professor that there is no pretence for calling them manorial at this period; it is only a conjecture that the laity contributed towards their erection and endowment. They were visited by perambulating priests to whom circuits were appointed, and once a-year at least they enjoyed the presence of the Bishop. Mr.

* In the Domesday of Yorkshire there is a reference to seven churches built of wood.

Brewer refers to cases as early as the ninth century, where the capitularies empower the Bishop to order the restoration of a church destroyed by negligence, also where baptismal churches were to be repaired, "according to ancient custom," and where it was determined that tithes and repairs were due to the church from all who had resorted to it for baptism and other rights. All that was then done appears to have been irrespective of any civil authority.

CHAP. XXXVI.

As might be expected, the obligation to pay tithes was at first weak and imperfect. There was no general or compulsory parochial payment; and though the possessions held by the Church in Kent, and elsewhere, were so great, the payment of tithes appears to have been insisted on continually.

Map, p. 274,
Vol. I.

"The canons," says a capitulary, dated A.D. 855, 'enjoin that all tithes shall be distributed at the discretion of the bishop. But some of the laity, who have their own churches on their hereditary or beneficiary estates, dispute the orders of the bishop, and do not give their tithes to the churches where they have baptism, preaching, confirmation, and the other sacraments of Christ; but they assign them either to their own basilicas, or to their own clerks, as they please.' (Perts 13, 431, 432.) The result may be stated in the words of another capitulary, dated somewhat later: 'Baptismal churches, which have fallen into ruin through the neglect of those who ought to have restored them, have gradually declined from their ancient state.'"

Brewer, p. 142.

We have now to notice church endowments after the Conquest.

(2) I have already stated that the great increase of the power and wealth of the Church after the Conquest can only be contemplated with wonder. It was at this period that the Kentish manors, though in no way concerned in determining the boundaries of parishes, materially assisted in endowing the churches erected on them. Indeed, at first, the lordship of some one of the chief manors in the district, and the patronage of the church on it, were rarely in different hands, until the religious houses began to secure the advowsons. One generally gave the name to the other, and both were formed after the Conquest. Norman rule was producing great changes, for Norman bishops

Vol. I., p. 396.

- CHAP. XXXVI. had not much sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon parochial clergy. Lanfranc and Anselm were monks, and abbeys and priories now rose with greater splendour and magnificence than ever, and eclipsed the old parish churches. Some of the lay lords endowed them with two-thirds of their tithes, leaving only one-third to the incumbent of the parish. Some gave them mills, fish-ponds, &c. Thus we find the tithes of the vineyards of Halling granted by Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, to Malling Abbey. In the year 1100 Harold, the lord of Ewyas, gave, among other things, to the Abbey of St. Peter, at Gloucester, "a tenth of the produce of his hunting, of his honey, and of all things of which a Christian ought to pay tithes." Still they, as well as the parochial endowments of tithes, &c., were the private gifts of individuals, and not of the nation.
- Brewer, p. 85. The parochial clergy also suffered from the practice of those of Royal blood, with the noble and the wealthy, frequenting the cathedrals, monasteries, and abbeys, where they made their oblations, leaving only the poor, who had but little to give, to frequent the parish churches. These thus became ruinous and dilapidated; their tithes were diverted by the lay lords to their own chapels; their lands and endowments usurped; their clergy neglected; their congregations reduced to the poor cultivators and the serfs. Either they were converted into the manorial church, as the vill in which they stood passed by conquest into the hands of some powerful baron, or the manorial chapel usurped their tithes, endowments, and baptisteries, and took their place. So, submitting to the influence of feudalism in other respects, they became generally ecclesiastical fiefs, acknowledging the ancient right of the bishop by the payment of synodals, and of the lord of the manor, or his steward, by a pension of various amounts, afterwards made over to some monastic house, or dropped as insignificant. And this I take to be the real origin of the pensions paid by incumbents to lay lords, bishops, monasteries, and colleges, of which such frequent mention is found in our ecclesiastical annals.
- Hasted, Vol. I. p. 488.
- Brewer, p. 86.
- Ante Vol. I., p. 334.
- Brewer, p. 142.

"This was the true origin of lay patronage before the Reformation. The ville, with its priest and parochial church, set the type of the manor, and not the reverse ; and the lay lords obtained possession of the parochial churches, with their tithes and endowments, or allowed them to fall into ruins, transferring their tithes, privileges, and endowments to churches and chapels of their own foundation."

CHAP. XXXVI.
Brewer, p. 143.

The conditions often attached to the grants of lesser manors by the chief lords were, the erection and endowment of churches and the setting apart glebe lands and sites for rectory and vicarage houses ; while the lords of the adjoining manors generally assisted in this work, and at a later period erected and endowed their own chantries.* By degrees they all required their tenants to appropriate their tithes to resident ministers, instead of leaving them, as was originally the practice, at liberty to distribute them as they liked among the clergy of the diocese.†

The lay lords did not long retain their church patronage. "The endowments of the parochial clergy were every

Ib., p. 93.

year frittered away and diverted from their original purpose to secular colleges, chantries, military and religious orders, guilds, fraternities, and nunneries." Not content with this, the monks themselves became non-resident rectors of these livings, in right of the patronage they gradually acquired ; hence our earliest and incompetent vicars, who, for a small and inadequate stipend, loosely performed the services expected from them. This abuse became so great, that at length the bishops obtained an ordinance that in all the churches appropriated to the monks a perpetual vicar should be appointed, who should be instituted by the bishop, with a competent

Ib., 90, 91.

* Dugdale states that forty-seven chantries belonged to St. Paul, London. They were suppressed after the Reformation.

† "The slow and gradual manner in which parochial churches became independent, appears to be, of itself, a sufficient answer to those who ascribe a great antiquity to the universal payment of tithes."—*Hallam*, Ch. VII., Part I.

CHAP. XXXVI.

maintenance to be determined by the diocesan. Thus in the case of Yalding, appropriated to the canons of Tunbridge, it was arranged that the vicar should have the offerings and perquisites of the altar, the small tithes as well as all the houses within the precincts,* the glebe, the little sheaves, and tithes of two adjoining farms, and a moiety of the meadow belonging to the church. Here we have the origin of vicarages, which, though it secured a better allowance to the working clergy, sanctioned the appropriation of churches and tithes to monasteries, and thus it was that when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, nearly one half of all the richest benefices in England had been engrossed by the monks. These rich benefices fell into the hands of the king and his courtiers at the dissolution of the monasteries, with all their pensions and perquisites, and were entirely lost to the Church.

Brewer, p. 98.

I need not pursue the history of tithes and endowments further—my readers are all familiar with what followed.

Parishes as
Civil Divisions.

We have hitherto spoken of parishes "as circuits of ground committed to the charge of those who had cure of souls therein." We must now notice them as *civil divisions* rendered necessary by the laws passed after the dissolution of monasteries for the maintenance of the poor, and the various other changes which have followed, connected with the repair of our highways, and local self-government. Up to the reign of Henry VIII. the poor had been supported by the benevolence of ecclesiastics and religious houses, and the charity of well disposed Christians, the monasteries being their principal resource. A compulsory method of relieving them was now required, and it was enacted (27 Hen. VIII., c. 25) that provision should be made for the impotent poor. This was followed by the passing of several Statutes during the reign of

* It must be remembered that in earlier times people had taken refuge within the cemeteries and church precincts, and built houses in them: and by the Anglo-Saxon laws not only the church, but the glebe of the parish priest, possessed the right of sanctuary.—Brewer, p. 91.

Elizabeth, casting the burthen of relieving them on each parish, or on their relations, provided they were in a position to help them. As most of my readers are well acquainted with the administration of our Poor Laws, I need not dwell upon it; it will be sufficient to state that every parish which existed in the reign of Elizabeth has so continued ever since. CHAP. XXXVI.

The setting out of tithes when taken in kind, and the technicalities formerly connected with the administration of the poor laws, rendered the precise boundaries of parishes fruitful subjects of dispute and litigation, and formerly necessitated the beating of the bounds on Holy Thursday, or on some other appointed day.

The reader should bear in mind that before the term parish was generally substituted in civil proceedings for borough, township, and villa, *all these terms* were frequently used indiscriminately, especially during the sixteenth century; hence the confusion which often arises in the application of them by our county historians.

The parishes in East Kent are small when compared with some of those in West Kent, and even these are small compared with parishes in the north of England, where 40 square miles is not deemed an unusual area. The Kentish parishes are of no particular form, which implies antiquity. In the Weald of Sussex they are oblong in shape,* and so are several of our Kentish parishes on the borders of the Weald; take for instance Westerham, Brasted, Sundridge, Chevening, and Chiddingstone. These parishes, like the laths, run from north to south, in the direction of the Forest, in whose rights the inhabitants participated.

The principal severances of parishes in Kent will be found between Sittingbourne, Faversham, Whitstable, and Canterbury, and in the district of Romney Marsh.

The assizes for Kent appear to have been held at Maidstone since the Restoration; they were previously held at Assize towns in Kent.

* Hartfield, in Sussex, is six miles in length, averaging about two in breadth. (Lower's *Sussex*, Vol. I., p. 211.) Abinger, in Surrey, is nine miles long, and not more than one in breadth.

CHAP. XXXVI. different parts of the county, viz., East Greenwich, Dartford, Milton-next-Gravesend, Sevenoaks, Rochester, Maidstone, and Canterbury.

It now only remains for me to notice the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of Kent.

Vol. I., p. 99. Respecting its origin I have but little to add to what will be found in Chapters XII. and XIII. of the first volume.

The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction.

From the introduction of Christianity Kent has been divided into the two dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, the Medway for the most part at first constituting the boundary. These dioceses have of late undergone certain changes. Each diocese is divided into deaneries, and these again into parishes. The full and interesting information which is yearly published under able editorship by the Church Printing Company renders it unnecessary for me to dwell at length on this, the concluding part of the chapter. The Diocese of Canterbury originally possessed one archdeaconry, styled the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, and eleven deaneries, and the Diocese of Rochester an archdeaconry, styled the Archdeaconry of Rochester, and five deaneries. In these dioceses there were certain parishes called "peculiars," which were visited by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Hasted,
Vol. II., p. 454.

During the thirteenth century the Popes exempted the convent of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and its possessions, from all archiepiscopal supervision, and subjected them only to the dominion of Rome. This caused the Abbot to institute his own independent deaneries. One of them was Lenham, which included Faversham, Milton, Selling, Sheldwich, Kennington, Willesborough, Tenterden, Frittenden, Stone, Brookland, Burmarsh, Dymchurch, Kingsdown, and Lenham. This was deemed a gross innovation by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Rome was appealed to for justice. The controversy lasted long. Pope Boniface VIII., A.D. 1300, entrusted the Abbots of Westminster, Waltham, and St. Edmunds, with the settlement of

the dispute; and, after a further delay of eight years, and the expenditure of large sums of money, these new deaneries were, by the Pope's bull, suppressed, and the parishes again became subject to the Archbishop's jurisdiction.

CHAP. XXXVI.

In Appendix H. will be found some interesting extracts from Archbishop Laud's Diary, and from his Archbishopial Returns to Charles I. in connexion with the state of the Kentish parishes, &c., within his Province.

Appendix H.
Laud's Diary
and Reports
on his Province.

In the reign of her present Majesty the dioceses in Kent were altered by an Order in Council, of 8th August, 1845, made pursuant to the Statute of 6 and 7 William IV., c. 77, by which the Diocese of Canterbury was to include the County of Kent, except the City and Deanery of Rochester, and the following parishes were transferred to the Diocese of London (but by a recent Order in Council the Kentish parishes have been restored to the Diocese of Rochester), viz., Charlton, Lee, Lewisham, Greenwich, Woolwich, Eltham, Plumstead, St. Nicholas, Deptford, and that part of St. Paul's, Deptford, which is in Kent, and also the parishes of Croydon and Addington, and the district of Lambeth Palace, in Surrey; and the parishes styled "peculiars" became subject to the jurisdiction of the Archdeacons.

By the same Act provision was made for founding a new archdeaconry (Maidstone) and by another Order in Council, of 4th June, 1841, made pursuant to the Act 8 and 4 Vict., c. 118, a canonry in Canterbury Cathedral was annexed to this archdeaconry; whilst the deaneries of Sittingbourne, Charing, and Sutton were transferred from the Archdeaconry of Canterbury to Maidstone.

The Diocese of Canterbury is now divided into twenty deaneries, ten within the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, viz., East Bridge, West Bridge, Canterbury, Dover, Elham, North Lympne, South Lympne, Ospringe, Sandwich, and Westbere, and the remaining ten within the Archdeaconry of Maidstone, viz., East Charing, West Charing, Croydon, East Dartford, West Dartford, North

CHAP. XXXVI. **Malling, South Malling, Shoreham, Sittingbourne, and Sutton.** At the head of each of these deaneries is a rural dean.

That part of the diocese of Rochester which is in Kent is divided into five deaneries, viz., Rochester, Gravesend, Cobham, Greenwich, and Woolwich, and is presided over by an archdeacon, styled the Archdeacon of Rochester and St. Alban's, and five rural deans.*

As no tax could be levied except with the assent of those who had to pay it, the Lords and Commons were in the habit of taxing themselves, and the Clergy in convocation taxed themselves until 1664; from which time an ecclesiastical benefice conferred the right of voting in the election of members of parliament.

THE AREA, HOUSES, AND POPULATION OF THE COUNTY OF KENT FROM THE LAST CENSUS, IN 1871.

AREA in Statute Acres.	HOUSES.		
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Building.
1,004,984	151,344	10,850	1,253

POPULATION.			Average Number of	
Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons to an Acre.	Acres to a Person.
848,294	417,506	430,788	0·84	1·18

The county contains 437 "civil parishes, or places."

Conclusion.

I have now brought my work to a close. In it I have endeavoured to furnish my readers with the best evidence

* From the laws of Edward the Confessor, we may conclude that the office of Rural Dean was not unknown to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors; to distinguish them from the Deans of Cathedrals (the Decani Perpetui) they were called Archipresbyteri and Decani Temporarii.

I could collect regarding this once dreary forest, but now flourishing district. In doing so I have introduced many things which, by some, may be considered irrelevant; but my subject would, I fear, have been very dry and uninteresting had it been more strictly limited. My chief object has been to perpetuate the testimony of those who have gone before us, and to promote a spirit of enquiry among the rising generation. We have seen the thorns and thistles for many a century luxuriating in this wild district, in things spiritual as well as temporal, when, in the words of the most ancient parable extant, "all the trees of the forest said to the bramble, Come thou and reign over us," and this continued until the bright morning star began to shadow forth the blessings of Christianity, with civilization in its train. The regenerating process was slow and scarcely perceptible, until Caxton* was permitted to lend his mighty aid to dispel the darkness, ignorance, and superstition which had so long dimmed that bright light, and men began to read and think for themselves.

CHAP. XXXVI.

We hear daily that we are living in strange and most eventful times; but has not every age its strange and eventful times? Hence the need of our constant prayer, that we may continue "stedfast in faith, joyful through hope, and rooted in charity." The spiritual husbandman, who, by God's grace, has the good seed in his own heart, must never relax in his exertions on behalf of others, but should strive to circulate the Book of Life (now almost literally obtained "without money and without price") among the thousands of his still benighted countrymen, and scatter throughout the world its translations, now

* In my first volume I ventured to suggest the erection of a Memorial to Caxton in his native Weald. We have had of late a column raised to Tyndal, the early translator of the Bible, and, still more recently, a statue to John Bunyan, whose "Pilgrim's Progress" is known in all lands. While thus doing honour where honour is due, it is strange that William Caxton should still be neglected. Had he not laboured before them, neither Tyndal nor Bunyan could have carried out the great works which have added so much lustre to their names. Caxton belongs to us by birth, and we at all events ought not to be indifferent to his memory.

Caxton.

CHAP. XXXVI.

published in almost every language. Let this be done, and let the education of our children be a religious one, embracing all useful knowledge, but based on the word of God, and we need have no fear for England. Thus, and thus only, whenever the last generation of men shall pass away from the earth, and all the stately trees of the forest shall be laid low, we may hope, through the free and unmerited mercy of Christ our Saviour, to meet, not in the Wealden fields of misery and sorrow, but in the city "which hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it, for the Glory of God doth lighten it."

APPENDIX A.

(Page 562.)

LETTER FROM JAMES II., WHILE HE WAS DETAINED AT
FAVERSHAM, TO THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA.*

"Faversham, Dec. 12, 1688.

"I am just now come in here, having been last night seized by some of this town, who telling me you were to be here this day, I would not make myself known to them, thinking to have found you here; but that not being, I desire you would come hither to me, and that as privately as you could do, that I might advise with you concerning my safety, hoping you have that true loyalty in you, as you will do what you can to secure me from my enemies, of which you shall find me as sensible as you can desire.

"JAMES R."

APPENDIX B.

(Page 627.)

LETTER FROM ARTHUR YOUNG, ON THE TRIAL AT MAID-
STONE, IN 1798, OF O'CONNOR AND OTHERS.

"DEAR SIR,—I dined yesterday with three of the jurymen of the Blackburne Hundred, who have been summoned to Maidstone on the trial of O'Connor and Co.; and it is not a little singular that not one yeoman of this district should have been summoned to an assize for this county, nor to any of the quarter sessions (excepting the midsummer) for more than fifty years. These three men are wealthy yeomen, and partisans of the High Court party. Now, this is as it ought to be; and as they are good farmers, and much in my interest, to be sure, I exerted all my eloquence to convince them how absolutely necessary it is, at the present moment, for the security of the realm, that the felons should swing. I represented to them that the acquittal of Hardy and Co. laid the foundation of the present conspiracy, the Manchester, London Corresponding Society, &c., &c. I urged them, by all possible means in my power, to hang them through mercy, a memento to others; and, had the others suffered, the deep-laid conspiracy which is coming to light would have

* The original was in the possession of Heneage, Earl of Winchilsea, in 1727.—*Clark's Life of James II.*, Vol. II., Appendix No. VI.

been necessarily crushed in its infancy. These, with many other arguments, I pressed with a view that they should go into Court avowedly determined in their verdict, no matter what the evidence. An innocent man, committed to gaol, never offers a bribe to a turnkey to let him escape. O'Connor did this, to my knowledge; and although the Judge is sufficiently stern, and seldom acquits where hanging is necessary, the only fear I have is that when the jury is impannelled the *blues* may gain the ascendancy. In short, I pressed the matter so much upon their senses that if any one of the three is chosen I think something may be done. These three men have gained their good fortunes by farming; and, I think they are now thoroughly sensible that they would lose every shilling by acquitting these felons.

"I have seen, sir, that detested shore, that atrocious land of despotism; from Shakespeare's Cliff, Calais's steeples; and, truly, I shuddered, not at the precipice, but by contemplating the vicinity to me of a miscreant crew of hellions, vomiting their impotent vengeance, and already satiating their bloody appetites upon my country. Ah! my good sir, we are safe; it is next to a moral impossibility that, in Sussex or Kent, they could land in force; the batteries, forts, &c., are so numerous that hardly a gunboat could escape being blown to atoms. But Ireland. Alas! alas! it is lost, sir; I fear it is gone. Here Government are now spending hundreds of thousands in fortifying what can never be attacked: they are fortifying the Castle with out-works, ravelins, counter-scarps, and immense ditches: and they are absolutely burrowing under the rock for barracks. It is, indeed, a most prodigious undertaking; but absolutely useless. It is a pity, indeed it is, when money is so much wanted, to see it so wantonly wasted, and all done in throwing down the cliff upon the beach. Remember me to Mrs. L. and your family: assure her we expect a Republican visitation. This country is split into party, but I never enter into the habitation of a yeoman but I see the sword of its owner suspended. Glorious sight! But the Militia, O Lord! at Horsham, Shoreham, Ashford, Battle, Lewes, Brighton, Ringmer, &c., &c. I very seldom meet with a sober man: 'tis nothing but a dreadful sight of drunkenness. Fine soldiers in action!—their pay, their pay, so extravagant!

"I have now as fine a sight of the chalk hills opposite as ever was seen. The sun is setting upon that vile land, and presents an object not a little disagreeable.

"Yours, truly,

"A. YOUNG."

"Dover, May-day.

"Gamaliel Lloyd, Esq., Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk."

* I believe he was never in Holy orders, as stated at page 627.

APPENDIX C.

(Page 728.)

TABLE OF ANCIENT DENES, AND THE PARISHES IN WHICH THEY WERE SITUATED.

DENE.	PARISH.	DENE.	PARISH.
Aldryndene, part	Biddenden	Baretylts, part	Hawkhurst
Alkendene	Chiddingstone	" "	"
Anglye, part	Cranbrook	Basidene	"
Abbot's Franchise	"	Boundene	Headcorn
Anglye, part	Hawkhurst	Baldene	"
Amboldessers	"	Blechyndene	"
Aldryndene, part	Sandhurst	Bettenham, part	"
Adhurst, or Aydhurst	Staplehurst	Badmondene	Horamonden
Asharenden, East	Tenterden	Bavedene	"
Aylesford denes	Tunbridge	Brambles	"
Ash (in Axton Hundred) denes	"	Bogdene	Marden
Ardlemore	Woodchurch	Bayndene	"
Benendene	Benenden	Betheryndene or Sand- hurst	Sandhurst
Blahopadene, part	"	Blahopadene, part	Sandhurst
Baddinghurst, part	Bethersden	Betryndene	"
Brissendene	"	Biddendene, Little	Smarden
Beatrixdene	"	Bouldridge	"
Biddendene	Biddenden	Berdene or Barndene	"
Bettenham, part	"	Bardlesdene	"
Baddinghurst, part	"	Boxdene	"
Blahopadene, part	"	Biddendene	"
Becton	Boughton Malherbe	Babyngdene	Staplehurst
Blackingley	Cranbrook	Bramlande	Stone, in Oxney
Brandene	"	Bursile or Bornile	Tenterden
Billanora	Edenbridge	Bugladene	"
Broxham	"	Brissendene	"
Buckhurst	Frittenden	Blackbooks	Wittersham
Bokenfold	Goudhurst	Blackborne	Woodchurch
Bethersdene, part	High Halden	Bodenden	"
Broombourne	"	Brittonadene	"

DENE.	PARISH.	DENE.	PARISH.
Brissendene	Woodchurch	Delmyndene	Hawkhurst
Combdene	Benenden	Devenhurst	Rolvenden
Culverdene	Capel (?), or Southboro'	Dingledene	"
Chilmington	Great Chart	Dulverdene or Dever-	"
Cauldene	Chiddingstone	dene	
Cowdene	Cowden	Devonahurst, part	Sandhurst
Crippendene	"	Denmas indene	"
Cranbrook	Cranbrook	Duesdene	Smarden
Combdene, part	"	Dorndene	Speldhurst
Chambdene	Frittenden	Deversden	Town Sutton, or Sutton
Combdene, part	"		Valence
Curtisdene, part, or		Dumborne	Tenterden
Ladiesdene, Rokohurst	Goudhurst	Dovedene	"
Chingley	"	Denemansbrook	Yalding
Combournne	"	East-Ryddene	Benenden
Combwall	"	Estyndene or Lessendene	Biddenden
Cecile, or Sisele	"	Ewhurst	"
Chillenden	Hawkhurst	Eldrindene or Ellersdene	Chart Sutton
Conghurst	"	Elderhurst, part	High Halden
Cruttendene	Headcorn	Eathnam	Sandhurst
Capel	Horamonden	Erehurst	Staplehurst
Curtisdene, part	"	Engehurst or Henhurst	Staplehurst
Cheveney, Great	Marden	Elderahurst	Tenterden
" Little	"	Eldershurst, part	"
Chillendene, part	"	Elardendene	"
" "	"	Engesham	Woodchurch
Curtisdene, part	"	Folkendene	Benenden
Chafford	Penahurst	Fordene	Biddenden
Chellendene, part	Sandhurst	Farnedene, part	Biddenden
Coombdene	"	Frizley	Cranbrook
Chillendene, Great	"	Fishyndene, part	Frittenden
" Little	"	Frythensdene	"
Culverdene	Shipbourne	Finchcocks	Goudhurst
Coombdene	Staplehurst	Flimwell	"
Chepperegge	Tenterden	Fissendene	Hawkhurst
Castwistle	"	Freshill	Hawkhurst
Coleham	Woodchurch	Festyndene	"
Dingledene	Benenden	Foxhole	"
Devenghurst	"	Fordesham	Rolvenden
Dashmondene	Biddenden	Frensham, part	"
Dewsdene	"	Frensham, "	"
Devondene	"	Folkyndene, part	Sandhurst
Devildene	Chart Sutton	Field	"
		Fryahurst	Staplehurst

DENE.	PARISH.	DENE.	PARISH.
Fredericlap	Staplehurst	Halsedene, part	Headsorn
Feredene	"	Hampdene	"
Finchdene	Tenterden	Hockenbury	"
Farningham denes	Tunbridge	Horamondene	Horamonden
Farleigh, East denes	"	Hoade	"
Frindsbury denes	"	Humberdene	Kingsnorth
Frenchhurst	Yalding	Holendene, Great	Leigh
		" Little	"
Gomeraham	Brook	Hawdene or Hayedene	"
Glassenbury	Cranbrook	Haydherste	Marden
Gordene	"	Hickham	Marden
Goddene	Ebony	Hamberdene	Newenden
Goddene	Tenterden	Harndene, East	"
Hole, part	Benenden	Hilgardene	Pluckley
Hinxdene	"	Hole, part	Rolvenden
Holkhurst	"	Holmdene	"
Hemsted	"	Hixdene	"
Hachedene or Eytch- dene	Bethernden	Harndene, East part	Sandhurst
Herst	Biddenden	" " "	"
Hevendene	"	Harndene, West part	"
Holdene	"	" " "	"
Hameraham	Boughton Malherbe	Haye	Smarden
Hachendene	Chart, Little	Hockey	"
Harndene, part	Chart Sutton	Holmhurst	"
Harkridge [Hartridge] part	Cranbrook	Hollenhurst	"
Hartley	"	Holnest	"
Hockeridge, part	"	Holmondene, part	"
Haseldene	Cranbrook	Haffendene	"
Halsedene, part	Frittenden	Hamdene	"
Halsnorth, part	"	Hersheff	Staplehurst
Highamdene	Gondhurst	Hemdene or Hedendene	Sundridge
Hockeridge, part	"	Herondene or Harndene, part	Tenterden
Hordene, Great	"	Houmney	"
Hordene, Little	"	Herondene, part	"
Herebourne	Halden, High	Halden, Great	"
Halfardenye	"	Halden Little	Tenterden
Hawkhurst	Hawkhurst	Haffendene	"
Hartridge, part	"	Halling denes	Tonbridge
" "	"	Heckles denes	"
Hearwell, Little	"	Hoo denes	"
Hockeridge, part	"	Herlachendene	Woodchurch
Hely-crone or Hedcrone	Headsorn	Henhurst	"
		Haffendene	"

DENE.	PARISH.	DENE.	PARISH.
Hole	Uloomh	Langley denes	Tonbridge
Idene	Benenden	Leybourne denes	"
Ioheregge	Biddenden	Morley	Bethersden
Iborndene	"	Mapdene	Goudhurst
Ivetigh	Chart Sutton	Mundene	High Halden
Illadene or Lilladene	Goudhurst	Markdene	Hawkhurst
Idene	"	Mopeadene, Great	"
Idene	Rolvenden	" Little	"
Illingdene, part	Hawkhurst	Modyndene	Headcorn
" "	"	Mordene	Leigh
Ideudene	Headcorn	Meredene, East	Marden
Iddendene	Pluckley	" West	"
Idene, Great	Staplehurst	Mileham	Rolvenden
Idene, Little	"	Midsell	"
Iggledene, part	Tenterden	Mapleadene	"
Ithendene	Woodchurch	Maytham, Great	"
Knole	Benenden	" Little	"
Kingsdene	Boughton Malherbe, part	Mardene	Smarden
Kingsdene	Egerton, part	Maplehurst	Staplehurst
Kingsnorth	"	Mottynden, Great, part	Sutton Valence, or Town Sutton
Kilndowne	Goudhurst	Meusden, part	Tenterden
Knockdene	"	" "	"
Kelaham	Headcorn	Meopham denes	Tonbridge
Kingsnorth, West	Pluckley	Milton (Gravesend) denes	"
Kemaham or Cassingham	Rolvenden	Northumb denes	Biddenden
Kingsdene, part	Smarden	Newendene	High Halden
Lewode [Lowood?]	Bethersden	Newendene	Newenden
Lewoell	Biddenden	Northolmondene	Smarden
Lushendene's Cross	"	Northfleet denes	Tonbridge
Ladydene	Ebony	Newhurst	Woodchurch
Liladen	Hawkhurst	Omendene, part	Biddenden
Leahdene	Headcorn	Oakdene	Chiddingstone
Loosenham	Newenden	Omendene, part	High Halden
Lamberdene, part	"	Ockley	Hawkhurst
Lodendene	Rolvenden	Ousdene	Pluckley
Loddenden	Staplehurst	Orlovingdene	Rolvenden
Lowdene	Rolvenden	Ovendene	Smarden
Lamberdene, part	Sandhurst	"	Sundridge
Lendene	"	Otford denes	Tonbridge
Leahendene	Smarden	Offham denes	"
Lessendene	"	Pimphurst, part	Bethersden
Lights Nottindene	Tenterden	Povendene	"

DENE.	PARISH.	DENE.	PARISH.
Prickendene	Biddendene	Rolvendene, part	Rolvenden
Parrook Croft	Chiddingstone	Rolvendene, Little	"
Pickendene, part	Frittenden	Rustwell	"
Paysell	Goudhurst	Ramsell, part	Sandhurst
Pattendene, part	"	Risedene	"
Pickendene, part	"	Romdene	Smarden
Pipesdene	Hawkhurst	Redgway, part	Tenterden
Peckenndene	Kingsnorth	Reddene, part	"
Pattendene, part	Marden	Ridley dence	Tunbridge
Pykendene	"	Redgway, part	Woodchurch
Pimphurst	Pluckley	Rumpendene	"
Penahad	Sandhurst	Rookey	"
Pattendene	Shipbourne	Rogahay	"
Povendene, part	Smarden	Robehurst	"
Plushinghurst	Staplehurst	Standene, part	Benenden
Pagehurst, Little	"	Sarrendene	
Preston	Tenterden	Snodeshill	Bethersden
Peckham, East, dence	Tunbridge	South Withrindene	"
Paistre	Wittersham	Southdene, or Snordene	"
Pisendene	"	Spelhurst	Biddenden
Polackborne	Woodchurch	Stephurst	"
Plurenden, part	"	Slandene, part	"
" "	"	Swithredigdene, or Suthrindene	Boughton Malherbe
" " part, for- merly Twisden	"	Stoberfield	Brenchley
" "	"	Sissinghurst	Cranbrook
Proudennearede	"	Swetlyndene	"
Quashendene	Biddenden	Swattendene, part	"
Rolvendene, part	Benenden	Sclarndene	Edenbridge
Ramsdene	Benenden	Slipmill.	Hawkhurst
Riddene, East	Bethersden	Stonedene	Hawkhurst
Ramsdene	"	Seacocks	"
Riddene, part	Boughton Malherbe	Starvendene	Headcorn
Roodene	Brenchley	Southolmondene	"
Rodelindene	Cranbrook	Spelmondene	Horsmonden
Reading, part	Ebony	Sneade	"
Risedene, part	Goudhurst	Shiphurst	Marden
Risebridge	"	Shundene	"
Rookhurst	"	Standene, part	Rolvenden
Romdene, part	High Halden	Standene, part	Sandhurst
Risedene, part	Hawkhurst	Spondene	"
Rindeelle, or Ringshill	Headcorn	Shrabuwaite	"
Rede	Marden	Sandhurst, or Betheryndene	"

DENE.	PARISH.	DENE.	PARISH.
Silverdene	Sandhurst	Twysedene	Tenterden
Smardene	Smarden	Trenche	Ulcumb
Southerindene	"	Tiffendene, part	"
Standene	"	Toppendene	Witterham
Speldhurst	Speldhurst	Therne	Woodchurch
Snappdene	Staplehurst	Uddenham	Smarden
Spelhill, or Spilall	"	West Bishopdene	Benenden
Smeech	Stone, in Oxney	West Ryddinge	"
Strenchdene	Tenterden	Waldene	Bethersden
Belkendene	"	Wattendene, or Wad-	"
Southfleet denes	Tonbridge	dendene	"
Stone (Rochester) denes	"	Wissdene	"
Swanscombe denes	"	Wooddene	"
Shyrte	Woodchurch	Watchdene	Biddenden
Shirley Moor	"	Worndene, or	"
Starvendene	"	Worsendene	"
Tuesnorth	Bethersden	Wychedene	Boughton Monchelsea
Terndene, part	"	Wireton	"
Trenhurst	Biddenden	Westroterindene, or	Brenchley
Tryndhurst [Tyhurst?]	Chiddingstone	Witherindene	Egerton
Trendly, part	Cranbrook	Wardene, or Wandene	Frittenden
Troppendene	Goudhurst	Wellinghurst	"
Twadene	"	Wichdene	Goudhurst
Twysenden	"	Winchesterdene	Hawkhurst
Tippendene, or	High Halden	Wyneste	"
Tiffdene	"	Wynchendene	"
Tarndene, part	"	Witheringhope	"
Tildene	Hawkhurst	Water	"
Trendly, part	"	Wooddene	"
Towncherst	Headcorn	Weeks, part	Headcorn
Tildene	Headcorn	" "	"
Tubnes	Marden	Wareledene	Headcorn
Tyldene, Great	"	Woghurst	"
" Little	"	Worndene	Marden
Tannera Hole [Tapner's	Penshurst	Wylephurst	Smarden
Hole]	"	Widhurst	Staplehurst
Thorndene	Rolvenden	West Cross	Tenterden
Twysdene	Sandhurst	Wrotham denes	Tonbridge
Tappenden	Smarden	" Little denes	"
Tarnden, part	"	Yieldhatch	Woodchurch
Tildene	"		
Tuntafahurste	Staplehurst		
Tenterdene	Tenterden		

APPENDIX D.

(Page 747.)

A LIST of all the PARISHES in and on the Borders of the WEALD, with the names of the Hundreds in which they are situate, and the present Incumbents of such Parishes, Patrons of the Livings, and the Population according to the last Census.*

PARISH.	HUNDRED.	INCUMBENT.	PATRON OF LIVING.	POPULATION.
<u>Aldington</u>	Bircholt Franchise and Street	G. J. Blomfield	Archbishop	649
<u>Appledore</u>	Blackborne	M. A. French	Archbishop	671
<u>Ashurst</u>	Washlingstone	H. W. O. Polhill	Hon. M. Sackville West	214
<u>Benenden</u>	Rolvseden, Barkley, Selbritten, and Cranbrook	W. J. Edge	Rt. Hon. G. Hardy, M.P.	1568
<u>Bethersden</u>	Blackborne, Chart and Longbridge, and Calehill	W. Clementson	Archbishop	1154
<u>Bidborough</u>	Washlingstone	C. Bigsby	John Deacon	250
<u>Biddenden</u>	Barkley and Cranbrook	J. Boys	Archbishop	1419
<u>Bilsington</u>	Newchurch	F. M. Cameron	W. H. Halliday	349
<u>Bonnington</u>	Street	F. M. Cameron	T. Papillon	181
<u>Boughton Malherbe</u>	Eythorne	E. Moore	Heirs of Earl Cornwallis	451
<u>Boughton Monchelsea</u>	Eythorne	W. Scott	D. & C. of Rochester	1082
<u>Brasted</u>	Ville of Brasted and Hundreds of Westerham and Edenbridge	C. T. Astley	Archbishop	1180
<u>Brenchley</u>	Brenchley and Hornsmonden, Twyford, and Borough of Rugmerhill	F. Storr	G. C. Courthope	3350

* The parishes underlined are situate only partly in the Weald. The names of the incumbents and patrons of livings are taken from the Canterbury Diocesan Clergy List or 1874.

PARISH.	HUNDRED.	INCUMBENT.	PATRON OF LIVING.	POPULATION.
Capel	Washlingstone, Lowy of Tunbridge and Twyford	W. Hayman	Baroness Le Despencer (Viscountess Falmouth)	572
Chart, Great	Chart and Longbridge, and Calehill	C. J. D'Oyly	Archbishop	745
Chart, Little	Calehill	W. F. Elliott	Archbishop	270
Chart Sutton	Eyborne	T. Robinson	D. & C. of Rochester	735
Chevening	Codabroath and Somerden	T. Sikes	Archbishop	954
Chiddingstone	Ruxley and Somerden	W. E. Hoakins	Archbishop	1218
Cowden	Somerden, Westerham, and Edenbridge, and Axstone	T. Harvey	Rev. T. Harvey	738
Cranbrook	Great Barnfield, Barkley, and Cranbrook	T. A. Carr	Archbishop	4331
Ebony	Isle of Oxney and Tenterden	M. A. French	Archbishop	192
Edenbridge	Westerham and Edenbridge and Somerden	C. F. Gore	F. R. Gore	1891
Egerton	Calehill	W. Ayerst	D. & C. of St. Pauls	862
Frant, part	Washlingstone			
Frittenden	Barkley and Cranbrook	T. W. O. Hallward	Henry Hoare	949
Goudhurst	Little, or West Barnfield, Marden and Cranbrook	J. S. Clarke	D. & C. of Rochester	2984
Hadlow	Littlefield and Lowy of Tunbridge	P. H. Monypenny	Capt. J. R. B. Monypenny	2753
Halden, High	Barkley and Blackborne	W. B. Staveley	Archbishop	689
Hawkhurst—Part of the parish of Hawkhurst, comprising 120 acres, without houses, extends into Sussex	The half Hundred of Barnfield, Selbrittenen, Cranbrook, and Shoyeswell, in Sussex.	H. A. Jeffreys	Christ Church, Ox.	2949
Headcorn	Barkley, Cranbrook, Eyborne, Tenham and Calehill	H. D. Sewell	Archbishop	1423
Hever	Somerden and Ruxley	W. W. Battye	E. W. M. Waldo	620
Horsmonden—Part of the parish of Horsmonden, comprising 2 acres, without houses in 1871, extends into Sussex	Brenchley and Horsmonden, Larkfield and Borough of Rugmerhill	H. R. S. Marriott	Rev. H. F. S. Marriott	1449
Hothfield	Chart and Longbridge and Calehill	R. C. Swan	Sir H. Tufton, Bart.	311

PARISH.	HUNDRED.	INCUMBENT.	PATRON OF LIVING.	POPULATION.
Hunton	Larkfield, Maidstone, and Twyford	J. B. Hall	Archbishop	989
Hurst	Street	R. D. Wilmot	G. W. L. P. Carter	—
Kennardington	Blackborne and Ham	S. B. Lobb	— Lobb	192
Kingsnorth	Chart and Longbridge	R. Baldock	D. Denne	480
Lamberhurst, the part in Kent; entire population, 1812	Branchley and Horsmonden	R. Hawkins	D. & C. of Rochester	667
Leigh	Codsh Heath, Somerden and Washlingstone	T. May	Rev. T. May	1400
Linton	Maidstone	T. G. Carter	Heirs of Earl Cornwallis	901
Lympne	Herne, Street, and Worth	E. Biron	Archd. of Canterbury	510
Maidstone—All-Saints; total population, 26,237	Maidstone	D. D. Stewart	Archbishop	
Marden	Twyford, Maidstone, Ey-horne, and Marden	J. Deedes	Archbishop	2333
Mereworth	Littlefield	Hon. Sir F. J. Stapleton, Bart.	Baroness Le Despencer	913
Merham	Bircholt Franchise, and Chart and Longbridge	G. Norwood	Archbishop	736
Nettlestead	Twyford	W. F. Cobb	Rev. W. F. Cobb	562
Newenden	Selbritten and Ville of Newenden	J. Fughe	Archbishop	351
Oriestone	Ham	C. Rolfe	T. Oliver	409
Peckham, East	Twyford and Littlefield	M. Onslow	D. & C. of Canterbury	2312
Peckham, West	Hoo and Littlefield	E. Jones	D. & C. of Rochester	425
Pembury	Washingstone and Twyford	G. H. Rigby	Mrs. Woodgate	1391
Penhurst	Washingstone and Somerden	W. Green	Lord De L'Isle and Dudley	1697
Pluckley	Calehill	E. J. Selwyn	Archbishop	813
Rolvenden	Rolvenden	J. W. Rumsey	D. & C. of Rochester	1383
Ruckinge	Ham and Newchurch	E. M. Muriel	Archbishop	397
Rusthall	Vide Speldhurst	B. F. Smith	Rector of Speldhurst	2767
Sandhurst	Selbritten	G. Ridout	Archbishop	1239
Sevenoaks	Codsh Heath	H. F. Sidebottom	Reps. of Rev. T. Curtis	5949

PARISH.	HUNDRED.	INCUMBENT.	PATRON OF LIVING.	POPULATION.
Shadoxhurst	Blackborne and Chart and Longbridge	C. Rolfe	Lord Chancellor	217
Shipbourne	Wrotham	J. W. S. Watkin	E. Camlet	450
Smarden	Blackborne, Barkley, and Calehill	F. F. Hailewood	Archbishop	1168
Speldhurst	Washlingstone, Codaheath, and Somerden	J. J. Saint	Rev. J. J. Saint	1624
Staplehurst	Cranbrook and Marden, Eyborne and Maidstone	T. Crick	St. John's Col., Cam.	1749
Stone	Iale of Oxney	H. P. Edridge	D. & C. of Canterbury	410
Sundridge	Codaheath	E. D. Hammond	Archbishop	1593
Sutton, East	Eythorne	R. Sorabie	D. & C. of Rochester	380
Sutton Valence, or Town Sutton	Eythorne	R. Sorabie	D. & C. of Rochester	1168
Tenterden	Tenterden	H. R. Merewether	D. & C. of Canterbury	3557
Tudely	Washlingstone	W. Hayman	Baroness Le Despencer	543
Tunbridge and Tunbridge Wells, and 11 churches	Lowy of Tunbridge	J. T. Manley, and other Incumbents	Jno. Deacon, and various Trustees	29,756
Uloom	Eythorne and Faversham	J. Lamphier	Hon. C. B. C. Wandesford	674
Warehorne	Blackborne and Ham	T. R. Mayhew	Lord Chancellor	506
Wateringbury	Twyford	H. Stevens	D. & C. of Rochester	1330
Westerham	Westerham and Edenbridge	H. C. Bartlett	J. Board	2283
Wittersham	Iale of Oxney	S. H. Parkes	Archbishop	949
Woodchurch	Blackborne	F. B. Wells	Archbishop	1269
Wrotham	Wrotham	C. Lane	Archbishop	3201
Yalding—St. Margaret's Collier Street	Twyford and Borough of Rugmerhill	E. Baines T. Mills	Archd. Chapman Rev. F. Chapman	2675

APPENDIX E.

(Page 748.)

TOKENS FOR MONEY ISSUED IN THE WEALD OF KENT
DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Coins of various descriptions are known to have been "minted" in this county from very early times; but I believe that none can be safely considered to have been struck in the Weald of Kent, during either the British or Roman occupation. There were several Kentish mints in the times of the Saxon dynasties, and also after the Norman Conquest, as late as the reign of Henry VIII.; but, as none of the mints were in the towns of the Weald, further allusion to them is needless.

The coinage of these mints was of silver; but as population increased, a want was greatly felt for coin of an inferior metal and value for the daily transactions of the people. The successive Sovereigns, however, persistently refused to grant their subjects this accommodation, and many attempts were made to meet the wants by the importation of foreign money. But this did not suffice for the necessities of the people, and by degrees base money was largely struck and circulated. Though the offenders were severely punished, these issues increased, the metal used being chiefly lead, and the great place of coinage Bristol. Two specimens, however, struck at Canterbury, are known.

James I. and his son Charles granted patents for the issue of copper "farthings;" but the patentees, who had to pay heavily for their privilege, robbed the public so shamefully that the patents were eventually withdrawn. The subsequent disputes between Charles I. and his people prevented any further attempts at putting forth small money; and immediately after his death the re-issue by private individuals commenced. The earliest date on these tokens for money is 1648, and the latest 1672, in which year Charles II. issued a plentiful supply of copper money, and all private tokens were rigorously suppressed.

The earliest tokens were farthings; but after the Restoration of Charles II. half-pence were struck, and several examples of Tokens issued in the Weald of Kent between 1648 and 1672 will be found in the following list, which is compiled from the very excellent work on the Tokens of the Seventeenth Century, published by Mr. W. Boyne, in 1857, with additions from the MS. collections of Mr. J. S. Smallfield, a member of the Kent Archaeological Society, from specimens in his cabinet. Though my limits restrict me to the Wealden tokens, it may be stated that above 500 varieties of half-pence and farthings were issued in the county, and that the issuers in many cases take especial pains to make known on their tokens that they lived "in Kent."

APPLEDORE.

- O. JOHN . BOYNE . 1669 — The Arms of England and France, quarterly,
surmounted by a crown.
R. OF . APPLEDORE — HIS . DOVBLE . TOKEN . I . S . B Halfpenny.
O. THO . WATERS . OF . LID . OR — T . W
R. APELDORRE . IN . KENT — T . W Farthing.

BENENDEN.

- O. RICHARD . GRANT . OF — The Grocers' Arms,
H. BENENDEN . IN . KENT — B . M . G Farthing.

BIDDENDEN.

O. RICHARD . FOSTER . 1668 — A lion rampant.	
R. IN . BIDDENDEN . IN . KENT — HIS HALF PENY	Halfpenny.
O. RICH . FOSTER . OF . BIDDENDEN — A lion rampant.	
R. IN . KENT . HIS . HALFE . PENY — R . I . F	Halfpenny.
O. ALEXANDER . HOLMSBY — 1658	
R. OF . BEDDENDEN . IN . KENT — A . H	Farthing.
O. ALEXANDER . HOMESBY — HIS HALF PENNY	
R. IN . BIDDENDEN . IN . KENT — A . H . H	Halfpenny.
O. ALEXANDER . LINDRIDGE — HIS HALF PENY	
R. OF . BIDDENDEN . 1671 — A . M . L	Halfpenny.
O. THOMAS . SCHEELS — A ship.	
R. IN . BIDDENDEN . 1666 — T . M . S	Farthing.

BONNINGTON.

O. IASON . GOULD . OF . BYNINGDON (In four lines, filling the field.)	
R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1670 (ditto ditto)	Halfpenny.

BRASTED.

O. WILLIAM . LINES — 1666	
R. BRESTED . IN . KENT — W . M . L	Farthing.

BRECHLEY.

O. WILLIAM . WOODGAT — The Grocers' Arms.	
R. OF . BRECHLEY . 1654 — W . M . W	Farthing.
O. WILLIAM . WOODGATE . 1664 (In three lines, between parallel lines.)	
R. IN . BRECHLEY — W . M . W	Halfpenny.

COWDEN.

O. IAM . IEA . . . TALLOW — A stick of candles on a crescent moon, surrounded by seven stars.	
R. CHAN . IN . COWDEANE — I . M . I	Farthing.
O. JOHN . OSBORNE — 1663	
R. COWDEANE . MERGER — I . O.	Farthing.

CRANBROOK.

O. JOHN . AVERY . OF — Three pigeons.	
R. CRANBROOKE . MERGER — I . F . A.	Farthing.
O. THOMAS . BUTTERLY . OF — A man dipping candles.	
R. CRANBROCKE . MERGER — T . M . B . 1666.	Farthing.
O. THOMAS . DANILL . OF — The Grocers' Arms.	
R. CRANBROCKE . IN . KENT — T . D.	Farthing.
O. RICH . FRANKWELL — Bust of a King, crowned, with sceptre in his hand.	
R. IN . CRANBROOKE . 57 — R . E . F.	Farthing.
O. ROBERT . MARCH . OF . — R . G . M	
R. CRANBROCK . MERGER — 1657	Farthing.
O. PETER . MASTER . MERGER — The Grocers' Arms.	
R. CRANBROCK . IN . KENT — F . A . M .	Farthing.
O. THOMAS . MYN . DRAPER — The Drapers' Arms.	
R. OF . CRANBROCK . IN . KENT — T . M . M .	Farthing.
O. JOHN . PARTON . IN . CRAN . — HIS HALF PENY	
R. BROOK . IN . KENT . 1669 — I . D . F.	Halfpenny.
O. WILLIAM . WACHER* . IN — Three sugar-loaves.	
R. CRANBROOK . IN . KENT — W . M . W.	Farthing.

* William Wacher (or Watcher) was a Quaker, and, like many of his sect at this time, very zealous in propagating his peculiar opinions, for which he was greatly per-

EDENBRIDGE.

- O. BOB. ALCHORNE. WIL. ABLET. AT — THER HALF PENY.
 R. EATON. BRIDGE. IN. KENT. MERCERS — The Mercers' Arms. Halfpenny.
 O. KATHERINE. HVBERD. OF — A crown.
 R. EATON. BRIDGE. IN. KENT — HER HALFE PENY. Halfpenny.

GOUDHURST.

- O. JOHN. AVSTEN. OF — The Mercers' Arms.
 R. GOVTHEBST. MERCER — I. B. A. Farthing.
 O. WILLIAM. MAYNARD. OF — 1664.
 R. GOODHVEST. IN. KENT. MERC. — W. M. M. Farthing.
 O. S. H. S. STEPHEN. STRINGER. 1661. (In five lines, filling the field.)
 R. GOWDHAST. IN. KENT — An anchor, with S on the shaft; and 1 and 2 on either side, for halfpenny.

GROOMBRIDGE.

- O. RICH. GYNSTABLE. MERCER — The Mercers' Arms.
 R. IN. GROOME. BRIDGE. 1666 — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.
 O. RICO. CONSTABLE. MERCER. 1668 — The Mercers' Arms.
 R. R. C. GROOM. BRIDGE. 1661. (In four lines across the field). A heart-shaped token. Halfpenny.

HADLOW.

- O. JOHN. BAT M — HIS HALF PENY.
 R. IN. HADLOW. IN. KENT — A greyhound. Halfpenny.

HAWKHURST.

- O. ARTHUR. GIBBONS — A gate. A. M. G.
 R. IN. HAWKHERST — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.
 O. JOHN. LATTER. BYOHER — HIS HALF PENY.
 R. OF. HAWKHVEST. IN. KENT — I. E. L. Halfpenny.
 O. THOMAS. MERCER. CLOTHIER — HIS HALFE PENNY.
 R. OF. HAWKHERST. IN. KENT — T. A. M. II (i.e., for two farthings). Halfpenny.

- O. WALTER. QVAIFE — An odd device, thus n. (A horse shoe?)
 R. IN. HAWKHURST — HIS HALF PENY. W. E. Q. Halfpenny.

HIGH HALDEN.

- O. JOHN. COOKE. 1667 — HIS HALF PENY.
 R. IN. HIGH. HALDEN — A lion rampant. Halfpenny.

LAMBERHURST.

- O. RICHARD. FRANCES — Arms: three chevrons. Crest, a greyhound.
 R. OF. LAMBERHURST. 1669 — R. A. F. — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.

MAIDSTONE.

- O. THOMAS. BOND. IN — The Grocers' Arms.
 R. MAYDSTONE. IN. KENT — T. L. B. as a monogram. 1666. Farthing.
 O. ROB. BROOKE. IRONMONGER — HIS HALF PENY.
 R. IN. MAIDSTONE. 1670 — R. W. B. Halfpenny.

accused, on one occasion being fined £5 for interrupting public service in Tenterden "steep-house," besides being kept in prison for a month, till the sessions. On another occasion, shortly after his release, he and his wife interrupted a clergyman at a funeral, for which offence both were committed to Maidstone, where he died in 1663, after a confinement of ten weeks.

O. ROBERT. HEATH*. OF — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. MAYDESTONE. GROCER — R. H.	
O. JOHN. HOAD. IN — A windmill.	Farthing.
R. MEADSTONE. 1657 — I. H.	
O. GERVIS. MAPLIDEN†. OF — Arms: a cross pattée fitchée.	Halfpenny.
R. MAIDSTONE. MERCHANT — HIS HALF PENY.	
O. JAMES. RYSE‡. IN — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. MEYDSTONE. IN. KENT — I. B.	
O. THOMAS. SWINOKES§ — Three men with astronomical instruments, standing round a globe.	Farthing
R. IN. MAIDSTONE — T. K. S.	
O. JONATHAN. TROUGHTON¶ — The Grocers' Arms.	Halfpenny.
R. IN. MAIDSTONE. 1668 — HIS HALF PENY.	
O. JONATHAN. TROUGHTON — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. IN. MAIDSTON. 1668 — I. M. T.	
O. RICHARD. WALKER|| — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. OF. MAIDSTON. GROCER — R. W. 1658.	
O. THOMAS. WALL. 1667 — The Salters' Arms.	
R. MAIDSTONE. HALF. PENNY — (In four lines, across the field).	
O. RALPH. WARDE. IN — A castle.	Farthing.
R. MAIDSTONE. 1657 — R. M. W.	
O. JOHN. WATSON. AT. THE — A bell.	Halfpenny.
R. IN. MAIDSTON. 1670 — HIS HALF PENY.	
O. ELIZABETH. WEB — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. OF. MAIDSTONE. GROCER — E. W.	
O. WILLIAM. WEB. MERCHANT — The Grocers' Arms.	
R. IN. MAIDSTON. 1649 — W. E. B. (The issuer's name repeated).	
O. STEVEN. WEEKES. OF — The Weavers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. MAIDSTONE. WEAVER — S. A. W.	
O. WALTER. WEEKES. 1669 — HIS HALF PENY.	
R. IN. MAIDSTONE. WEAVER — The Weavers' Arms (A heart-shaped Token.)	Halfpenny.
O. RICHARD. WICKING — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. IN. MAIDSTONE. GROCER — R. E. W.	
O. JAMES. WOLBALL — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. OF MAYDSTONE. 1664 — I. W.	
PENSHURST.	
O. HENRY. CONSTABLE. OF — A Crown.	
R. PENSHEVEST. IN. KENT. MERCHANT — HIS HALF PENY. 1667.	Halfpenny.
O. MARTEN. PYKE. OF — A fleur-de-lys.	Farthing.
R. PENTHEVEST. MERCHANT — M. A. P.	
PLUCKLEY.	
O. EDWARD. GOODING. OF — The Grocers' Arms.	Farthing.
R. PLUCKLEY. IN. KENT. 1663 — M. A. G.	

* Robert Heath was Mayor in 1653, and Chamberlain in 1655.

† Gervase Maplesden was Mayor in 1646 and 1653, and Chamberlain in 1644 and 1661.

‡ James Ruse was twice Mayor and three times Chamberlain.

§ The family of Swinoke have been connected with Maidstone for nearly three centuries, and are still represented in the town. A Thomas Swinoke was Mayor five times between 1611 and 1688, and Chamberlain six times. The device on the token is intended for the sign of "The World's End."

¶ Jonathan Troughton was Mayor in 1658, and Chamberlain in 1635.

|| Richard Wa was Mayor in 1674, 1675.

ROLVENDEN.

- O. JOHN . PEMBALL . 58 — I . M . P .
 R. ROLVENDEN . CHVECH — A view of the Church. Farthing.

SANDHURST.

- O. JOHN . OWEN . HIS . HALF . PENY . OF — Three Crowns on an oak tree.
 R. SANDHURST . IN . KENT — O . 1669.* Halfpenny.

SEVENOAKS.

- O. WILLIAM . ALLEN . OF — The Grocers' Arms.
 R. SEAVEN . OCKS . IN . KENT — W . A . Farthing.
 O. NICHOLAS . BROOKSED — A pistol . N . M . B .
 R. IN . THE . SEAVEN . OAKES — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.
 O. RICHARD . CRONKE† . 1658 — The Merchant Taylors' Arms.
 R. AT . SEAVEN . OAKES . KENT — B . M . C . Farthing.
 O. DANIEL . DAVIS . 1666 — CHEESMONGER.
 R. AT . SEAVEN . OAKS . IN . KENT — D . D . D . Farthing.
 O. DANIEL . DAVIS . AT . 1668 — A bell.
 R. SEVENOAKS . IN . KENT — HIS HALFE PENNY. Halfpenny.
 O. THOMAS . GREENE . OF — The Mercers' Arms.
 R. SEVEN . OAKES . IN . KENT — T . G . Farthing.
 O. THOMAS . GREEN . OF . 1668 — The Mercers' Arms.
 R. SEAVENOKS . IN . KENT — HIS HALF PENY . T . G . Halfpenny.
 O. NATHEL . OWENT‡ . OF . SEAVEN . OAKES . MERCER — (in five lines across the field).
 R. HIS . HALFE . PENNY . 1669 . N . E . O . — (in six lines across the field).
 O. JOHN . THORNTON . 65 — A bull.
 R. IN . SEAVEN . OAKES — I . T . Farthing.
 O. WILL . WALL . IN — Three sugar-loaves.
 R. SENOCKE . IN . KENT — W . W . 1666. Farthing.
 O. WILL . WALL . AT . SEAVENOAKS — Three sugar-loaves.
 R. HIS HALFE PENY — W . M . W . 1668. Halfpenny.
 O. THOMAS . WICKENDEN — 1666.
 R. SEVEN . OAKES . IN . KENT — T . I . W . Farthing.

SMARDEN.

- O. THOMAS . HINCKLY . IN — A gate.
 R. SMERDEN . IN . KENT . 1669 — HIS . HALF . PENY . T . S . H . Halfpenny.

SPELDHURST.

- O. THO . SOANE . MERCER . 1668 — A unicorn.
 R. IN . SPELDHURST . IN . KENT — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.

SUTTON VALENCE.

- O. JOHN . BURKHVEST — The Grocers' Arms.
 R. OF . SUTTON§ . 1657 — I . B . Farthing.

* This is a heart-shaped Token. The device of an oak tree, with three Crowns suspended in the branches, is commonly called "The Royal Oak," from the well-known story of Charles II. hiding in an oak tree after the battle of Worcester.

† Descendants of the issuer are well known here at the present day.

‡ Nathaniel Owen was a Quaker, and fined "for refusing to bear arms;" and also committed to prison.

§ Sutton is common to so many counties besides Kent that without another name attached to it a doubt might arise as to this Token being properly placed. But the name of *Burthurst*, variously spelt, appears on many gravestones in the churchyard of *Sutton Valence*, or *Town Sutton*.

- O. AT THE KINGS HEAD — Full-face bust of Henry VIII.
 R. IN. TOVN. BOVITTON — E. G. Farthing.
 O. ISAAC. HYNITT. OF — A lion rampant.
 R. TOWNE. SVITEN — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.

TENTERDEN.

- O. JOHN. CHVRCH*. IN. TANTERDENE. 1668. (In six lines, filling the field.)
 R. HIS. HALF. PENY — The Butchers' Arms. Halfpenny.
 O. JAMES. MEAD. 1667 — An angel.
 R. IN TENTERDEN — HIS HALF PENY. Halfpenny.
 O. JOHN. READER. OF — The Grocers' Arms.
 R. TENTERDEN. IN. KENT — I. E. Farthing.

TUNBRIDGE.

- O. WILLIAM. FREEMAN. HIS. HALF. PENNY. (In four lines across the field.)
 R. IN. TVNBRIDGE. 1667 — A roll of tobacco. W. E. F. Halfpenny.
 O. WILLIAM. OVERREY. OF — HIS HALF PENY.
 R. TVNBRIDGE. IN. KENT — W. O. 1669. Halfpenny.
 O. STEPHEN. PULLAND. HIS $\frac{1}{2}$. 1666. (In four lines across the field.)
 R. IN. TVNBRIDGE — S. A. P.
 O. I. E. STRETFIELD. MEROERS — The Skinners' Arms.
 R. IN. REATHERF. AND. TVNBRIDGE — I. E. S. Farthing.
 O. ROBERT. WALLICE — The Butchers' Arms.
 R. OF. TVNBRIDGE — E. W. Farthing.
 O. RICHARD. WOOD — R. W.
 R. OF. TVNBRIDGE — 1652 Farthing.
 O. RICHARD. WOOD — HIS. HALF. PENNY (In four lines, across the field).
 R. IN. TVNBRIDGE. IN. KENT. 1668 (ditto ditto)
 O. RICHARD. WOOD. OF — A rose.
 R. TVNBRIDGE. IN. KENT — E. K. W. Farthing.

WATERINGBURY.

- O. JOHN. CAREY. GROSER — 1669.
 R. OF. WOTERENBRY. KENT — T. C. Farthing.

WESTERHAM.

- O. SAMVELL. DALLING. OF — S. A. D.
 R. WESTERHAM. IN. KENT — 1653 Farthing.
 A variety has the date 1664.
 O. ANTHONY. SAXBEY. OF — A man making candles.
 R. WESTERHAM. IN. KENT — A. A. S. Farthing.

WOODCHURCH.

- O. THO. BRISENDEN. OF — The Butchers' Arms.
 R. WOODCHVRCH. IN. KENT — HIS. HALF. PENY. Halfpenny.

WROTHAM.

- O. CHARLES. ALLFREY — A boar's head.
 R. OF. WROTHAM — C. A. Farthing.
 O. THOMAS. CAVERLEY — The Merchant Taylors' Arms.
 R. IN. BROOTHAM. 1666 — T. C. Farthing.

* John Church was a Quaker, and in 1664 was excommunicated for "absence from the public worship, and not paying toward the repairing of the steeple-house."

† This is the only instance of a Kentish issuer having an address in another county, Reatherf, now Rotherhithe, being in Surrey. Though calling themselves meroers, they were probably connected with the leather trade.

YALDING.

O. DANIELL . CHILTENTEN . AT . YALDING . IN . KENT . 1668.

(In five lines, across the field).

R. HIS HALFE . PENY . D . A . C . (In five lines.)

Halfpenny.

A variety has the name spelt Chittenden, no doubt the correct spelling.

O. GABRIEL . COVCHMAN — The Grocers' Arms.

R. OF . YALDING . IN . KENT — G . C .

Farthing.

WEALD OF KENT TOKENS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

About the latter end of the eighteenth century copper coin again became scarce, and in 1786 the Anglesea Copper Mine Company endeavoured to meet the deficiency by the issue of some tons of pence and halfpence, an example which was speedily followed in various parts of the country. These tokens were similar in size to the legal current money, and differ very materially from those of the seventeenth century, not only in size, but in execution, many of them being very ornamental, with long inscriptions. I can only, however, give a description of those circulated in the Weald of Kent, which were not very numerous, and specimens of which have no doubt passed through the hands of many of my readers occasionally. They are all of the size of the halfpenny in ordinary circulation till the introduction of the bronze coinage of the year 1860.

APPLEDORE.

OVERSE. A man carrying a sack of corn to a windmill, and part of a house, in a circle. *The union of Appledore, Kent, 1794.*REVERSE. A lion and lamb lying side by side in a corn field. *Peace, Innocence, and Plenty.*

EDGE. Payable at W. Peckham's, Appledore.

BENENDEN.

O. A wheat sheaf. *Peace and Plenty.*R. The arms of the town of Maidstone, but without supporters. *Essexden Halfpenny, 1794.*

E. Payable by Thomas Reeves, Benenden.

GOUDHURST.

O. A prancing horse. *Kent Halfpenny Token, 1794.*R. Arms: three martlets in the field, a lion passant in chief. *For general convenience.*

E. Payable by W. Myns, Goudhurst.

O. and R. as above.

E. Payable by W. Fuggles, Goudhurst.

HAWKHURST.

O. A cipher, C. H. ; crest, a wheat sheaf. *Hawkhurst Halfpenny, payable at*R. A prancing horse in a shield; over the shield, 1794. *Justice and confidence the basis of trade.*

E. Charles Hider's.

LAMBERHURST.

O. Arms: on a bend three stag's heads. *Sussex Halfpenny Token.*R. A hop garden, and a man gathering the crop. *May Hops for ever flourish.*

E. Payable by T. Foster, Lamberhurst.

- O. Arms: three martlets in the field, a lion passant in chief. *Kent Halfpenny Token.*
 R. Arms, fanciful; underneath, on a label, *Sussex. For Change, not Fraud.*
 E. Payable by J. Gibbs, *Lamberhurst.*

MAIDSTONE.

- O. The Arms of the Borough of Maidstone, with two naked savages as supporters. *Maidstone Halfpenny, 1795.*
 R. A figure of Justice, with sword and scales. *The spring of Freedom England's Blessing. Kent.*
 E. Payable by Henry Oliver.
 O. The Arms of the Borough of Maidstone. *Maidstone Halfpenny.*
 R. A building representing a paper mill. Payable by J. Smith at *Padsole Paper Mill. 1795.*

STAPLEHURST.

- O. A cipher, J.S., surmounted by a crest of a stag's head. *Staplehurst Halfpenny. 1794.*
 R. A prancing horse. *For Change, not Fraud.*
 E. Payable by J. Simmons, *Staplehurst. 1794.*

APPENDIX F.

(Page 770.)

COBBETT ON ROMNEY MARSH, A.D. 1823.

"In quitting Appledore I crossed a canal and entered on Romney Marsh. This was grass-land on both sides of me to a great distance. The flocks and herds immense. The sheep are of a breed that takes its name from the Marsh. They are called Romney Marsh sheep. Very pretty and large. The wethers, when fat, weigh about twelve stone, or one hundred pounds. The faces of these sheep are white; and, indeed, the whole sheep is as white as a piece of writing paper. The wool does not look dirty and oily like that of other sheep. The cattle appear to be all of the *Sussex* breed. Red, loosed-limbed, and, they say, a great deal better than the Devonshire. How curious is the *natural economy* of a country! The *forests* of *Sussex*; those miserable tracts of heath and fern and bushes and sand, called Ashdown Forest and Saint Leonard's Forest, to which latter Lord Erskine's estate belongs; these wretched tracts, and the not much less wretched farms in their neighbourhood, *breed the cattle* which we see *fattening* in Romney Marsh! They are calved in the spring; they are weaned in a little bit of grass-land; they are then put into stubbles and about in the fallows for the first summer; they are brought into the yard to winter on rough hay, peas haulm, or barley straw; the next two summers they spend in the rough woods or in the forest; the two winters they live on straw; they then pass another summer on the forest or at *work*; and then they come here or go elsewhere to be fatted. With cattle of this kind and with sheep such as I have spoken of before, this marsh abounds in every part of it; and the sight is most beautiful.

"At three miles from Appledore I came through Snargate, a village with five houses, and with a church capable of containing two thousand people! * * *

"At Brenzett (a mile further on) I with great difficulty got a rasher of bacon for breakfast. The few houses that there are are miserable in the extreme. The church here (only a *mile* from the last) nearly as large; and nobody to go to it. * * * "*Dark ages*" indeed those must have been, if these churches were erected without there being any more people than there are now. But, *who* built them? Where did the *means*, where did the hands come from? This place presents another proof of the truth of my old observation: *rich land* and *poor labourers*. From the window of the house, in which I could scarcely get a rasher of bacon, and not an egg, I saw numberless flocks and herds fattening, and the fields loaded with corn!

"The next village, which was two miles further on, was Old Romney,

and along here I had, for great part of the way, corn-fields on one side of me and grass-land on the other. I asked what the amount of the crop of wheat would be. They told me better than five quarters to the acre. I thought so myself. I have a sample of the red wheat and another of the white. They are both very fine. They reap the wheat here nearly two feet from the ground; and even then they cut it three feet long! I never saw corn like this before. It very far exceeds the corn under Portadown Hill, that at Gosport, and Tichfield. They have here about eight hundred large, very large, sheaves to an acre. I wonder how long it will be after the end of the world before Mr. Birkbeck will see the American 'Prairies' half so good as this Marsh. In a garden here I saw some very fine onions, and a prodigious crop; sure sign of most excellent land. At this Old Romney there is a church (two miles only from the last, mind!) fit to contain one thousand five hundred people, and there are, for the people of the parish to live in, twenty-two or twenty-three houses! * * * Curious system that depopulates Romney Marsh and peoples Bagshot Heath! It is an unnatural system. * * * The rotten borough of New Romney came next in my way; and here, to my great surprise, I found myself upon the sea-beach; for I had not looked at a map of Kent for years, and, perhaps, never. I had got a list of places from a friend in Sussex, whom I asked to give me a route to Dover, and to send me through those parts of Kent which he thought would be most interesting to me." * * *

APPENDIX G.

(Page 770.)

THE ANCIENT PAROCHIAL DIVISION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, NOW MID, KENT.

Kilburne points out the received division in his time as follows:—[P. 303.] "These two divisions may, in any map of the county, be divided each from the other by pricking a line from the top of the east side of the Isle of Grane down to the Channel, and exclude from the West [Mid] Division the churches of Queenborough, Iwade, Halstow, Upchurch, Rainham, and Hartlip. Then prick the line down the east heads of the churches of Stockbury and Bicknor; then prick the line from the bottom of Bicknor church eastward, over the churches of Wormshill and Frinsted, and under the churches of Milsted, Kingsdown, Dodington, and Newnham; then between the churches of Eastling and Otterden, and at the east side of the church of Otterden, and under that church westward to the top of the east head of the church of Lenham, and down the east head of that church, by the east side of the church of Boughton Malherbe, to the east head of the church of Headcorn, and down that west head, and eastward to the west head of the church of Smarden, and down that west head and eastward to the west head of the church of Betersden, and down that west head and eastward to the top of the east head of the

church of Shadoxhurst, and down that east head to the west head of the church of Warehorne, and down that west head to the west side of the church of Snargate, and then westward under the church of Appledore, and from thence along the channel over the church of Ebony, and down as the river goeth to the east side of the church of Newenden, and so into the Channel."

"NOTE.—That in all places where the line to part the divisions or laths is by this book directed to be drawn down the head of any church (either east or west), that there that parish is in both the divisions or lathes; but the church is in that division or lath where the body of the same is."

It should be stated that this boundary is not adhered to by the Bar-risters who now Revise the lists of voters. The Parishes severed are, however, the same.

THE MODERN PAROCHIAL DIVISION FOR PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION PURPOSES, BETWEEN MID AND WEST KENT IS THE BOUNDARY LINE BETWEEN THE UNDER-MENTIONED PARISHES.

MID KENT.

Northfleet,
Nursted,
Meopham,
Stansted,
Wrotham,
Ightham,
Shipbourne,
Tunbridge,
Bidborough,
Ashurst,
Speldhurst.

WEST KENT.

Swanscombe,
Southfleet,
Longfield,
Ash-next-Ridley,
Ridley,
Kingsdown,
Shoreham,
Kemsing,
Seal,
Sevenoaks,
Leigh,
Penhurst,

Here, no parishes are severed, as in the boundary between East and Mid Kent.

West Kent includes all the parishes in the Lath of Sutton at Hone, and Mid-Kent includes "the remainder of the [Western] Division."—Ante, p. 686.

APPENDIX H.

(Page 82L.)

EXTRACTS FROM ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S DIARY.

"I was born October 7th, 1573, at Reading."

"I was made Chaplain to Dr. Neile, then Lord Bishop of Rochester, August 5th, 1608."—[Ante, p. 591.]

"My Lord of Rochester gave me Cuxton in Kent, May 25th, 1610."

"I fell sick of a Kentish ague, caught at my benefice, November 5th, 1610, which held me two months."

"I left Cuxton and was inducted in Norton, November, 1610, by proxy.—[Ante, p. 591.]

"1633, August 4th (Sunday).—News came to Court of the Lord Arch-

bishop of Canterbury's death (Abbot), and the King (Charles I.) resolved presently to give it me, which he did, August 6th."

Extracts from ARCHBISHOP LAUD'S Annual Returns of the state of the Parishes, &c., in the Dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester, parts of his Province, made to Charles I. between 1633 and 1639, by command of His Majesty. [Ante, pp. 585, 590, 591, 592.]*

"1633.—First, for my own Diocese of Canterbury. I hear of many things amiss; but as yet my time hath been so short, that I have had no certain knowledge of anything fit to certify, save only that some of my Peculiars in London are extremely out of order."

Rochester. "In this diocese, the town of Malling and that whole deanery, were very much out of order; but the Archdeacon, by my Lord the Bishop's command, hath settled them." The Vicar (a Mr. Throgmorton) had been "brought into the High Commission, when he submitted himself, and received a Canonical admonition." Archbishop Laud also certified that Rochester Cathedral required glass in the windows, and the churchyard was in an indecent state and the gates down; that the Bishop was powerless because the Dean and Chapter refused to be visited by him, "upon pretence that their Statutes are not confirmed under the Broad Seal, with some other circumstances, with which I shall acquaint your Majesty more at large."

To this King Charles appends the following note:—"C. R. This must be remedied one way or other; concerning which I expect a particular account of you."

The next year (1634) Archbishop Laud reports to the King that he had found in his own diocese ("especially about Ashford-side"), "divers professed Separatists," as also at Maidstone ("where much Inconformity hath of late years spread.") He adds that they had been called before the High Commission, "and if found guilty, I shall not fail to do justice upon them."

Laud was of opinion that the Dutch churches at Canterbury and Sandwich were "great nurseries of Inconformity," and that they ought not to live in such a separation from Church and State; and adds that he had commanded his Vicar General, when at Canterbury, to require them to conform to the English Church.

King Charles' note on this:—"C. R. Put me in mind of this at some convenient time when I am at Council, and I shall redress it."

There was nothing amiss at Rochester.

In 1635 Laud reports that there were still many refractory persons

* Archbishop Abbot in his return made the preceding year, reports that "The Lady Wooton in Kent hath set up a bold epitaph upon her Lord's tomb [at Boughton Malherbe], and will not be persuaded to take it down. We have therefore called her into the High Commission, where, by excuse of sickness, she hath not yet appeared; but at the next term (God willing) we intend to proceed with her: which is but necessary, for the avoiding of scandal in the country." To set up this tomb, the lady had removed the font, and the inscription stated that her husband died "a true Catholic, of the Roman faith." For this she was fined £500 in the High Commission Court. Abbot was accused of favouring the Puritans.—Ante, p. 591.

about Maidstone and Canterbury, the infection being spread by one Brewer, and increased by one Turner, who had both been censured by the High Commission Court. He adds that the Cathedral Church at Canterbury began to be in good order, and that he had almost finished the statutes, which he proposed to submit to the King, and which were to serve as a model for other Cathedrals.

In 1636 the Archbishop acquaints His Majesty that there were still about Ashford and Egerton divers *Brownists* and other Separatists; "but they are so very mean and poor people that we know not what to do with them. They are said to be the disciples of one Turner and one Fenner, who were long since apprehended and imprisoned by order of the High Commission Court." Laud is at a loss to understand how this part of Kent has become so infected, and recommends that they should be "driven to abjure the kingdom." To this the King adds:—"C.R. Inform me of the particulars and I shall command the Judges to make, them abjure." He also informs His Majesty that the Walloons, especially at Canterbury, came orderly to the parish churches, according to his recent injunctions.

That many in Canterbury, who had formerly refused to kneel at the Communion had consented to do so. That there had been a custom for ministers under divers pretences to live at Canterbury and go seldom to their benefices, "which hath given a double scandal both by their absence from their several cures, and by keeping too much company, and that not in the best manner. I have seen this remedied in all save only one man, and if he do not presently conform I have taken orders for his suspension."

The Bishop of Rochester (John Bowle) had been suffering from palsy, and had made no return. He died soon afterwards.

In 1637 Archbishop Laud gives His Majesty to understand that "At and about Ashford, in Kent, the Separatists continue to hold their conventicles, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been discovered. They are all of the poorer sort, and very simple." The ringleaders, Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, were in prison. Brewer escaped and "went to Rochester and other parts of Kent and held conventicles, and put a great many simple people, especially women, into great distempers against the Church." He was recaptured, and being called before the High Commission stood silent, "but in such a jeering, scornful manner, as I scarce ever saw the like. So in prison he remains."

"In the church-yard of the same town [Ashford] a butcher's slaughter house is opened to the great annoyance of that place; which I have commanded should be remedied, and the door shut up."

"At Biddenden," Laud says, "I have suspended Richard Warren, the schoolmaster, for refusing the oath of allegiance, of canonical obedience, and to subscribe to the Articles. Besides, this precise man will read

* A slaughter house, unfortunately, still exists here; the carcases were formerly carried through the church-yard to the butchery; and are now carried through it to a butcher's shop

nothing but Divinity to his scholars : no, not so much as the grammar rules, unless Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, &c., may be blotted out."

One Thomas Jordan was dwelling at Adisham, who was illegitimate. "It is believed he was never christened," and Laud reports to the King that he had ordered that it should be done with the caution that is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, where the baptism is doubtful.

At Sittingbourne, he says, there were more recusants than in any other part of his diocese, "and the Lady Roper [Dowager] is thought to be a great means of the increase of them. But I have given strict charge that they be carefully presented according to law."

Schismatics are still to be met with at Egerton and the parishes adjacent. "But," he tells the King, "they are as mean people as those about Ashford, and I am as much to seek what to do with them."

The return for 1638 states that one Bedle, a minister, of Essex, came to Harbledown, near Canterbury, the curate being dead, and preached very disorderly for three hours together at a time, "and got himself many ignorant followers;" but he fled as soon as Laud's officers were in search of him.

He also reports to the King that neither Papists nor Puritans were on the increase or decrease in his diocese. "But the Separatists about Ashford are very busy, miserably poor, but bold against all Church censure; so that, without some temporal assistance from the judges, we know not what to do." To this King Charles adds, "O. R. Demand their help, and if they refuse I shall make them assist you."

There were some refractory people at Tenterden, but by the help of the Archdeacon, Laud hoped to keep them in order.

In the concluding year (1639) he reports to the King that the Anabaptists and Separatists from the Church of England, "especially in and about the parts near Ashford," were beyond his power, and needed the arm of the civil authorities. To this the King adds, "O. R. It were not amiss to speak with the Keeper about this."

The Archbishop next refers to those who, previously, had been willing to receive the Holy Communion "where the rails stand before the Table," but had then "fallen off," and refused to go up to receive it; which objection he hoped to overcome.

The Archbishop tells the King that in Sussex the Bishop of Chichester appears to have been more troubled with Puritan Justices than with Puritan ministers.

INDEX OF NAMES, PLACES, AND GENERAL MATTERS.

THIS VOLUME IS IN TWO PARTS.

PART I. CONTAINS THE HISTORY OF THE 13TH, 14TH, AND 15TH CENTURIES, AND ENDS AT PAGE 424.

PART II. BEGINS WITH PAGE 425, AND CARRIES THE HISTORY DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

NAMES.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Abbel, John, knighted at Caerlaverock, 238.</p> <p>Abbentone, Richard de, incumbent of Little Chart, 232.</p> <p>Abbot, Archbishop, 591; his unintentional homicide, <i>ib.</i>; builds a conduit for the city of Canterbury, <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Abel, John, summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.</p> <p>Abergavenny, George Neville, Lord, J.P. for Kent, 464.</p> <p>Abergavenny, Henry Neville, Lord, defeats the Kentish rebels at Blacksole field, 471; deserted by his troops, <i>ib.</i>; entertains Queen Elizabeth at Birling, 493; his death, 494.</p> <p>Abingdon, Edmund de (or St. Edmund), archbishop of Canterbury, 69; his troubled life, and death, <i>ib.</i> and <i>n.</i></p> <p>Adam, son of Lewyn, murder by, 40.</p> <p>Adam, son of Philip, fate of, 32.</p> <p>Adelina, wife of Gilbert of Tunbridge, 309.</p> <p>Adiaham, Edmund de, a monk, party to a suit, 331.</p> <p>Agnes of Canterbury, said to be cured by miracle, 93.</p> <p>Alan, John, L.C.D., incumbent of Aldington, 439.</p> <p>St. Albans, Ulick de Burgh, earl of, his estate of Somerhill sequestrated by the Parliament, 520.</p> <p>Albemarle, George Monk, duke of, defends the Medway against the Dutch, 558.</p> <p>Aldone, Thomas, castellan of Leeds, 276, 282.</p> <p>Aldwite, Walter de, steward of the Lowy of Tunbridge, 58.</p> | <p>Alexander II., king of Scotland, present at a council at Canterbury, A.D. 1222, 67.</p> <p>Aleyn, Henry, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.</p> <p>Aleyn, Thomas, a juror, 380.</p> <p>Algaresdenne, William de, 43.</p> <p>Alice, daughter of Godwin, her suit against Richard of the Mill, 59.</p> <p>Alice, daughter of Sibilla, death of, 43.</p> <p>Alice daughter of Simon and her brother Eustace burnt to death, 36.</p> <p>Alkin, Thomas Turner, sheriff of Kent, 688.</p> <p>Alkindene, Thomas de, murder of, 32.</p> <p>Allday, Rev. Mr., rector of St. Andrew's, Canterbury, performs the Christmas-day service, in spite of the Parliamentary ordinance, 534.</p> <p>Allen, his "Royal Prerogative" cited, 1, 115, 288.</p> <p>Allen, John, tried for treason, but acquitted, 628, 627.</p> <p>All Souls' College, Oxford, tenants of the manor of Aldington, 523.</p> <p>Amherst, Jeffery, Lord, career of, 631.</p> <p>Amherst, William Pitt, Lord, 632.</p> <p>Amherst, Nicholas, a political writer, 631.</p> <p>Amicia, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, 310; her marriage, <i>ib.</i></p> <p>Amicia, a married woman, why allowed to sue in her own name, 64.</p> <p>Andeham, John, fine on, for taking his father's horse without his consent, 46.</p> <p>Andrew of the Wood, an outlaw, 52.</p> <p>Andrew, John, a clothier of Cranbrook, his apprehension, 456; his letter to Harman, 460.</p> |
|---|---|

- Andrews, John, of Winchelsea, 139.
 St. Andrews, bishop of, imprisoned in Winchester Castle, 264 and *n*.
 Angliangle, Agnes and Simon de, 124.
 Anne, Queen, reign of, 604, 605; visits the Lamberhurst iron foundry, 581 *n*; the great storm, 623; her Bounty, 613; her husband, 605; death, *ib*.
 Anne of Cleves, grants in Kent to, 479 and *n*.
 Anne, William de, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Antony, John, a servant of Cromwell, 462.
 Apeldre, Andrew de, accidental death of, 32.
 Apeldre, Malger de, murder of, 31; Thomas de, his father, *ib*.
 Apuldore, William, the king's confessor, put to death by the Wat Tyler rebels, 362.
 Apuldefeud, Henry de, sheriff of Kent, 265; knight of the shire, *ib*.; charge against him, 141; his park at Broxham, 243.
 Aquila, Gilbert de, founder of Michelham Priory, 12.
 Arden of Faversham, story of the murder of, 467 and *n*.
 Armenia, Leo, king of, received by Richard II., 363.
 Armstrong, John, seditious speech of, 457.
 Arundel, John Fitzalan, earl of, besieged in Rochester Castle, 80.
 Arundel, John, son of Alan of, his composition with Archbishop Boniface, 232.
 Arundel, Richard Fitz Alan, earl of, appointed warden of Scotland, 225.
 Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 367 and *n*.; charter of Richard II. in favour of, 365.
 Ashburnham, Bartholomew de, execution of, 280.
 Ashburnham, Mr., a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486.
 Ashby, —, executed as a witch, 664.
 Atenmerke, William, extortions of, 45.
 Athol, David de Strathbolgie, earl of, 263 *n*, 284 *n*.
 Athol, Elizabeth, countess of, her monument in Ashford church, 263 *n*.
 Athol, John de Strathbolgie, a partisan of Bruce, 263; the owner of Chilham Castle, *ib*.; taken and executed, *ib*.
 Atkins, John Pelly, sheriff of Kent, 638.
 Atleeze, family of, 11.
 Atte Berche, John, jun., a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Attebroke, Walter, a surety, 55.
 Attecumbo, Cecily, and Solomon her son, murder of, 46.
 Atte Dane, Michael, a tavern-keeper, murder committed in his house, 245.
 Atte Gate, John, murder committed by, 244; tried and acquitted, 245 and *n*.
 Attebeth, Matilda, horse taken from, by an escheator, 151.
 Atteheye, Thomas, said to be cured by miracle, 93.
 Attehill, Robert, falsely accused of robbery, 52.
 Atterbury, Francis, bishop of Rochester, 617 and *n*.
 Atterelake, John and Stephen, illegal imprisonment of, 126, 127.
 Atte Ware, William, a poacher, 136.
 Atte Wood, Hugh, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Aucher family, found a Carmelite house at Newenden, 16; their mansion at Lossenham, *ib*.
 Aucher, Sir Anthony, has a lease of the estate of Motinden Priory, 417; a favourite with Henry VIII., 524 and *n*.; his death, *ib*. and *n*.
 Aucher, Sir Anthony, his son, lord of the manor of Ashford, 504.
 Aucher, Sir Anthony, grandson, a Royalist, admitted to Sandwich, 539; besieges Dover Castle, *ib*.; driven therefrom, 544; created a baronet, 526.
 Aucher, Nicholas, suit against, by the archbishop of Canterbury, 203, 204.
 Aucher, Petronilla, 203.
 Audley, Hugh, the younger, becomes possessed of Tunbridge Castle, 274, 295; is deprived of it, for rebellion, 274, 296; created earl of Gloucester, 296 *n*.
 Audley, James, Lord, defeated and executed, 407.
 St. Augustine, Canterbury, abbot of, complaints against the, 152, 155, 158; exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, 237, 820; privileges of, 154, 162; letter of Prince Edward to, in favour of the parson of Waldershare, 262; J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 464.
 St. Augustine, monks of, erroneous statement respecting the, 68; their election of an archbishop set aside, 69.
 Aula, Avicia de, her possessions, 140.
 Austen, Edward, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Austen, Sir Robert, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Austen, Thomas, M.P. for West Kent, 688.

- Austyn, John, a juror, 380.
- Aylesford, Henry de, abbot of Battle, grant by, 199 and *n.*
- Aylmer, a name assumed by Cade, 399 *n.*
- Aysseby, William, a gaoler, allows a prisoner to escape, 376.
- Bacon, Sir Nicholas, his present to Queen Elizabeth, 497; his decree as to the manor of Moorhouse, 501.
- Bacon, Sir Nicholas, his son, the premier Baronet, 525 *n.*
- Badlesmere family, remains of their ancient seat, 273.
- Badlesmere, Agnes, Lady, 273 *n.*, 277 *n.*; refuses to admit Queen Isabella to Leeds Castle, 276; besieged, and obliged to surrender, 279; imprisoned in the Tower, *ib.*
- Badlesmere, Bartholomew de, his litigation with William de Cheney, temp. Hen. II., 272; a trespasser in the king's forest, 273.
- Badlesmere, Bartholomew de, knight of the shire for Kent, temp. Edw. I., 265; styled the "rich Lord Badlesmere," 272; greatly favoured by Edward II., but is unfaithful to him, 271-274; his great possessions, 273; joins the Earl of Lancaster, 276; is taken, and executed, 280; his Kentish castles, 283.
- Badlesmere, Giles de, slain by the Welsh, 273.
- Badlesmere, Giles, son of the "rich lord," his title and estates restored, 322 and *n.*; inquisition as to his property, *ib.*
- Badlesmere, Gunceline de, a crusader, 273.
- Badlesmere, Gunceline de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94, 273; in favour with Edward I., 225, 273.
- Badlesmere, Ralph, a crusader, 273.
- Badlesmere, William de, a rebellious baron, temp. John, 273.
- Baily, Thomas Farmer, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Baker, Christopher, his account of the ironworks in the Weald, 485.
- Baker, Henry, his report on wool smuggling, 574.
- Baker, Sir Henry, created a baronet, 525; his agreement with Lord Hunsdon, 501 *n.*
- Baker, John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Baker, Sir John, of Sissinghurst, 458 and *n.*; persecutes Alexander Weller, 531 *n.*
- Baker, Sir John (2), sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Baker, Mary, married to John Tufton, 495.
- Baker, Sir Richard, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486; charge against, 503; sheriff of Kent, 518.
- Baker, Sir Richard, author of the Chronicle, sheriff of Kent, 602; death of, 601.
- Baker, Thomas, of Fobblings, an insurgent, 354 *n.*
- Bakere, Thomas, suit of trespass against, 332.
- Baldock, William Henry, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Baldwin the Convert, a bailiff of the earl of Gloucester, 57.
- Ball, John, the priest, 355; distich ascribed to, 858; released from prison, 359; captured and executed, 362.
- Ballard, Fulk de, owner of Combden, 17.
- Balliol, Alexander and Isabella de, their possessions and franchises, 150, 157, 159, 319; said to be married without the king's licence, 151; Alexander allowed to hold Chilham Castle for a while after the death of his step-son, the earl of Athol, 273 *n.*
- Balliol, John, King of Scotland, made prisoner, 223; released, and allowed to retire to France, 226; the Scottish crown found among his baggage, *ib.*
- Balliol, Thomas de, summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
- Bancroft, Archbishop, 591; arbitrator in a tithe cause, 593.
- Banks, Delamark, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Banks, Mr. John, of Hastings, 622 *n.*
- Bannerman, Henry, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Bannister, his reward for betraying Henry, duke of Buckingham, 427 *n.*
- Banquette, M. John de, letter of Prince Edward to, 260.
- Banquette, Thomas de, his possessions, 319.
- Bansted, John de, his possessions, 319.
- Bar, Henry, duke of, marries Eleanor, daughter of Edward I., 248; visits Leeds Castle, *ib.*
- Barbling, Robert de, the coroner, fined for neglect of duty, 49.
- Barclay, Sir George, his plot against the life of William III., 568.
- Baridene, Simon de, coroner of the Lowy of Tunbridge, 58.
- Barkindenne, Peter de, his extortions, 181.
- Barling, Mr., a fruit cultivator, 515.

- Barnes, Mr. Henry, of Staplehurst, information received from, 26 n.
 Barnham, Robert, created a baronet, 526.
 Barry, William, has the farm of the Seven Hundreds, 239.
 Bartholomew, Leonard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Bartholomew, Leonard (2), sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Bartlett, a servant of Cromwell, 462.
 Barton, Elizabeth, the Holy Maid of Kent, 138 n.; story of, 442; enters the convent of St. Sepulchre, Canterbury, 443; her visions and prophecies, 444; executed, 445.
 Basing, William de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227; summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268; sheriff of Kent, 306, 371; knight of the shire, 307; his possessions, 319.
 Bath, Henry de, his Iter in Kent, 59 and n.
 Battenson, Sir Edward, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Battle, abbot of, diversion of a road by, 54; charges against, 121--124, 136, 136; pleas of juries and assizes affecting him, 243; controversy about his rights at Dengemarah, 268; put to flight by the French, 349.
 Baude, Peter, an early cannon founder, 484.
 Bavent family, their possessions, 17.
 Bavent, Adam de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228.
 Bavent, Roger, his possessions, 319.
 Bayhall family, their possessions, 16.
 Bayham, abbot of, charge against, 124.
 Beald, family of, 14.
 Beale, John, created a baronet, 526.
 Beale, Richard, a Parliamentarian, 536.
 Beauchamp, Cecily, possessions of, 319.
 Beauchamp, Elizabeth, married to Sir Edward Neville, 493.
 Beauchamp, John, lord, the first peer created by patent, 364.
 Beauchamp, Walter de, steward of the king's household, 225.
 Beaumont, Francis, the dramatist, 516.
 Beccleshanger, John de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Beeche, Robert, charge against, 149.
 Beck, Anthony, bishop of Durham, reconciles Edward I. to Ralph de Monthermer, 223; presents Eltham Palace to Queen Eleanor, 247.
 Becket, Archbishop, translation of his remains, 67; expense thereby brought on the see of Canterbury, 2b.; cited to appear and answer an information in the time of Henry VIII., 463; condemned, and his shrine destroyed, 464.
 Bedington, Richard de, complaint against, 45.
 Bedle, a disorderly minister, 850.
 Beeman, Rev. Isaac, of Cranbrook, 654 n.
 Begydenne, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Belet, Hervey, 179.
 Belknap, Sir Robert, the chief justice, owner of Hemsted, 371 n.
 Bell, John, of Appledore, his complaint against the priest of Brenzett, 451.
 Bell, John, the master of Canterbury workhouse, charged with embezzlement, 618.
 Bell, Matthew, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Belle, John, a Flemish clothworker, 324.
 Bendevile, Alfred de, his tenure of West Peckham, 130.
 Bendevile, Emma de, 130 n.
 Bendinges, Burgis and Peter de, their suit concerning the manor of Westwell, 179.
 Bene, Richard le, murder of, 241.
 Benhale, Peter de, exaction from, 151.
 Beningdene, Joyce de, suspected of robbery, but cleared, 39.
 Beningdenne, Joan de, fined for default, 35.
 Benjamyn, Simon, robbery of, 281.
 Benstede, Lord J. de, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 224 and n.
 Bereford, William, a justice itinerant, temp. Edw. I., 217, 218, 243.
 Berewyk, J. de, a justice itinerant, temp. Edw. I., 243.
 Bergavenny. See *Abergavenny*.
 Berghstede, Thomas, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Berkfold, William de, his children burnt to death, 43.
 Bermondsey, prior of, his franchises, 140; possessions of, 319.
 Bernard of Newmarket, witness to a charter of Battle Abbey, 352.
 Bernes, Robt., an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Bernykel, William, his complaint against the parson of Pluckley, 55.
 Bersted, Walter de, acting sheriff of Kent, 118, 130.
 Berton, Hamon, son of Ralph de, a murderer, 33.
 Best, James, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Best, Mawdistley, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Best, Serjeant, his speech on the boundary of the Weald, 642.

- Bestane, Julian de, suit of William de Romesodde against, 61.
 Beswick, William, sheriff of Kent, 602.
 Betenson, Sir Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Bette, Thomas, a juror, 380.
 Bettenham, Robert, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Betts, Edward Ladd, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Betun, Baldwin de, earl of Albemarle, a possessor of Sutton Castle, 85.
 Bickele, Richard de, sells a marsh to the people of Thanet, 157.
 Bicknor, John and Thomas de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Bigg, Thomas, a rebel, 403.
 Bigot, earl of Norfolk, speech ascribed to, 72.
 Bill, Miss Hannah, an early promoter of Sunday Schools, 617 n.
 Bilsington, prior of, cup-bearer to the king on Whit-Sunday, 181.
 Bilsington, prior and convent of, their embanking and inclosing works, 301, 337.
 Bilsington, East, service of the lord of, at coronations, 182 and n.
 Binns, John, tried for treason, but acquitted, 626, 627.
 Birchine, William, false charge brought against, 137.
 Bishop, story of a soldier of the name of, 588.
 Bishop, William, mayor of Maidstone, knighted by George III., 624.
 Bishops, the seven, committed to the Tower, 560; their health drunk by their guards, 561; visited by nonconformist ministers, *ib.*
 Bissopesdene, John, a boroughholder, 38.
 Black, Alice, assailed by robbers, 35.
 Black Will, a murderer, hung at Flushing, 467.
 Blackstone, Judge, his unsound dictum on manors, 739, 793.
 Bladeloo, Walter, his claims on the chattels of a felon, 57.
 Blades' Life of Caxton, quoted, 421, 422, 423.
 Blakebroke, Thomas de, farmer of the manor of Yalding, 297.
 Blakeburn, Simon de, charged as an accomplice in a murder, 31.
 Blechindenne, Nicholas, charged with horse-stealing, but acquitted, 52.
 Blechindone, Richard de, accidental death of, 88.
 Blencowe, Mr., on Cowden and its Neighbourhood, 577 and n.
 Bluebeard, a rebel so called, 381.
 Blund, John, elected archbishop of Canterbury, but set aside by the pope, 69.
 Blund, John de, sheriff of Kent, 306.
 Blund, Thomas le, incumbent of Harrietsham, 233.
 Blundy, Richard, named in error by Hasted, 69.
 Blunvill, Thomas de, ordered to make provision for the security of the Cinque Ports, 74.
 Bocking, Dr. Edward, an abettor of Elizabeth Barton, 443; executed, 445.
 Bode, John, prosecuted for poaching, 45.
 Bodyham, William de, suit against, 63.
 Bohun, Humphrey, earl of Essex, sheriff of Kent, 117; his possessions, 319.
 Bokeral, W., a part-holder of the barony of Chatham, 146.
 Boklonde, Ralph de, said to be cured by miracle, 92.
 Boleyn, Anne, created marchioness of Pembroke, 437; her marriage to Henry VIII., *ib.*; procures the release of Hackett, 461.
 Boleyn, Mary, married to William Carey, 478; their son Henry created Lord Hunsdon, *ib.*
 Boleyn, Sir Thomas, a subsidy commissioner for Kent, 452; letter of Archbishop Warham to him and others, 453; created Viscount Rochford and Earl of Wiltshire, 430; his letters to Sir John Dawney, *ib.*; Tunbridge priory leased to him, 434.
 Boleyn, Sir William, sheriff of Kent, 420.
 Bond, James, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Boniface VIII., Pope, suppresses the deaneries of St. Augustine, 821.
 Boniface of Savoy, archbishop of Canterbury, encroachments by his bailiffs, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43; a defaulter before the justiciaries, 40, 44; pays Archbishop Langton's debts, 67; assists to raise an army for Henry III., 89; his haughty character and death, 70 and n.; his tenants at Newenden, 133.
 Bonintune, John de, violent proceedings of, 137.
 Bonning, John, drowned in a marl pit, 241.
 Booth, Sir Charles, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Bordeaux, Bertrand, archbishop of elected Pope [Clement V.], 261.
 Bore, family of, 12.

- Borveling, William de, a tenant in capite, 128.
 Boteler, John, a priest, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Boteler, Sir Philip, his attempted arbitration in a tithe suit, 610; purchases Orlestone, 717; tithe suit against him, 720.
 Boteler, William, created a baronet, 525.
 Boucher, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Bouchier, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 405, 415, and *n*; said to have introduced printing into England, 421*n*.
 Bourne, Bishop, deprived and imprisoned, 507, *n*.
 Boveton, Edward, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Bowle, John, bishop of Rochester, 849.
 Box, Godfrey, sets up a slitting mill at Dartford, 488.
 Bouley, abbot of, charges against, 42, 48, 124, 128, 132, 133; his rights in Barnfield, 131.
 Boys' Agricultural Survey of Kent, cited, 26, 659; strange statement in, 699.
 Boys, Sir John, a Royalist, captured, 552.
 Boys, Captain John, M.P. for Kent, 602, *n*.
 Boys, Samuel, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Brabam, William, the farmer of Cranbrook rectory, A.D. 1512, 427.
 Brabanson, Lord Roger de, letter of Prince Edward to, 261.
 Bracton, his summary of the articles of inquiry at assizes, 170; on poisoning, 171.
 Bradebyre, Anselm and Robert, suit between, 62.
 Bradegar, Robert de, incumbent of Bidenden, 232.
 Bradley, Francis, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Bradshaw, Serjeant, grant of Somerhill to, 521; pronounces the sentence on King Charles, 553; elected President of the Council of State, 590; his death, 521 and *n*.
 Bradwardine, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 367.
 Bramtone, Robert de, incumbent of New Romney, 233.
 Brandrede, John, party to a suit, 331.
 Bratle, Thomas, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486.
 Brattell family, fulling mills held by the, 569 *n*.
 Brech, Simon, pays 12*d*. to avoid serving on an assize, 134.
 Brehuse, W. de, charge against, 157; his warren, 158.
 Brecheley, Walter, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Brentwood, the smith of, his defence of Hubert de Burgh, 72 *n*.
 Brenzett, the priest of, committed to Maidstone gaol, 451.
 Brett, a London captain, joins Wyatt with his men, 472; executed, 474.
 Brewer, Professor, on Tithes and Endowments, cited, 613, 741 *n*., 790, 795, 812, 814-18.
 Brewer, a sectary, 849.
 Brewose, Wm. de, his possessions, 319.
 Brézé, Sir Pierre, sacks Sandwich, 403, 404.
 Bridges, Brook, created a baronet, 526; sheriff of Kent, 635 and *n*.
 Bridges, Sir Brook (2), M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Bridges, Sir Brook William, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Bridges, Sir Brook William (2), M.P. for East Kent, 687, 688.
 Bridgland, Mr. Thomas, of Frittenden, 658.
 Briggs, Thomas, a companion of George Fox, the Quaker, 676.
 Brion, Gislebert, earl of, the ancestor of the De Clares, 308.
 Brise, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Brito, William, sheriff of Kent, 117.
 Broadnax, William, of Godmersham, 635, *n*.
 Brochulle, William, an exporter of wool, 137, 152; also a great smuggler, 162.
 Brocket, family of, 13.
 Brookman, Mr. Frederick, a descendant of Sir William Brookman, 546 *n*., nailbourne on his property at Drelingore, 112.
 Brockman, James Drake, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Brookman, Sir William, sheriff of Kent, 546 *n*; commands the Royalists at Maidstone, 546.
 Broke, Adam atte, his possessions, 319.
 Broke, Robert de la, charged as an accomplice in a murder, 31.
 Brome, Charles James Cornwallis, Viscount, 744 *n*.
 Bromfield, William de, accompanies Edward I. in a journey through the Weald, 256.
 Bromlygh, Mabel de, false charge brought against, 137.
 Brooke family, their possessions, 16.
 Brooke, Richard, a judge, 446.
 Brooks, James, sheriff of Kent, 635.

- Brothers, Mr. F., his collection of tradesmen's tokens, 748 n.; 837.
- Broughton, Andrew, clerk of the High Court of Justice, 563.
- Brown, John, sheriff of Kent, 602.
- Browne, —, executed as a witch, 664.
- Bruce, John, particulars of the Dering family collected by, 530 n.
- Bruce, Robert, a claimant of the crown of Scotland, 223.
- Bruce, Robert, the younger, his efforts to free Scotland from Edward's rule, 263; gains the battle of Bannockburn, 271; his wife, sister, and daughter in consequence released from Rochester Castle, 300.
- Bruin, Morice de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
- Brun, Maurice de, his possessions, 319.
- Brune, Matthew, a poacher, 136.
- Brydges, Sir Egerton, his remark on the cherry gardens and orchards of Kent, 515 n.; on Gray's letters, 630; his account of Lord Rokeby, 670; his description of the literary state of East Kent, 673; and of the Kentish clergy, 674; popular rhyme preserved by him, 746.
- Bubehurst, Ralph de, murder of, 33.
- Bubehurst, Juliana, his wife, 33.
- Buckingham, Edward Stafford, duke of, acts as high steward at the enthronization of Archbishop Warham, 107 n.; acts also as the archbishop's chief butler, 437; a favourite with Henry VII., 427; charged with aspiring to the throne, and beheaded, 428; survey of his lands, 46.
- Buckingham, Henry, duke of, beheaded by Richard III., 427 and n.
- Buckingham, Humphrey, duke of, slain at Northampton, 427.
- Buckingham, George Villiers, duke of, Lord Warden, 603.
- Buffer, Pyke, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Bulard, Fulk, oppression of, 135.
- Buller, a housebreaker, 622.
- Burden, Mr. T. W., 705; information furnished by, 761.
- Burel, William, a murderer, 37.
- Burgeys, William, a rioter, 47, 48.
- Burgh, Elizabeth de, 348.
- Burgh, Hubert de, charge against, 44; his defence of Dover Castle, 65; defeats the Dauphin's fleet, 66; created earl of Kent, 46; sheriff of Kent, 117; drives the bishop of Winchester into exile, 67; quarrel with the see of Canterbury, 68; his offices, grants, and fees, 70 and n.; accusations against him, 72; his death and character, 72, 73.
- Burgh, John de, holds the hundred of Marden, 132; erects a gallows in the hundred of Alocesbridge, 139; in possession of the South Frith, 348.
- Burgh, John, sheriff of Kent, 420.
- Burgherah (or Burwash) family, its early possessions, 20.
- Burghersh, Bartholomew, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
- Burghersh, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, a nephew of Lord Badlesmere, 305.
- Burgherah, Mildmay, Lord, M.P. for Kent, 602.
- Burghersh, Sir Robert, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 225 and n.; delivers John Balliol to the papal nuncio, 226.
- Burgundy, Margaret, duchess of, puts forward Perkin Warbeck, 406.
- Burleigh, Lord, his description of the Weald, 494.
- Burley, Sir Simon, his seizure of his bondsman at Gravesend, 354.
- Burne, Henry and William de, charges against, 135.
- Burne, John de, sheriff of Kent, 265.
- Burnel, Robert, bishop of Bath and Wells, chosen as archbishop of Canterbury, but refused confirmation by the Pope, 230.
- Burrell, Peter, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Burrell, John and Thomas, Sussex ironmasters, 578.
- Burrell, Walter, a Sussex ironmaster, 577; prices of iron, from his day book, 578 and n.; settles in Glamorganshire, 580.
- Burridge, Major, a Royalist, captured, 552.
- Burrow, Robert, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Burton, James II.'s solicitor, seized at Faversham, 564.
- Burton, James, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Burwash, William, a rebel, imprisoned in the Tower, 279.
- But, Robert le, a surety, 40.
- Butler, Rev. John, vicar of Wateringbury, succeeds in a tithe suit against Sir William Twysden, 610.
- Butler, Sir Richard, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 487.
- Butler's "Life of Erasmus," error in, 439 n.
- Bygod, the Lord H., a justiciary, 133.
- Bykenore, Thomas de, summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.

- Byng, George, Lord Torrington, 630; his son, the Admiral, 631.
 Byng, Robert, sheriff of Kent, 518.
- Cade, the name found as early as the 12th century, 393.
 Cade, Arnold de, 393.
 Cade, Edmund, an alderman of Faversham, temp. Ric. II., 393 n.
 Cade, Henry, vicar of Battersea, 393.
 Cade, Jack, rebellion of, 381; styles himself John Mortimer, 383 and n.; his demands, 383; withdraws from Blackheath to Sevenoaks, 384; defeats the Staffords, enters London, and executes Lord Say and William Crowmer, 385; driven out of London, *ib.*; receives a pardon, 386; is forsaken by his followers, *ib.*; attempts to seize the Castle of Queenborough, *ib.*; flees in disguise, *ib.*; killed, 387; question as to the place of his death, *ib.*; statements of Kentish writers, 387, 389; of Shakespeare, 389; of Sussex writers, 390; of Mr. Durrant Cooper, 392; of Chroniclers, 394; his followers not a mere rabble, 399; his early history, 399 n.; disposal of his remains, 400; other Captains of Kent, 401.
 Cade, Magdalen, 393.
 Cadwall, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Calgrave, William, money extorted from, 151.
 Camden, on the Wealden iron works, 483; on courts leet, 781 n.; error of, 788 and n.
 Camden, John Jeffreys Pratt, first marquis, 682; resigns fees of large amount to lessen the public burdens, 683; favours Catholic emancipation, 684; lord lieutenant, 680.
 Camp, Solomon de, singular tenure of his lands, 161.
 Campania, John de, summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Campden, Baptist Noel, Viscount, marries a daughter of Lord Wotton, 610 n.
 Campeggio, Cardinal, visit of, to England, 452.
 Campion, William, M.P. for Kent, 602, 634.
 Campion, Sir William, sheriff of Kent, 602.
 Camvill, Jeffrey de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228.
 Canterbury, archbishops of: 13th century, 67, 70, 229; 14th century, 367; 15th century, 415; 16th century, 439, 461, 475, 486, 507; 17th century, 591; 18th century, 613; 19th century, 670.
 Canterbury, archbishops of, withdraw suit, &c., from the hundred courts, 121—162; J.P.s for Kent, 464.
 Canterbury, St. Augustine, abbot and monks of. See *St. Augustine*.
 Canterbury, Christ Church, prior and monks of, their disorderly election of an archbishop, 67; their quarrel with Archbishop Edmund, 69; privileges in the Seven Hundreds, 121; complaints against them, 121—150; the prior of, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Canterbury, prior of Holy Trinity, charge against him, 39, 42; letter of Prince Edward to, 261.
 Canterbury, dean of, his ill-treatment, 304.
 Canterbury, Michael of, builds the cross in Cheapside, 247 n.
 Canterbury, Charles Manners Sutton, Viscount, 672 n.
 Cantilupe, Walter de, bishop of Hereford, 113.
 Canute, law of, for the protection of his Danish body guard, 31; when repealed, 32.
 Capgrave, family of, 12.
 Captain of Kent, a title assumed by Cade, 383; also by others, 401.
 Caretar (or Carter), Robert, a surety, 61.
 Carew, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Caroline, queen of George II., 611.
 Carpenter, John, son of Roger the, an under bailiff, his extortions, 242.
 Carrok, Nicholas, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Carter, Matthew, his "True Relation" quoted, 535, 546.
 Carter, W., a revenue officer, his encounter with smugglers, 573.
 Carters, Thomas, a juror, 380.
 Cartier, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Casingham, William de, holds the farm of the Seven Hundreds, 121; a tenant in Rolvenden, 203; Archbishop Edmund's grant to, *ib.*
 Castellans of manorial prisons, oppressions practised by, 168 and n.
 Castellayn, Thomas, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Cat (or Kat), Jordan and Robert, suits against, 64.
 Catherine of Aragon at Canterbury, 436.
 Catherine of Portugal, queen of Charles II., 559.
 Cator, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.

- Cator, John (2), sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Cattingeheld, Clement de, murder of, 33; Thomas and Olive, his father and mother, *ib.*
 Cattya, John, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Caunville, Lord John, 128.
 Caunville, Lord Robert, 128; oppressive conduct of his steward, *ib.*
 Causton family, the, 421.
 Cave, Robert, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Caxton, William, a native of the Weald, 421; question as to his family, *ib.*; his first book in the English language, *ib.*; his mention of his birthplace, 422; his parents, his master, *ib.*; witnesses the burning of a Lollard priest, 423; his journeyings abroad, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; number of works printed by him, 423; his Life, by Lewis, 424; a commemorative Caxton fund in Australia, *ib.*; Memorial to, recommended, 823 n.
 Chamberley, Robert, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Chamberleyn, Sir Roger, defends Queenborough Castle against Jack Cade, 386.
 Chambers, Samuel, sheriff of Kent, 629, 636; knighted by Geo. III., 629.
 Champneis, Justinian, imprisoned on account of the Kentish petition, A.D. 1701, 606.
 Champneys, John de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228.
 Changle, Thomas, a priest, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Chanu, George le, his possessions, 319.
 Chapel, Richard de la, murder of, 58.
 Charles V., the Emperor, his visits to England, 436 and n, 437.
 Charles I., reign of, 519, 526; meeting with Henrietta Maria, at Dover, 526; at St. Augustine's, 527; his attempt at absolute rule, *ib.*; his notes on Arch. Leud's Annual Returns, 548; abolition of monopolies, 529; the civil war, 533; the Kentish rising of 1648, 534; storming of Maidstone, 545; engagement at Deal, 551; execution of the king, 553.
 Charles II., reign of, 519, 556; the Restoration, 556; the Dutch fleet at Sheerness, 557; the Dover treaty, 558; the King's last visit to Kent, 559; his death, *ib.*; valuable statutes passed in his reign, 596; his public foundations, 559.
 Charles IV., le Bel, King of France, his claim of homage for Guienne, 285.
 Charles V., King of France, 345.
 Charles VII. of France makes war on England, 403.
 Charles, Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.), commands a fleet in the Downs, 551; lands forces at Deal, *ib.*; proceeds to Yarmouth, 552. See *Charles II.*
 Charlotte, Queen, visits Leeds Castle, 624; at the review at the Mote, 629; her death, 650.
 Charlton, Isabella de, her encroachment on the highway, 131.
 Chart, Little, complaint against the rector of, A.D. 1640, 587.
 Chater, a shoemaker, murdered by smugglers, 620.
 Chaumpeneys, William, accused of murder, but acquitted, 41.
 Chedhirst, Michael de, forfeiture of his chattels, 42.
 Chelfeud, William de, sheriff of Kent, 265.
 Cheperegge, Philip, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Cherring, Robert de, charges against, 125, 134.
 Chertsey, Edmund, an adherent of Cade, 399.
 Chester, Ralph, earl of, saves the life of Hubert de Burgh, 72 n.
 Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of, owner of Boughton Place, 610; his wife, *ib.*, n.
 Cheswyk, Geoffrey de, a Royalist, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Cheveney family, their possessions, 16.
 Cheynewe, James, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Cheyney [Chene, Cheney], Alexander de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Cheyney, John, knight of the shire for Kent, temp. Hen. VI., 384 n.
 Cheyney, Thomas, an insurgent, also called Thany, 381 n.
 Cheyney, Sir Thomas, Lord Warden, his letter to the Council, 472; J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Cheyney, William de, his litigation with Bartholomew de Badlesmere, 272.
 Chicheley, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, 415; a supposed contributor to the building of the tower of Cranbrook church, *ib.*, n.
 Chichester v. Sheldon, tithe cause of, 646.
 Child, Major, a Kentish Royalist, 543.
 Childrens, George, sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Chileam, Alice de, a witness of a miraculous cure, 93.

- Chilham, John de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Chilham, Nicholas de, 256.
 Chilham (or Dover), Richard de, a natural son of King John, 94 n.
 Chilham, Richard de, 263 n; his sister Isabel, *ib.*
 Chilindenne, Adam de, elected archbishop of Canterbury, 141.
 Chitinglee, Isabella, murder of, 241.
 Chittenden family, the, 483.
 Chivening, John de, in default for not being a knight, 46.
 Chout, Edward, sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Christ Church, Canterbury, prior of, charges against, 133, 150; his prison at Great Chart, 135 and n.
 Church, John, a Quaker, excommunicated, 842 and n.
 Church, Stephen of the, his imprisonment and release, 158.
 Chute, George, created a baronet, 526.
 Chute, Philip, standard bearer to Henry VIII., 458 n.
 Chutte, Stephen, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
 Cinque Ports, barons of the, their duty at coronations, 75; charged with abuse of their privileges, 153, 160; at the coronation of Henry IV., 375; their privileges burdensome to the people of Kent, 383.
 Cistercians, their avarice restrained by statute, 416.
 Clakesfeld, or Clokesfield, John de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Clanricarde, Richard de Burgh, earl of, 520; builds Somerhill, *ib.*, and n.
 Clare, earls of, their descent and history, 308.
 Clare, Gilbert de, earl of Gloucester, his grant to John de Fisher, 14.
 Clare, Margaret de, married to Gaveston, 267.
 Clare, Roger, earl of, his bequests to monks and canons, 6.
 Clare, William de, death of, 16 n. See also *Gloucester*.
 Clarke, George, of Ford in Wrotham, 470; denounced as a traitor by Wyatt, 471.
 Claygate, Richard de, fined for non-attendance on the justices, 59.
 Clement V., Pope, letter of Edward on his election, 261.
 Clement, servant of the parson of Pluckley, 55.
 Clement, Richard, of the Mote, 455.
 Clenkard, Archibald, sheriff of Kent, 603.
 St. Cler, William de, possessions of, 330.
 Cleves, Anne of, grants in Kent to, 479 and n.
 Clifford, Richard de, an escheator, complaints against, 122, 123, 125, 128, 137, 140.
 Clifford, Sir Thomas, of Chudleigh, 559 n.
 Clinton and Saye, Edward Fiennes, Lord, grant of Wye to, 478.
 Clobbe, John, charged with larceny, but acquitted, 49.
 Clyve, Richard de, incumbent of Hawkhurst, 233 and n.
 Cnobbil, Adam, punished for not preventing the escape of a murderer, 36.
 Cobb, Rev. F. W., information supplied by, 581 and n.
 Cobb, Mr. Thomas, of Aldington, Elizabeth Barton his servant, 443.
 Cobbe, Ralph, an outlaw, 42.
 Cobbett, his bait at Ashurst, 11 n; his visit to the Weald, 650, 845; his remarks on pews in churches, 652; on woodland counties, 650, 651; on Romney Marsh, 845.
 Cobham (or Cobeham) family, their possessions in the Weald, 12; often sheriffs, *ib.*
 Cobham, Henry de, sheriff of Kent, 265, 306 n; castellan of Tunbridge, 296; knight of the shire, 306; his possessions, 319.
 Cobham, Henry, jun., his possessions, 319.
 Cobham, Henry, Reginald, and Stephen, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Cobham, John de, sheriff of Kent, 31, 117; knight of the shire, 307.
 Cobham, John, a defence commissioner, 497.
 Cobham, Reginald, sheriff of Kent, 118, 121, 132, 133; his illegal hunting in the park of Broxham, 243; summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Cobham, Thomas, dean of Salisbury, chosen as primate, rejected by the Pope, 305.
 Cobham, Edward Brooke, Lord, joins the Yorkists at Sandwich, 405.
 Cobham, George Brooke, Lord, ranger of the South Frith, 431; supposed to favour Wyatt, 470; his doubtful conduct, 472; made prisoner by the rebels, 473; pardoned by Mary, 472 n.
 Cobham, Henry Brooke, Lord, Lord Lieutenant, 603.
 Cobham, Thomas Brooke, Lord, J.P. for Kent, 464.

- Cobham, William Brooke, Lord, Lord Warden, 496; Lord Lieutenant, 509; his letter on the cloth manufacture in Kent, 481; entertains Queen Elizabeth at Dover, 496; a defence commissioner, 497.
- Codd, James, sheriff of Kent, 635 and *n*.
- Coggere, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Coigley, James, an Irish priest, tried and executed, 626, 627.
- Cok, Nicholas, the defendant in a wager of battal, 58.
- Coke, Sir Edward, attorney general, 521; his unjust accusation against our early kings, 239; on beacons, 499 *n*; on the Elizabethan oath of supremacy, 511.
- Cokerham, John, mayor of Queenborough, 386 *n*.
- Coleman, John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Colepeper (or Culpeper) family, the seat of the, 16; their Kentish possessions, 284.
- Colepeper, Alexander, sheriff of Kent, 420.
- Colepeper, Sir Alexander, proposal to attack his house, 457; sheriff and J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Colepeper, Sir Alexander, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486, 487.
- Colepeper, Geoffrey and John, sell property to the Priory of Tunbridge, 365.
- Colepeper, John, sheriff of Kent, temp. Edw. III., 371.
- Colepeper, John, a justice, temp. Hen. IV., 376.
- Colepeper, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 420.
- Colepeper, John, Richard, and William, adherents of Cade, 399, 400.
- Colepeper, Sir John, a favourite of Charles I., 528; M.P. for Kent, 602; his speech on the abolition of monopolies, 530; created a Peer, 528; his death, *ib.* *n*.
- Colepeper, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 420.
- Colepeper, Thomas, forfeiture of his lands, 279 and *n*, 284 and *n*.
- Colepeper, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, temp. Rich. II., 371.
- Colepeper, Thomas, concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, 470, 471; had been sheriff of Kent, 471 *n*.
- Colepeper, Mr., visited by Queen Elizabeth, 494; knighted, 495.
- Colepeper, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Colepeper, Thomas and William, imprisoned on account of the Kentish Petition, A.D. 1701, 605 and *n*.
- Colepeper, Walter, defends Leeds Castle against Edward II., 279; is taken, and hanged, *ib.*
- Colepeper, William, created a baronet, 525.
- Colet, Ric., suit against, 62.
- Coliere, Richard, son of Roger le, found drowned, 49.
- Collett, Samuel, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Columbare, Colentina de, her fees in Postling, 152.
- Columbaria, Alice and Philip, possessions of, 319.
- Colyns, Stephen, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 487.
- Compton, Sir William, a Kentish Royalist, 544.
- Comyn, John, murder of, 263.
- Congeherst, John, an adherent of Cade, 400.
- Cooke, Christopher, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Cooke, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Cooper, Mr. Durrant, his "History of Winchelsea" cited, 98 and *n*, 334, 342; his doubtful assertion concerning Lord Say, 384 *n*; on Cade's rebellion, 392, 398; on Queen Elizabeth's visits to Kent, 496; on wool smuggling in Sussex, 572.
- Cooper or Cowper, Richard, 39.
- Corbie, family of, its possessions, 16.
- Corbie, Robert, sheriff of Kent, temp. Rich. II., 371.
- Cornhulle, Reginald de, a juror, 51.
- Cornish insurgents march into Kent, 407; defeated at Blackheath, *ib.*
- Cornwall, Richard, earl of, 310, *n*. See also *Richard, King of the Romans*.
- Cornwallis, Hon. Frederick, archbishop of Canterbury, 614; letter of George III. to him, 615.
- Cornwallis, Hon. and Rev. James, fourth earl, and bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 744 *n*.
- Cornwallis, James, fifth earl, 744 *n*.
- Cornwallis, Lady Julia, 632; her estate in the Weald, 744 and *n*.
- Cornwallis, Sir Thomas, sent to confer with Wyatt at Dartford, 473.
- Cortone, John de, coroner of the Lowy of Tunbridge, 58.
- Cosin family, possessors of the Moat, in Cowden, 13.
- Cosington, Stephen and William de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.

- Oedington, William de, sheriff of Kent, 285.
 Osorway, Sir William Richard, occasion of his receiving knighthood, 182 n.
 Cottin, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Cotton, Thomas, a commissioner to inquire into the state of the Kentish ports, 511.
 Courtenay, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 367 n; re-founds Maidstone College, 70; claims the custody of Tunbridge Castle during the minority of the heir, 365.
 Courtop, Thomas, a Kentish Royalist, 541.
 Cowper, George Augustus Frederick
 Cowper, Earl, Lord Lieutenant, 689.
 Cowper, Sir William, created a baronet, 525.
 Crake, Sir John, the priest of Brenzett, complaint against, 451.
 Cramanville, Henry de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Crammavill, Henry de, his manor of Gravesend, 143.
 Crane, John, his appointment as alnager, 326.
 Cranewell, William, son of Adam de, his encroachment on the King's highway, 37.
 Cranmer, Edmund, archdeacon of Canterbury, deprived, 475.
 Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 461; his examination of Elizabeth Barton, 444; his wife and family, 461; exchange of lands with Henry VIII., 504; retires to his see on the accession of Mary, 467; committed to the Tower, and thence removed to Oxford, *ib.*; put to death, 475.
 Craye, the Lord of, charges against, 143, 145.
 Creasy, Sir E. S., on the Wat Tyler rebellion, 357; on John Wycliffe, 368; on the death of Cade, 396; on courts leet, 781 n; on parochial divisions, 795.
 Crevequer family, possessions of the, 18; owners of Lamberhurst, 15.
 Crevequer —, attempts to deliver Tunbridge Castle to the barons, 314; detected, and hanged, *ib.*
 Crevequer, Eli and Robert, patrons of the church of Lamberhurst, 233.
 Crevequer, Hamon de, chantry chapel founded by, 12, 13.
 Crevequer, Richard and Robert de, insurgents, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Crevequer, Robert de, 130; his franchises in Chatham, 145, 146.
 Crevequer, Robert de (2), knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Crey, Simon, Stephen, and William de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227, 228.
 Criol [Oriol, Oriole, Orioll, Cryoille, Cryoll], Bartholomew de, sheriff of Kent, 117.
 Criol, Bertram de, property of, 17; guardian of the daughters of William of Ashford, 54; an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94; sheriff of Kent, 117; his joint tenure of Folkestone Hundred, 152; his serjeanty in Boughton Aluph, 181, 245; his manor of Eastwell, 245.
 Criol, John de, death of the earl of Gloucester at the house of, 78 n.
 Criol, Nicholas, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94; his heir, 129.
 Criol, Simon de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Criol, William de, treatment of, 151.
 Crispea, John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Croft, Sir John Frederick, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Cromwel, John de, his resort to Lord Badlesmere, 275 and n.
 Cromwell, Oliver, letter from, on the Kentish rising, 550.
 Cromwell, Richard de, possessions of, 319.
 Cromwell, Thomas, his examination of Elizabeth Barton, 444; his visitation of the monasteries, 462.
 Cross, Adam at, charge against, 130.
 Cross, John, son of Simon at the, murder of, 40.
 Crouch, Nicholas, sheriff of Kent, temp. Edw. III., 371.
 Crouchesborne, Adam de, murder of, 36.
 Crowmer or Cromer family, their mansion of Fogylston, 496; present owner of the estate, *ib.* n.
 Crowmer, Christian, married to Sir John Hales, 537 n.
 Crowmer, John, J.P. for Kent, 456, 464; depositions taken before him, 457.
 Crowmer, William, knight of the shire for Kent, 384 n; also sheriff, 398; accused of extortions as such, and put to death by Cade, 385; his widow, 393, n.
 Crowmer, Sir William, sheriff and J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 464.
 Croy, William de, knight of the shire, 307.

- Orundell, Richard and Roger de, build the crosses at Waltham and Charing, 247.
- Cubane, William, a surety, 48.
- Cuckn, John, a lawyer, committed to prison for malfeasance, 60.
- Culpeper. See *Colepeper*.
- Cumbe, Richard de, sheriff of Kent, 268; dies in office, *ib*.
- Cumbwell, the prior of, grant of a deadland to, 53; charges against, 124; his rights in Barnfield, 131; his possessions, 320.
- Cumbwell, Riolf de, and Edilda, his wife, attack on, 47, 48.
- Cunar, Robert le, murder of, 46; Emma le, concerned therein, *ib*.; Richard le, her husband, *ib*.
- Curteis-Whelan, Mrs., 724.
- Curtis, George, sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Curtis, Sir William, 650.
- Curtone, John de, suit against abandoned, 69.
- Cutone, Robert de, possessions of, 319.
- Cutter, Mr. Benjamin, vicar of Wateringbury, tithe suit with the Twydens, 609.
- Dacre, Sir Thomas, Cade once in the service of, 399, *n*.
- D'Aeth, Mr. Narborough, owner of Tickenharst, 800.
- D'Aeth, Thomas, created a baronet, 526.
- Dalhousie, James Andrew Ramsay, Marquis, Lord Warden, 689.
- Daly, Richard, money extorted from, 152.
- Daniel, a man falsely accused of extortion, 50.
- Daniel the dyer, his son John drowned, 53.
- Daniele the cook, malpractices of, 234 *n*.
- Daniel-Tyssen, Mr., on tithe of woodlands, 731 *n*.
- Darby, Mr. A., remarks on iron ores by, 680.
- Darell, James, a Kentish Royalist, 541, 544.
- Darell, Sir James, a subsidy commissioner for Kent, A.D. 1524, 452.
- Darrell, John, and Sir John, sheriffs of Kent, 420 and *n*.
- Darell, Sir John, a Kentish Royalist, 541, 544; sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Darell, John and Robert, complainants against the rector of Little Chart, A.D. 1640, 587.
- Darell, Thomas, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486.
- Dart, Mr., on Gavelkind, 192.
- Daudenard, Sir Giles, a pluralist, 269.
- Davis, Thomas, his letter to Richard Harman, 460.
- Davy, John, his reward for the capture of Cade, 396.
- Dawncy, Sir John, a surveyor of Crown lands, 430 and *n*.
- Debtinge, William de, charge against, 133.
- Deedes, William, M.P. for East Kent, 687, 688; sheriff of Kent, 688; lord of the manor of Aldington, 198, 413.
- Deel, John, possessions of, 319.
- Defoe, Daniel, the Legion Memorial ascribed to, 606.
- De la Le, Richard, in mercy, 36.
- De la Mare, William, Grand Master of the Knights Templars, death of, 291 *n*.
- De la Tune, family of, 20.
- De la Tune, Ralph, 32.
- De la Tune, Walter, 31.
- Delaune, William, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Delaware, family of, 13.
- Delmindenne, Mabel, daughter of Robert de, death of, 41.
- Dene, Alfred de, charged with extortion, 123.
- Dene, Emma de, said to be cured by miracle, 93.
- Dene, Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, 439 *n*.
- Dene, William de, knight of the shire, 306; his possessions, 319.
- Denmark, Prince George of, Lord Warden, 636.
- Dennett, Mr., of Cranbrook, 607.
- Dennis, Peter, created a baronet, 526.
- Derby, Henry Grismond, earl of, and duke of Lancaster, 372 and *n*.
- Derby, Thomas Stanley, earl of, 436.
- Derby, Robert de, incumbent of Ashford, 232 and *n*.
- Derby House committee, 541 and *n*.
- Deregate, Philip de, fine levied on, 149.
- Dering (or Deryng) family, their original seat, 366.
- Dering, Sir Anthony, 530 *n*.
- Dering, Sir Cholmeley, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Dering, Edward, M.P. for Kent, 602.
- Dering, Rev. Edward, his rude speech concerning Queen Elizabeth, 495 *n*.
- Dering, Sir Edward, created a baronet, 525; M.P. for Kent, 530, 602, and *n*; petitions against the Church sent to him, 586; his Parliamentary career, 531; flees to the King, 532; submits to the Parliament, *ib*.; his death, *ib*.

- Dering, Sir Edward (2), M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Dering, Sir Edward Cholmeley, M.P. for East Kent, 687, 688; sheriff of Kent, 688; owner of Malmain, 118 n; document from his muniment room, 333.
- Dering, John, confrere of the Trinitarian Order, 417.
- Dering, John, an abettor of Elizabeth Barton, executed, 444, 445.
- Dering, John, tenant of a dene in Aldington, 427.
- Dering, Richard, and Isabel, his wife, confreres of the Trinitarian order, 416.
- Dering, Sir Richard, his present of tapestry to Canterbury Cathedral, 599.
- Dering, Richard, a subsidy commissioner for Kent, A.D. 1524, 452.
- Dering, Richard, possessor of Surrenden, temp. Elis., 495 n.
- Deringdene, Mabel de, murder of, 38.
- De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, in the Thames, 558.
- Despencer, Thomas Stapleton, Lord Le, his tithe suit with the vicar of Aylesford, 640.
- Despensers, losses of the, 271 n.
- Deulecreese and other Jews of Tunbridge charged with larceny, 56; removed to Newgate, 57.
- Devon, Mr Frederick, roll of letters of Prince Edward discovered by, 262; his "Extracts from the Issue Rolls" referred to, 386, 398.
- Digges, Sir Dudley, of Chilham Castle, 512 n.; M.P. for Kent, 530 n., 602; his opposition to the duke of Buckingham, 527; sent to the Tower, *ib.*; released, 528; becomes a courtier, *ib.* n.; his disposal of an escheat, *ib.*
- Digges, Maurice, created a baronet, 526.
- Digges, Thomas, grant of waste lands in Kent to, 512; supposed to be the celebrated mathematician, *ib.* n.
- Dinham, Sir John, surprises Lord Rivers at Sandwich, 404.
- Dionysius, the King's servant, not allowed to act as coroner in the forest of Tunbridge, 57.
- Dittone, Ralph de, possessions of, 319.
- Dixon, Mr. Hepworth, his account of a fishery dispute quoted, 110.
- Dixwell, Basil, created a baronet, 526.
- Dixwell, Sir Basil, his advice to the earl of Faversham, 564.
- Dodeman, Peter, charges against, 133.
- Doderidge, Sir John, Solicitor-general, 521.
- Doge, Master Hamon, his illegal warren, 136.
- Dokelindene, John de, charged with robbery, 39.
- Dominicans. *See Friars Preachers.*
- Donet, Stephen, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Doningburn, William de, murder of, 35.
- Donne, Rev. C. E., his paper on the murder of Arden of Faversham, 467 n.
- Dorrington, Rev. Theophilus, letter of, 616.
- Dorset, Thomas Sackville, earl of, 521.
- Dorset, Lionel Cranfield Sackville, duke of, Lord Warden, 636.
- Dorset, Lionel Cranfield, Charles, and John Frederick Sackville, dukes of, Lords Lieutenant, 636.
- Douglas, George, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Douglas, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Dover, Henry Carey, earl of, sells the manor and vicarial tithes of Wye, 522.
- Dover, Henry Jermyn, Lord, excluded from the Act of Pardon, 598.
- Dover, Richard de, his ancestor, 94 n.; Joan, his wife, 141.
- Dover, Rose de, 263.
- Doverdenne, Thomas de, drowned in a marl pit, 242.
- D'Oyley, Robt., repair of parish churches ascribed to, 791.
- Drake, Sir Francis, assists to found the Chest of Chatham, 500.
- Draper, William, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Drawfen, Matilda, and her two sons, hanged for murder, 44; John, her husband, *ib.*
- Drax, J. S. W. S. E., M.P., owner of Lyminge Park, 524.
- Drayner, of Smarden, 476 n.
- Drew, Martyn, bailiff of Tunbridge, 469.
- Drindle, Peter de, suit against, 61.
- Dublin, the archbishop of, a constant friend of Hubert de Burgh, 72.
- Dudeman, Thomas, 64.
- Dudley, Dud, his substitution of coal for charcoal in iron-working, 580.
- Dudley, Sir Gamaliel, a Kentish Royalist, 543.
- Dudley, Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, 517.
- Dudlow, Mr., his evidence as to the boundary of the Weald, 645.
- Duffed, Robert de, refusal of support to, by the Abbot of Battle, 379.
- Dugdale, on Romney Marsh, 250, 758; his mistake as to Sir Roger de Lay-

burn, 317; his "Baronage," cited, 72 and n., 87.
 Dunbar, William Constable, earl of, 521.
 Duppa, Baldwin, jun., sheriff of Kent, 638.
 Dutch, war with the, 557; they destroy the fort of Sheerness, 558; sail up the Thames and Medway, *ib.*; driven off by Sir Edward Sprague, *ib.*
 Dutch and Spanish fleets, battle between, in the Downs, 529.
 Duttindene, John de, oppressive treatment of, 141.
 Duttindene, John de, and his brother, charge against, 127.
 Dyck, Thomas, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 488.
 Dyke, Thomas, created a baronet, 526.
 Dyke, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Dyke, William Hart, M.P. for West Kent, 688.
 Dyne, Richard, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Dyne, William de, a justiciary, 283.
 Dyppes [of Ipre], Adam, extortions of, 45.
 Earde, John de, a tenant of the abbot of Battle, 412.
 Echynghamme, James de, his suit against the prior and monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 331.
 Eddward, Thomas, case of gavelkind, 61.
 Eden. See *Iden*.
 Edingham (or Engham) family, its possessions, 20.
 Edmund, Prince, has Elham from his father, Henry III., 160.
 St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 69.
 Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, 72 n.; joins the party of Queen Isabella, 287; beheaded, 322; his Kentish lands, *ib.*
 Edmunds, Mr., his "Names and Places" cited, 778; in error as regards Kent, *ib.*
 Edward I., reign of, 115; entertained at Tunbridge Castle, 116; expenses of his household, 214; styled the English Justinian, 216; improves the administration of the laws, and punishes corrupt judges, 217; banishes the Jews, 218; his foreign wars, 222; his life endangered, 224 n.; lands at Sluys, 225; returns to England, 226; defeats Wallace at Falkirk, *ib.*; releases Balliol, *ib.*; conference with Arch-

bishop Winchelsea, 234; goes to France, 249; his journeys in the Weald, 255; his second marriage, at Canterbury, 257; execution of the earl of Athol, 263; the king's death, and character, 264.
 Edward II., reign of, 226; visits Wye, *ib.*; recalls Gaveston, 267; marries Isabella of France, *ib.*; quarrels with his nobles, 268; death of Gaveston, 269; visits France, 270; defeated at Bannockburn, 271; the Le Despencers, *ib.*; capture of Leeds Castle, 279; question of homage to France, 286; visits the Weald, 286; possessed of the hundred of Middleton, 294; rebellion, 287; the king is deposed and put to death, 288; remarks on his fate, *ib.*
 Edward III., reign of, 321; marriage, 322; his encouragement of the Flemish clothiers, 323; wars with France, 340; peace, 343; his visits to Kent, 345; curbs the designs of the Court of Rome, 367; his death, 346.
 Edward IV., reign of, 374, 405; marches to Canterbury, 406; visits Becket's shrine, 415 n.
 Edward V., nominal reign of, 374, 406.
 Edward VI., reign of, 466; the Bible ordered to be kept in every church, *ib.*; murder of Arden of Faversham, 467.
 Edward, Prince, his birth, 75; marriage with Eleanor of Castile, *ib.*; carried a prisoner to Dover, 85; taken to Wallingford, 91; escapes, *ib.*; regains possession of Dover Castle, 97; slaughters the people of Winchelsea, 98; receives an oath of fidelity from the Cinque Ports, 99; goes on a crusade, 112; becomes king, 115. See *Edward I.*
 Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Edward I., his residence in Tunbridge Castle, 223, 224; accompanies the King to Scotland, 228; his favourite, Gaveston, 257; gives offence to the King, *ib.*; roll of his letters, 258; some of them given, 258, 262; becomes king, 266. See *Edward II.*
 Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Edward II., 286; sent to France, 287; becomes king, 288. See *Edward III.*
 Edward the Black Prince, 341; captures the King of France, and brings him to England, 343, 344 and n.; marries Joan, countess of Kent, 345; dies, 346; his monument in Canterbury Cathedral, 341 n., 346.

- Edward the Turner, a thief, abjures the realm, 242.
- Edward, William, an adherent of Cade, 399.
- Edwy, Albreda, death of, 45; Peter, her father, *ib.*
- Eglintina, Lady, her possessions, 152.
- Eldon, Lord, his journey to London, 611; his remark on ecclesiastical tyranny, 590; his reply to George III., 671.
- Eleanor of Brittany, hard fate of, 1.
- Eleanor of Castile, wife of Prince Edward, 76; ordered to quit Windsor Castle, 88; accompanies her husband to the Holy Land, 112; her death, 247; crosses to her memory, *ib.*
- Eleanor of Provence, queen of Henry III., met at Dover by the nobles, 75 and *n.*; attempts to raise an army for the invasion of England, 89; hangs some of the men of the Cinque Ports on a charge of piracy, 97 *n.*; held the manor of Ospringe, 127.
- Eleanor, Princess, sister of Henry III., her marriages, 86, 132; manors belonging to her, 87 *n.*; banished from England, 95; her death, 97; her household accounts, 95, 96.
- Eleanor, daughter of Edward I., her marriage, 248.
- Elizabeth, reign of, 477; gives Wye and Tunbridge to Lord Hunsdon, 470, 521; favour shown to French and Flemish settlers, 480; state of the Weald, 481, 483; the Queen's journey through the Weald, 492; how received, 493; presents made to her, 497; the Northern Rebellion, *ib.*; the Spanish Armada, 498; her grant to Dover, 514.
- Elizabeth, the Princess, declared to be not privy to Wyatt's rebellion, 474; becomes queen, 477.
- Ellenborough, Edward Law, Lord, the great Boundary and Tithe cause tried before, 640, 645.
- Elliott, Mr. James, his remarks on the changes in the course of the Rother, 251; on timber found buried in Romney Marsh, 761.
- Elliott, Mr. Thomas, his remarks on the changes in the course of the Rother, 254 *n.*; on the extent of Shirley Moor, 505 *n.*; on buried timber found in Romney Marsh, 762.
- Elphicke, Mr. Thomas, a combaron and freeman of the Cinque Ports, 758.
- Elsham, Henry de, knight of the shire, 306.
- Eltham, John of, Regent in the absence of Edward III., 322.
- Elton, Mr., his "Tenures of Kent" recommended, 177 *n.*; on the tenure of Church estates, 180; on Borough English in Kent, 189; copies an erroneous statement from Hasted, 609 *n.*
- Elwyn, Walter, son of, death of, 40.
- Elyas the Tailor, false charge brought against, 137.
- Emmett, Willahire, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Engelham, Alan, an adherent of Cade, 399.
- Erasmus, patronized by Archbishop Warham, 439; receives from him the living of Aldington, *ib.*; resigns it for a pension, 440; his own account of the transaction, *ib.*
- Erwicke, William, 46.
- Eryng, Thomas, charge against, 146.
- Eschekere, Roger de l', possessions of, 319.
- Esingdene, Richard de, coroner of the Seven Hundreds, 240.
- Esinden, Richard de, charge against, 125.
- Esindene, Willard de, death of, 38.
- Essedeford [Ashford], the Lady M. de, married without the King's licence, 137.
- Essetesfold, William de, his three daughters wards of the Crown, 52.
- Essex, sheriff of, writ to the, for the siege of Leeds Castle, 277.
- Essex insurgents join Cade in London, 386.
- Essex, Frances, countess of, possessed of the South Frith, Tunbridge, 432.
- Essex, Robert Devereux, earl of, the Parliamentary General, 531 and *n.*; Somerhill granted to, 521.
- Est, Robert, an adherent of Cade, 399.
- Estdene, David de, incumbent of Smarden, 232.
- Eu, William, earl of, his manors in the Weald, 9; his death, *ib. n.*
- Eu, William (2), earl of, 9 *n.*
- Eustace son of Simon, and Alice his sister, burnt to death, 36.
- Eveleigh, Rev. Mr., vicar of Aylesford, tithe cause decided in his favour, 646.
- Evelyn, John, on the restoration of Charles II., 557; a commissioner for the sick and wounded, 596; his letter to Samuel Pepys, *ib.*
- Evelyn, William Glanville, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Everdene, Adam de, fire in the house of, 36.

- Evereslye, John de, charge against, 152.
 Everle, Walter de, a distress rescued from, 39; extortion practised on, 134.
 Evesham, Walter de. See *Eynesam*, *Walter de*.
 Ewyas, John, a justice, temp. Hen. IV., 376.
 Exeter, Henry, marquis of, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Eynesford, Isabella de, her warren in the manor of Otford, 142.
 Eynesam (or Evesham, or Hemspham), Walter de, elected archbishop by the Canterbury monks, but set aside, 68.
 Fagg, John, created a baronet, 526.
 Fagg, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Fairfax family, 624 n.
 Fairfax, Hon. Robert, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Fairfax, Hon. Robert (2), entertains George III. at Leeds Castle, 624.
 Fairfax, Thom., third Lord, subdues the Kentish Royalists, 542-550; marches into Essex, 550; obtains a pardon at the Restoration, 624 n.; his death, *ib.*
 Fairfax, Thomas, sixth Lord, emigrates to America, 624 n.
 Fairall, William, a smuggler, executed, 621.
 Falconbridge, Thomas, his attempt to release Henry VI., 405; maintains himself in Sandwich, 406; captured and beheaded, *ib.*
 Falconbridge, William Nevill, Lord, lands at Sandwich, 404.
 Falmouth, Countess of, also Baroness le Despencer, 640 n.
 Falmouth, Edward Boscawen, earl of, 656 n.
 Fane, George, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Fane, Sir George, sheriff of Kent, 602.
 Fane, Henry, of Tunbridge, letter of Archbishop Warham to, 432; J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Fane, John, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Fane, Hon. Mildmay, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Fane, Ralph, chief bailiff and park-keeper at Tunbridge, 431; his salary, *ib.*
 Fane, Sir Thomas, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486.
 Fane, Sir Vere, M.P. for Kent, 602 and n.
 Farnaby, Sir Charles, created a baronet, 526.
 Farnaby, Sir Charles (2), M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Farningham, or Fremingham family, possessions of the, 18.
 Farrer, Josias Fuller, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Faulkener, Godfrey, his tenure of Hurst, 138.
 Faunt, Nicholas, mayor of Canterbury, hanged as a rebel, 405 n.
 Faversham, abbot of, charges against, 124; his franchises, 149; had a seat in Parliament, 193 n.; imprisoned in Dover Castle, 236.
 Faversham, Haimo of, notice of, 114.
 Faversham, Louis de Duras, earl of, brings James II. back to London, 564.
 Fector, John Minet, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Felcher, Walter, oppression of, 242.
 Feld, John de, knight of the shire, 306.
 Fenner, a secretary, 849.
 Fergusson, Robert, trial and imprisonment of, 627, 628.
 Fernche, Adam, falsely accused of robbery, 52.
 Ferre, Sir Guy, 225; possessions of, 319.
 Ferrers, Wachelene de, kills the earl of Eu in a duel, 9 n.
 Ferres, Sir Henry, sheriff of Kent, 420.
 Ferrou, Master John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Ferte, Adam and Robert, case of gavelkind, 62.
 Field, George, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Fiennes, John de, first Constable of Dover Castle, his manor of Woodchurch, 21.
 Filmer, Mr. Beversham, a lawyer, 610, 729.
 Filmer, Sir Edmund, M.P. for West Kent, 687.
 Filmer, Sir Edmund, the son, M.P. for West Kent, 698; sheriff of Kent, *ib.*; owner of Sutton Castle, 88; his estate in the Weald, 745.
 Filmer, Sir Edward, sheriff of Kent, 602.
 Filmer, Sir Edward (2), his formal visit to his manor in the Weald, 729; his family, *ib.*
 Filmer, Sir Robert, a Royalist, 554; his house plundered, *ib.*; his "Advertisement touching Witches," 664; his "Patriarcha," 601; sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Filmer, Robert, the younger, created a baronet, 526, 554 n.
 Finch, Sir Moyle, created a baronet, 525; his widow created countess of Winchelsea, 522 n.
 Finch, Sir Thomas, M.P. for Kent, 530 n, 602.

- Finch, William, of Tenterden, 758.
 Fineux, Sir John, Chief Justice, 446.
 Fisher, John de, his grant from the earl of Gloucester, 14.
 Fisher, John, bishop of Rochester, accused of favouring Elizabeth Barton, 443; pays a penalty of £300, 445.
 Fisher, Samuel, extraordinary career of, 589 and *n.*
 Fitz Abel, Gregory, murder committed by, 43.
 Fitz Alan, Brian, appointed warden of Scotland, 225.
 Fitz Aucher, Henry, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Fitz Blakman, Walter, unjustly disseized of his free holding in Hadlow, 60.
 Fitz Edmund, Walter, charged with withdrawing from the hundred court, 52.
 Fitzgerald, Lord Edward, 626.
 Fitz John, Philip, 64.
 Fitz Osbert, William, a witness to a charter of Battle Abbey, 353.
 Fitz Reginald, Peter, possessions of, 319.
 Fitz Simon, Edmund, possessions of, 319.
 Fitz Walter, Hugh, death of, 51.
 Fitz Walter, Richard, murder committed by, 51.
 Fitz Walter, Robert, his discontent with the Dauphin, 65.
 Fitz Walter, William, murder of, 40.
 Fitz William, Martin, an outlaw, 42.
 Flaherty, on the Wat Tyler insurrection, 356, 359 *n.*
 Fleecching, Simon, an infant, devoured by a hog, 241.
 Flemang, Roger le, 33.
 Fleming, Mr., his paper on Tunbridge Castle, 223, 308 *n.*, 309 *n.*, 314 *n.*
 Flemings invited to settle in England, 323: at first ill treated by the people, 326; others come over in the time of Elizabeth, 480.
 Fleta, extracts from, 7; on poisoning, 171.
 Fletcher family, the, 515.
 Fletcher, Giles, a poet, 516; his sons also poets, *ib.*
 Fletcher, John, the dramatist, 516; his death, *ib.* *n.*
 Fletcher, Phineas, the poet, 516.
 Fletcher, Richard, bishop of London, 516.
 Fletcher, Richard, minister of Cranbrook, 515, 516 and *n.*
 Flint, James, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Fogge, John, an adherent of Cade, 399.
 Fogge, Sir John, a subsidy commissioner for Kent, 452; J.P., 464.
 Foot, Robert, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Forde, Richard, an adherent of Cade, 399.
 Forester, Reginald, illegal conduct of, 41.
 Forstalle, Hamon de la, charge against, 134.
 Forster, — a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Fortescue, Sir John, 410.
 Foster, Rev. Richard, rector of Crundale, 380.
 Fox, George, the Quaker, his visits to the Weald, 676 and *n.*
 Francekyn, a drummer, 259.
 Franceys, Henry and Robert, drowned, 242.
 Francis I., King of France, his meetings with Henry VIII., 435, 437.
 Franciscans. See *Grey Friars*.
 Franklyn, Mr. Henry, a coroner, 630.
 Frankyah, John, vicar of Rolvenden, burnt at Canterbury, 476.
 Freeman, Mr., on the earliest use of the word England, 751 *n.*; on English parishes, 796.
 French and Spanish ravages on the south eastern coast, 349.
 Freningham, John le, sheriff of Kent, 306.
 Friars, mendicant, charged with fomenting rebellion, 359 and *n.*
 Friars Preachers, arrival of, in England, 103 *n.*
 Frivill John de, complaint against, 45.
 Froissart, his favourable account of Queen Isabella, 287 *n.*
 Froude, Mr., his account of Wyatt's rebellion, 469—473.
 Fuller's "Worthies" cited, 113, 114; his remark on the canonry of Lyons long held by the Archbishops of Canterbury, 231 *n.*; on Archbishop Peckham, 232; on Haymo of Hythe, 286 *n.*; on Thomas Haselwood, 307; on Bishop Bede, 372, 373 and *n.*, 372; on the Kentish orchards, 514; on the clothing trade, 571.
 Furnese, Sir Robert, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Fyle, John de, case in gavelkind, 122.
 Fynch, Sir William, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Fynes, William, knight of the shire for Kent, temp. Hen. VI., 384 *n.*
 Fyneux, Sir John and William, J.P.s for Kent, 464.
 Fytch, Sir Comport, sheriff of Kent, 635.

- Gacelyn, Edmund, possessions of, 319.
- Gairdner, Mr., his edition of the Paston Letters, 395, 399 *n.*, 401, 406.
- Gale, Leonard, a Sussex ironmaster, 577 and *n.*
- Gale, Leonard, M.P. for East Grinstead, 578.
- Gardun, Peter, serjeant of Rochester Castle, extortions by, 143.
- Gare, Luke de la, steward of the abbot of Battle, at Wye, 243; knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
- Garstune, William de la, charge against, 150.
- Gatesden, Thomas de, charged with trespass on the abbot of Battle's park, 242.
- Gatton, Hamo de, sheriff of Kent, 265.
- Gaunt, John of, duke of Lancaster, his opposition to the power of Rome, 367, 369.
- Gausbert, first abbot of Battle, 352.
- Gaveston, Piers de, the companion of Prince Edward, 257; leads him into excess, and is forced to abjure the realm, *ib.*; recalled by Edward II., 267; created earl of Cornwall, and married to Margaret de Clare, *ib.*; rising of the nobles against him, 269; put to death, *ib.* and *n.*; his skill in arms, 316.
- Geary, Sir W. P., ancient tenure of a manor of his, 190.
- Geary, Sir William, M.P. for Kent, 636, 687; promotes the scheme of the Weald Canal, 662.
- Geary, Sir W. R. P., M.P. for West Kent, 687.
- Gee, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Gemund, a felon, controversy about his chattels, 57.
- George I., reign of, 604, 605; Baronets, 526; M.P.s, 634; sheriffs, 635.
- George II., reign of, 604, 605; the gaol at Maidstone, 618; smuggling, *ib.*; decay of the Kentish cloth trade, and of the iron works, 606, 607; the Grey Coats of Kent, *ib.*; tithe suits, 609; state of the roads, 611; Baronets, 526; M.P.s, 634; sheriffs, 635.
- George III., reign of, 604, 605; storm in Kent, 623; threatened invasion, *ib.*; his opinion of Lady Huntingdon, 615; letter to Archbishop Cornwallis, *ib.*; his support of Sunday Schools, 617; visit to Leeds Castle, 624; mutiny at the Nore, 625; the Irish Rebellion, 626; trial of the Earl of Thanet, 627; review at the Mote, 628; Union with Ireland, 637; preparations to meet invasion, 638; the great Boundary and Tithe cause, *ib.*; the King's interest in agriculture, 649; anecdote, 671; his death, 649; Baronets, 526; M.P.s, 634, 687; sheriffs, 635, 687.
- George IV., reign of, 650; the Cato-street conspiracy, *ib.*; visit to Kent, *ib.*; the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics, 654; meeting on Penenden Heath, *ib.*; bad condition of the agriculturists in his reign, 665; death of the king, 666; M.P.s, 687; sheriffs, 688.
- German, Hamon and William, jurors, 380.
- Gernude, John de, possessions of, 319.
- Geoffrey, natural son of Richard, duke of Normandy, 308.
- Geoffrey the Mercer, death of, 242.
- Geoffrey the Miller, overcome in a wager of battal, and hanged, 58.
- German, John, M.P. for Tunbridge, 248.
- Gerstone, William de, an insurgent temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Gibbon, Major, relieves Dover Castle, 544.
- Gibbon, Major General, a Royalist, captured, 551.
- Gibbons, Colonel, entertains Charles II. at Rochester, 556.
- Giffard, Walter, earl of Buckingham, 309.
- Gifford, Bonaventure, a titular bishop, detained at Faversham, 564 *n.*
- Giles, the bailiff of Ferndene, 43, 44.
- St. Giles, John of, incumbent of Marden, 232.
- Giraud, Mr., of Faversham, 467 *n.*
- Glanville, William, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Glasgow, bishop of, imprisoned in Porchester Castle, 264 and *n.*; released after the battle of Bannockburn, 300.
- Gleig, Rev. G. R., 673 and *n.*
- Glendining, Alexander, sheriff of Kent, 638.
- Glepfield, Elena, wife of William de, her death, 44.
- Gloucester, earls of, their controversies with the archbishops of Canterbury about Tunbridge, 68, 106.
- Gloucester, Alicia, countess of, 83, 222 and *n.*
- Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, earl of (A.D. 1262-1295), 78; why called Rufus, 221; joins the party of the Barons, 78, 94; refuses to swear fealty to Prince Edward, 79; massacres the Jews at Canterbury, 80; assists at

- the siege of Rochester, 82; his castle of Tunbridge taken, 83; his letter to the King, 84; deserts de Montfort, 91; goes to the crusade with Prince Edward, 112; returns, and sets the example of swearing fealty to him as king, *ib.*; entertains Edward I. at Tunbridge Castle, 116; illegalities and encroachments committed by the earl and his bailiffs, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 140, 142, 144, 148, 149, 150, 151, 154, 157, 158, 159, 160; assists in subduing Wales, 221; divorces his countess, 222; marries the Princess Joanna, *ib.*; makes war on the earl of Hereford, *ib.*; his estates seized, but restored on payment of a heavy fine, *ib.*; death, *ib.*; trespass on his park of North Frith, in Tunbridge, 242.
- Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, the younger, earl of, his birth, 222; Gaveston his guardian, 267; mediates between the king and the barons, 270; killed at Bannockburn, 271; division of his inheritance, 274, 295.
- Gloucester, Isabel, countess of, 310.
- Gloucester, the Princess Joanna, countess of, 222; her second marriage, *ib.*
- Gloucester, Maude, countess of, her Kentish dower lands, 295.
- Gloucester, Richard de Clare, earl of, (A.D. 1230—1262), wardship of, 68; his marriage set aside by the king, 68 n.; attempt to poison him, 16 n.; becomes a leader in the Mad Parliament, 76; quarrel with de Montfort, and death, 78; his pompous burial, *ib.* n.
- Gloucester, William, earl of, 310; his daughter Amicia carries the earldom into the De Clare family, *ib.*
- Gloucester, Robert of, his lament for the countess of Leicester, 97.
- Gloucester, Henry, duke of, lands at Dover with Charles II., 556.
- Gloucester, Richard, duke of, captures Sandwich, 406; becomes king, *ib.* See *Richard III.*
- Glover, Robert, the herald, notice of, 227 n.
- Godshep, Walter, his holding of the Templars, 291 n.
- Godden, Arthur, a coachman, his action against Sir Edward Hales, 560.
- Godefrey, William, a surety, 52.
- Godfrey, Lambert, Recorder of Maidstone, 536 and n.
- Godfrey, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Godfrey, Sir Thomas, a Kentish royalist, 541, 544.
- Godolphin, Sir William, apprehension of a murderer by, 467.
- Godricus, tenant of Benstead, 10.
- Godsticche, Richard, murder committed by, 31.
- Godwinstone, Turgis de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Gold, Henry, an abettor of Elizabeth Barton, executed, 445.
- Goldbourne, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Golding, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Goldsmid, Julian, M.P., owner of Somershill, 521.
- Goldwell, John, bishop of Norwich, 420; repairs the church of Great Chart, 421.
- Goldwell, Thomas, bishop of St. Asaph, 516 and n.
- Goldwell, William, an adherent of Cade, 400.
- Goldwell, William, a J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 464.
- Gomeldon family, their old seat, 746 and n.
- Godhugh, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Goodwyn, Henry, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Gordon, William, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Goschall, John de, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
- Goschen, Rt. Hon. J. G., M.P., his land in Hawkhurst, 753 n.
- Gouveire, Robert, his house at Stonar, 345.
- Graham, a commissioner of excise, seized at Faversham, 564.
- Grandison, Otelinus and William de, possessions of, 319.
- Grant, Ven. A., archdeacon of Rochester, 641 n.
- Granville, Granville George Leveson Gower, Earl, Lord Warden, 689.
- Grave, Robert de la, death of, 38.
- Gravesend, Richard of, bishop of London, 114; founder of a convent at Maldon, *ib.*; death, *ib.*
- Gravesend, Stephen de, possessions of, 319.
- Gray, R. de, his tenants charged with withdrawing from the hundred court, 52.
- Gray (or Grey), Richard de, Governor of Dover Castle, refuses to admit Henry III., 79; his possessions, 319, 320.
- Gray, the poet, in Kent, 630.
- Gray, William, a smuggler, escapes from Newgate, 622.

Gregory IX., Pope, appealed to on the subject of Tunbridge Castle, 68; his treatment of the English Church, 101.
 Gregory XIII., Pope, reformation of the Calendar by, 622.
 Greneways, William de, a surety, 56.
 Grenewiz, Emma de, her claim against Robert Cat and Robert Bryt, how settled, 64.
 Grey, General Sir Charles, 628.
 Grey, Henry de, his lands unjustly seized, 144.
 Grey, John de, death of, 144.
 Grey, Lady Jane, her claim to the Crown, 468.
 Grey, Lady Lucy de, charge against, 146.
 Grey, Lord Reginald, 225.
 Grey, William de, knight of the shire, 306, 307.
 Greyes, S. de, knight of the shire, 307.
 Grey Coats of Kent, the, their political influence, 607.
 Grey Friars, arrival of, in England, 103 and *n.*
 Griffiths, Sir John, governor of the Fort at Gravesend, 597.
 Grimstone, Roger de, under sheriff of Kent, 117.
 Grindal, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 507; his benefaction to the wool traders, 483.
 Grocyn, William, master of the College at Maidstone, 440 *n.*
 Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, character of, 103 and *n.*
 Grote, George, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Grovehirst, Thomas, a justice for special purposes, 376.
 Grygbe, Alexander, lay rector of Linton, ill conduct of, 507.
 Guet, William, encroachment by, 127.
 Guhurst, Benjamin de, 47.
 Guido, Cardinal, sent to support Henry III., afraid to appear in England, 89.
 Guldeford [Gilford, Guilford, Guylforde] family, their original seat, 448; families descended from them, *ib. n.*
 Guldeford, Edward and John, sheriffs of Kent, 420.
 Guldeford, Sir Edward, Lord Warden, 448; keeper of North Frith park, 429; his letters to Wolsey, 449; apprehends Thomas Merse, 455; a J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Guldeford, George, obtains an act for improving the roads in the Weald, 490; sheriff and J.P. for Kent, 464, 490 *n.*
 Guldeford, Sir Henry, comptroller of

the royal household, 451; his letters to Cromwell, *ib.*; sent to meet Cardinal Campeggio, 452; his letters to Wolsey, 456; depositions taken before him, 457; a J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Guldeford, Jane, wife of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, 448.
 Guldeford, Sir Richard, sheriff of Kent, 407, 420; dies at Jerusalem, 448; his issue, *ib.*
 Guldeford, Richard, refuses the oath of supremacy, 511; is attainted, and dies abroad, *ib.* and *n.*
 Guldeford, Robert, created a baronet, 526; sale of his Kentish lands, 612.
 Guldeford, Thomas, a defence commissioner, 497.
 Guldeford, William de, sheriff of Kent, temp. Rich. II., 371.
 Guldeford, Mr., visited by Queen Elizabeth, 494; knighted, 495.
 Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, his gift to Malling Abbey, 816.
 Gunildar, the wife of Robert the turner, murder of, 42.
 Gunling, Warth de, incumbent of Chart Sutton, 232.
 Gunneresdene, Richard of, accused of the murder of his wife, Agnes, 32; acquitted, *ib.*
 Gybbes, John, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Gybbon family, clothiers in the Weald, 570.
 Hackett, John, his correspondence with Wolsey regarding English merchants abroad, 459; and with Friar West, 460; arrested by Harman, 461; released, *ib.*
 Hadenham, Edmund de, cited, 16 *n.*
 Hadlo or Handlo, John and Nicholas de, 138; charges against them, *ib.*
 Hadloe, John de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227, 306 *n.*
 Haimo of Faversham, notice of, 114.
 Hainault, Philippa of, her marriage to Edward III., 322 and *n.*
 Hales family, their original seat, 537 *n.*
 Hales, Sir Charles, seized in the Isle of Thanet, 563.
 Hales, Christopher, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Hales, Sir Edward, a commissioner for the survey of Aldington, A.D. 1608, 522; created a baronet, 525; sheriff, 602; M.P. for Kent, 530 *n.*; opposed to the Kentish rising, 537, 538 *n.*; lessee of the rectory of Tenterden, 566; his death, 537 *n.*
 Hales, Mr. Edward (his grandson), heads the Kentish rising, 537; retires

- to Holland, 544 n.; ruined by his sacrifices for the king, 552; his death, *ib.*
- Hales, Sir Edward (the younger), holds a colonelcy in violation of the Test Act, 560; accused of insincerity, *ib.* n.; prosecuted, he successfully pleads the king's dispensation, *ib.*; made Lieutenant of the Tower, *ib.*; accompanies James II. in his flight, 561; seized at Shellness, 562; imprisoned at Maidstone and in the Tower, 565; released, *ib.*; created a peer by James II., *ib.*; excluded from the Act of Pardon, 598; death, 565.
- Hales, Sir James, a judge, 467; imprisoned, 468; commits suicide, *ib.*
- Hales, John, Baron of the Exchequer, 446.
- Hales, Sir John, father of the Royalist General, 537 n.
- Hales, Sir John (2), claims a peerage created by James II., 565 n.; his claim to treasure trove at Tunstall, 618.
- Hales, Sir Robert, murdered by the Wat Tyler rebels, 361.
- Hales, Robert, created a baronet, 526.
- Hales, Sir Thomas, M.P. for Kent, 602, 634.
- Halfnod, William de, a surety, 61.
- Haliwell, prioress of, her tenants withdrawn from the hundred court, 142.
- Hall, the Chronicler, his character of the Kentish men, 382.
- Hallam, on early parliaments, 101; his condemnation of Henry III. too severe, 113; on trial by jury, 172; on compurgators, *ib.*; on the decline of the feudal system, 186 n.; on the wars of the Roses, 408 n.; on wapentakes, 777; on the establishment of the parochial system, 792.
- Halliwell's Rishanger, quotations from, 80, 81.
- Halys, John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Hamdenne, John, rescues a murderer, 244; charges of extortion against him, 245.
- Hamelstone, Lord William de, 225.
- Hamilton, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Hamilton, William, imprisoned on account of the Kentish Petition, A.D. 1701, 605.
- Hamme, John, Henry, Richard, and William, sons of Richard de, murder committed by, 42.
- Hammond, Col. Robert, a Kentish Royalist, 539; besieges Dover Castle, *ib.*
- Hammond, William Osmund, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Hamon, borougher of Edenbridge, 44.
- Hamon, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 602.
- Hamstede, Eustace de, acquitted of murder, 36.
- Handlo (or Handlo?), John de, jun., sheriff of Kent, 306.
- Handlo, Nicholas de, his efforts to reopen Romney Haven, 251 and n.
- Hanekyn, John, extortion practised on, 145.
- Harding, Stephen, the second founder of the Cistercian order, 416 n.
- Hardres, Sir Richard, created a baronet, 526; a Royalist, admitted to Sandwich, 539; besieges Dover Castle, *ib.*; driven therefrom, 544.
- Hardres, Robert de, an insurgent, temp. Henry III., 94.
- Hardres, Sir Thomas, his gallantry at the siege of Boulogne, 438; present to him by Henry VIII., 439.
- Hardres, Sir William, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Hardy, Charles Stewart, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Hardy, Rt. Hon. Gathorne, his property at Hemsted, 448, 612, 745.
- Hardy, the Mesara, the artists, resident in the Weald, 747.
- Harenc, Benjamin, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Harlackenden, Roger, complaints against, 445.
- Harlackenden, Thomas, a justice of the peace, 450 and n.
- Harlackenden, William, doubtful date on his tomb, 20.
- Harlackenden, William, an adherent of Cade, 399.
- Harman, Richard, his persecution by Wolsey, 459; procures the arrest of Hackett, 461.
- Harold, lord of Ewyas, his gift to the abbey of Gloucester, 816.
- Harper, Gabriel, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Harper, Sir George, joint commander with Sir Thomas Wyatt, 469; had been sheriff of Kent, 471 n.
- Harris, Arthur, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Harris, Dr., on the customs and services of the Weald, 5; his error respecting Benenden, 10; on the Harlackenden tomb, 20; on Edmund of Abington, 69 n.; on Sutton Castle, 86 n.; substitutes Keston for Ditton, 108 n.; on Newenden, 132 and n.; on Sandwich, 162; on the change of tenure in the dene, 333; on Cade's rebellion, 387,

- 388; on the boundary of the Weald, 698.
- Harris, Richard, a loyal inhabitant of Tunbridge, 469.
- Harrison, John, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Harrys, Richard, his fruit plantations in Kent, 614.
- Hart, Percival, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Hart, Sir Percival, Queen Elizabeth entertained by, 493.
- Hart, Mr. Thomas, of Reigate, 578 n.
- Harvey, Rev. T., of Cowden, 577 n.
- Haselwood, Thomas, a Kentish scholar, 307.
- Haslerigge, Sir Arthur, 589.
- Haslewood, Rev. F. F., of Smarden, 18 n.
- Hasted, on Sutton Castle, 86; substitutes Keston for Ditton, 108 n.; on the hundred of Alocsbridge, 153 n.; on Trendly park, 157; on the hundred of Bleangate, *ib.*; on the hundred of Preston, 158 n.; on the tenure of Oxenhoath, 190; on the seat of the Badlesmeres, 273 n.; his doubtful statement about Tunbridge Castle, 314; on Cade's rebellion, 388; on the roads in the Weald, 612; on its boundary, 699.
- Hasten, the Northman, 763.
- Hasting, or Hesting, Matthew de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94. *er*
- Hastings, Sir Edward, sent to conf with Wyatt at Dartford, 473.
- Hastings, John, Lord, the first husband of the Lady Juliana de Leybourn, 317.
- Hatch, Thomas, Joseph, and William, bell founders, 595 and n.; bells cast by them, 595.
- Hatche, John, of Tenterden, 758.
- Hatton, Colonel, a Kentish Royalist, 539; besieges Dover Castle, *ib.*
- Hatton, Sir Christopher, keeper of Eltham Palace, 520; heavily fined for encroachments in the forest of Rockingham, 529.
- Haudio, John, possessions of, 320.
- Haute, William de, charge against, 135.
- Hawisia, daughter of Hawyisia, burnt to death, 44.
- Hawisia, daughter of Walter, death of, 43.
- Hawkhurst, a monk, a confederate of Elizabeth Barton, 444 n.
- Hawkhurst gang of smugglers, the, 619; assist in breaking open the Custom-house at Poole, 620; some of them executed, 621; others take to house-breaking or horse-stealing, *ib.*; the gang broken up, 622.
- Hawkins, Peter, accidentally killed by Archbishop Abbot, 591.
- Hawkins, Rev. R., on Lamberhurst church, 23 n.
- Hawley, Henry, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Hawley, Sir Joseph Henry, sheriff of Kent, 638.
- Hawte, Sir William, a J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Haye, Lord John de la, an adherent of the Barons, 83, 94, 117; constable of Dover, 148, 149, 150; his servant drowned in a marl pit, 241.
- Haymo of Hythe, bishop of Rochester, notice of, 286 and n.
- Hayward, the name, its meaning, 735.
- Hayward, Mr. E., his strange purchase, 620.
- Head, Sir F. B., his remarks on the system of poor relief at Ashford, 667.
- Head, Sir Richard, James II. stays in his house at Rochester, 665.
- Heare, Walter le, a poacher, 136.
- Heath, Robert, mayor of Maidstone, 840 and n.
- Hechehurst, John de, a defaulter before the justices, 38.
- Heggham, Lord Roger de, 262.
- Helde, Avicia de la, drowned in Thorn-denne, 32.
- Helinghurst, Theobald de, a murderer, 241.
- Helles, Alice de, her claims against Nicholas Malemeyns and Jordan and Godelena Bonde, 63.
- Hellewood, Moses de, oppression of, 135.
- Hemery, Robert, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Hemesham, Walter de, named in error by Rapin, 68.
- Hempsham, Walter de. *See Eynesham, Walter de.*
- Henden, John, a magistrate, 664.
- Henden, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 570, 603.
- Hendley, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Henhurst or Henghurst family, their possessions, 18, 20.
- Henley, Bowyer, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Henrietta Maria, the Princess, her arrival at Dover, 526; her marriage to Charles I., 527.
- Henry III., reign of, 65; his grant to the abbot of Robertsbridge, 36; Hubert de Burgh his minister, 66; quarrel with the archbishop of Canterbury, 68; his marriage, 75; his confirmation

- of the charters, *ib.*; the Mad Parliament, 76; at Canterbury, 77; deprived of power by the Barons, 78; attempts to gain possession of Dover Castle, 79; dispute referred to Louis IX. of France, *ib.*; takes Oxford, and relieves Rochester, 80; obliges the Cinque Ports to submit, 81, 82; his barbarous conduct at Flimwell, 83; defeated at Lewes, 84; banishes his sister, the countess of Leicester, 95; his reply to Brother Martin, 102; gives Elham to his son, Prince Edmund, 160; his death, 112; question of his character, 113.
- Henry IV., reign of, 374; his coronation, 375; plot against him, 374; his grant to Canterbury, 376; death and monument, *ib.*
- Henry V., reign of, 374, 377; battle of Agincourt, 378; suppression of alien priories, *ib.*; death, *ib.*
- Henry VI., reign of, 374, 378; confirms the Battle Abbey charters, 378; marriage, 381; rebellion of Jack Cade, *ib.*; the king's visit to Kent, 401; the War of the Roses, 404; Henry deposed, 405; attempt to release him from the Tower, *ib.*
- Henry VII., reign of, 374, 406; Perkin Warbeck, 407; battle at Blackheath, *ib.*; the Kentish woollen trade, 408; Glassenbury imparked, 414 and *n.*
- Henry VIII., reign of, 425 and *n.*; condemnation of the duke of Buckingham, 428; the king's journeys through Kent, 435—439; the Nun of Kent, 442; royal exactions, 453; visitation of the monasteries, 462; demolition of Becket's shrine, 464; justices of the peace, *ib.*; Bradford mills, in Hornmenden, belonged to him, 569.
- Henry, Prince, a hostage with the Barons, 85; attempt to rescue him, 91.
- Henry, Master, of Lewes, 27.
- Henry the Baker, murder of, 44.
- Henry of Kenardington, 32.
- Henry the Physician, his wife said to be cured by miracle, 93.
- Henry, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, his Memorial, 209.
- Herbert, Geoffrey and William, their suit against Ric. Colet, 62.
- Hervey, John, a commissioner for the survey of Aldington, A.D. 1608, 522.
- Herebryht, the ealdorman, death of, 759.
- Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of, (A.D. 1220—1274), custodian of Tunbridge, 311 *n.*
- Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of, (A.D. 1274—1297) his quarrel with the earl of Gloucester, 222; withstands the king's illegal demands, 223.
- Hereford, Adam Orleton, bishop of, his sermon against Edward II., 305 and *n.*
- Hereford, Ralph of Maidstone, bishop of, 113.
- Hereford, Dr., a Lollard, confined at Saltwood Castle, 377.
- Heringod, John, charge against, 134.
- Heringod, Ralph and William, 151 and *n.*
- Heringod, William, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Herman, bishop of Salisbury, a witness to a charter of Battle Abbey, 352.
- Heron family, its possessions, 19.
- Herschel, Sir John F. W., a resident in the Weald, 684; Memorial to, *ib.*
- Herst, W. de, oppression of, 135.
- Hert, Codman, accused of poaching, 57.
- Hertford, Gilbert de Clare, earl of, gives the church of Tunbridge to the priory of Lewes, 309; taken prisoner, 310; death, *ib.*
- Hertford, Maud, countess of, 310.
- Hertford, Richard, earl of (A.D. 1139), 309; founds Tunbridge Priory, *ib.*; killed in Wales, *ib.*
- Hertford, Richard de Clare, earl of, (A.D. 1173—1211), 310; becomes earl of Gloucester, *ib.*
- Hertford, Roger de Clare, earl of, (A.D. 1151—1173), his controversy with Becket, 310; his gifts to religious houses, *ib.*; death, *ib.*
- Hertwell, Robert de, steward of the Lowy of Tunbridge, 58.
- Herwerdeslee, Baldwin de, suit against, 61.
- Hethindenne, Richard de, conveyance of part of his fee to the abbot of Robertsbridge, 125.
- Hever [Hevere, Heure, or Evere], family of, 15; their possessions, *ib.*
- Hevre, William de, sheriff of Kent, 118; his oppressive acts, 141, 156.
- Heixtall, William, an adherent of Cade, 399.
- Heyham, Henry, son of Peter de, 39.
- Heyham, Thomas, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Heyman, Henry, a commissioner for the survey of Aldington, A.D. 1608, 522.
- Heyman, Henry, made a baronet, 525; a Parliamentarian, 536.
- Hicks, Sir Henry, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Higham, prioress of, possessions of, 320.

- Higham, Roger de, knight of the shire, 306.
 Highden, John, dean of Cardinal's College, 434.
 St. Hilary, James de, 310.
 Hilford, John de, a Flemish cloth-worker, 324.
 Hilleard, Walter, "commonly called Wat Tyler," 354 n.
 Hillsborough, Lord, in attendance on James II., at Faversham, 564.
 Hilton, Stephen Musgrave, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Hinds, Mr. George, of Goudhurst, 704.
 Ho, Thomas de, high rent paid by 131.
 Hooley, Benjamin, bishop of Winchester, 601.
 Hoare, Henry, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Hoare, Henry, the son, his estate in the Weald, 745.
 Hodeley, Isabel de, her encroachment on the king's highway, 242.
 Hodges, Thomas Hallett, sheriff of Kent, 636; purchases Hemstead, 612 n.
 Hodges, Thomas Law, M.P. for Kent, 687; afterwards for West Kent, *ib.*; his drainage improvements, 657.
 Hodsdon, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Hogge, Ralph, an early iron-founder in the Weald, 484 and n.
 Hogge, Stephen, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Hokeregge, Stephen de, 124.
 Hokeale, Richard de, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
 Holand, Leffynus de, a Flemish cloth-worker, 324.
 Holdens, of Hawkridge, clothiers in the Weald, 570.
 Holdernes, Robert Daroy, earl of, Lord Warden, 636.
 Holinshead, his account of the encampment on Barham downs, 90; on the hundred of Hoo, 144 n.
 Holland, Henry Rich, earl of, his concern in the Kentish rising, 544 and n.
 Holloway's "History of Rye," cited, 457, 492, 494.
 Holmesdale, Viscount, M.P. for Mid Kent, 632, 688, 689.
 Honiman, Henry de, a sanctuary man, 35.
 Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, divides his province into dioceses, not parishes, 788 and n.
 Honeywood, Sir Courtenay, 78; sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Honeywood, Edward, created a baronet, 525.
 Honeywood, Filmer, M.P. for Kent, 634, 635, 687.
 Honeywood, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Honeywood, Sir John, of Evington, made sheriff of Kent by the Parliament, 546 n.
 Honeywood, Sir John Courtenay, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Honeywood, Sir William, a Parliamentarian, 550.
 Honeywood, William, M.P. for Kent, 687.
 Honeywood, William Philip, M.P. for Kent, 687.
 Hook, John, a smuggler, shot, 620 n.
 Hooker, a tenant of the abbot of Battle, 413.
 Hooker, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Hope, A. J. B. Beresford, M.P., 709; his estate in the Weald, 745.
 Hope, John de, death of, 47.
 Hore, Agatha, wife of Henry de, 64.
 Horn, Roger de, charges against, 128.
 Horne, Henry and Robert, sheriffs of Kent, 420.
 Horne, Roger, of Kenardington, his complaint against the priest of Brenzett, 451.
 Hornsby, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Horsfield, his account of the death of Cade, 390.
 Horsley, the artist, a resident in the Weald, 747.
 Horsmonden, the vicar of, A.D. 1640, complaint against, 587.
 Horsmonden, John, a clothier in the Weald, 570.
 Horsmundenne, William de, 14.
 Hospitallers of Euse [Ash] withdraw their tenants from the hundred court, 142.
 Hoton, Robert de, employed to arrange records, 298.
 Hovendens, of Frizley, clothiers in the Weald, 570; account of their business transactions, 571.
 Howard, the name, its meaning, 735 n.
 Howley, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 672; attacked by a mob, *ib.*; his monument in Canterbury Cathedral, *ib.*
 Hoyvile, Mary de, possessions of, 319.
 Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, his hospital at Thanington, 17.
 Hugessen, William, a Kentish Royalist, 541.
 Hugh, son of Heliwys, scalded to death, 51.

- Hugham, Robert de, possessions of, 320.
 Hulse, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Hume, his defence of Edward II., 266 n.
 Hundesherst, William of, 133.
 Hunsdon, Henry Carey, Lord, Tunbridge and the North Frith granted to, 432; also Wye and other manors, 478; dispute between him and Roger Twysden, *ib. n.*; created earl of Dover, 522.
 Hunt, a smuggler, of Romney Marsh, 567.
 Huntingdon, Lady, regarded with favour by George III., 615 and n.
 Huntingfield, Peter de, knighted at Carelaverock, 227; sheriff of Kent, 265.
 Huntingfield, Walter de, possessions of, 320.
 Huntington, William, S.S., notice of, 633 and n.
 Hurchinden, Robert de, oppression of, 121.
 Hua, Cornelius, a Flemish cloth-worker, 320.
 Husbands, Major, a Parliamentarian, 543; defeats the Royalists near Deal, 551.
 Hussey, Rev. A., on the population of Romney Marsh, 768.
 Hussey, Mr. Edward, owner of the manor of Marden, 524; his estate in the Weald, 745.
 Hutton, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, 614.
 Hyde, Sir Bernard, sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Hyde, Francis Colville, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Hylgardene, T. de, oppression of, 134.
 Hynendenne, Godelyva, the discoverer of a murder, 38.
 Iburghdenne, John de, charged with robbery, and acquitted, 39.
 Iden (or Eden), Alexander, Cade killed by, 387; his reward, 396; marries the widow of Crowmer, 398 n.; sheriff, and keeper of Rochester Castle, *ib.*, 398.
 Iford, John de, incumbent of Shadoxhurst, 233.
 Iford, William de, incumbent of Bidden-den, 232.
 Ina, King, laws of, 7.
 Infanta of Kent. See *Leybourn, the Lady Juliana*.
 Inge, William, possessions of, 320.
 Inglefield, Thomas, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Innocent IV., Pope, leaden seal of, found at Smarden, 18 n.; canonizes Edward of Abington, archbishop of Canterbury, 69 n.
 Isabel, Lady Abergavenny, 317.
 Isabel, countess of Hertford, 310 n.
 Isabella of France married to Edward II., 267; refused admission to Leeds Castle, 276; goes to France, 286; invades England, and causes the death of the king, 287.
 Isabella of France, queen of Richard II., 364.
 Isabella, the Lady, held a moiety of the manor of Wrotham, 129.
 Isabella the laundress and Alice her daughter, killed, 32, 33.
 Isabella, a tenant of the prior of Holy Trinity, Canterbury, contest concerning her, 55.
 Isley, Sir Henry, concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, 470, 471; defeated, and put to flight, 471; had been sheriff of Kent, 464, 471 n.; executed, 474; his property, *ib. n.*
 Isley, John and William, sheriffs of Kent, 420.
 Isley, Thomas, a Kentish rebel, executed, 474.
 Isley, William (2), sheriff of Kent, 518.
 Islip, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, his controversy with Battle Abbey, 339; his buildings, 367 n.
 Italian priests nominated by the Popes to English benefices, 101.
 James I., reign of, 519; Greenwich his favourite resort, 520; creates Lady Elizabeth Finch Viscountess Maidstone, 522 n.; his grant of Marden and its dene, 524; creation of the order of Baronets, 525 and n.; his death, 526; Baronets, 525; M.P.s, 602; sheriffs, 602.
 James II., reign of, 519; his open profession of Romanism, 559; his claim of a dispensing power, 560 and n.; trial of the seven Bishops, *ib.*; flight of the king, 561; his detention, 562; his letter to the earl of Winchelsea, 525; return to London, 564; flight to France, 565; his death, 605; Baronets, 526; M.P.s, 602; sheriffs, 603.
 James, parson of Warehorne, charged with burning the church of Loosenham, 230.
 James's novel, "The Smugglers," cited, 619.
 James, Demetrius Grevis, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 James, Sir Walter Charles, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 James, William, sheriff of Kent, 635.

- Janbert, archbishop of Canterbury, 761.
- Janakyn, Lawrence, Robert, and William, jurors, 380.
- Janyyn, a drummer, 259.
- Jardine, Sir William, on timber found buried in marshes, 760 n.
- Jeake, Samuel, jun., his journeys from Rye, 583.
- Jeffries, Chief Justice, 601.
- Jenkins, Rev. Canon, his paper on the Gates of Boulogne, 438; deed of exchange between Hen. VIII. and Archbishop Cranmer communicated by, 505 n.; owner of the advowson of Lyminge, 524.
- Jenner, Thomas, a judge, seized at Faversham, 563.
- Jermingham, Mrs., owner of Tunbridge castle, 520.
- Jerusalem, prior of St. John of, his possessions, 320; a J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Jesse's "Life of George III." cited, 614, 617, 623, 625, 638, 649, 671.
- Jews, their treatment in the 13th century, 75, 218; massacre of, at Canterbury, by the earl of Gloucester, 80; house for converts founded by Henry III., 57 n.; their expulsion by Edward I., 219; they return to England, *ib. n.*
- Joan, countess of Kent, 345; her manor of Wickhambreux, *ib. n.*; marries Edward the Black Prince, 345; escapes from the Wat Tyler insurgents, 361.
- Joanna, the Princess, married to the earl of Gloucester, 222; and to Ralph de Monthermer, *ib.*
- John, King, deprives the Normans of their English lands, 9; his ordinance for the legal assize of bread, 37; his gift to the Templars, 143; his gift to the abbey of St. Radigund, 161; a grant of his, alluded to, 203.
- John, King of France, capture of, 340, 343; brought to England, 343; question as to his place of landing, *ib. n.*; his residence in England, 344; his return to France, *ib.*; again returns to England, *ib.*; his death, 345.
- St. John, John de, possessions of, 320.
- St. John, the prior of, his possessions, 320.
- John, the sub-prior, chosen archbishop by the Canterbury monks, but set aside by the pope, 69.
- John, vicar of Sellinge, witness to a miraculous cure, 92.
- John, a monk of Battle, the keeper of of Westwell park, 134.
- John, servant of Wylard of Newenden, drowned, 37.
- John, son of Daniel the dyer, drowned, 53.
- John, son of Simon, charged with murder, 35.
- John Amend-all, name taken by Cade, 383.
- John the Carter, death of, 45.
- John of the Church, a surety, 48.
- John of Holy Cross, rector of Bilsington, his encroachment on the king's highway, 137.
- John of Kent, notice of, 114.
- John the Smith, money extorted from, 125.
- Jordan, a London sheriff, 110.
- Jordan, Edward, a physician, 601 and n.
- Jordan, Thomas, directions for his baptism, 850.
- Joselyn of Rochester, a fisherman, 110.
- Joseph the Jew, a nickname, 316.
- Joymeyde, John, 124.
- Juana, queen of Arragon, in Kent, 436.
- Judd, Alice, married to Thomas Smyth, of Westenhanger, 504.
- Judd, Sir Andrew, the mortgagee of the manor of Ashford, 504.
- Judith, the countess, 309 n.
- Julia, daughter of Goda, found murdered in a field, 58.
- Jumper, William, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Justice Nine-holes, a nickname, 478 n.
- Justices for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 464, 465.
- Juxon, Archbishop, 592; re-erects the great Hall of Lambeth Palace, 593.
- Kacherel, Philip le, his men falsely accused of extortion, 50.
- Kadakerigge, Cecily de, murder of, 40.
- Kamville, Thomas de, has a grant of a market at Westerham, 727.
- Kat, Jordan, a surety, 52.
- Kayser, William, a surety, 61.
- Keleoy, Mr. Stephen, 524.
- Kelley, Sir George, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Kemble, Mr., on the Knights Templars, 291; his Mark theory rejected, 731; his error as to the origin of the parish, 793.
- Kemiston, William de, letter of Prince Edward in favour of, 261.
- Kemp, John, a Flemish cloth-worker, 323.
- Kempe, John, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor, his journey into Kent, 401 and n.; archbishop of Can-

- terbury, 415 and *n.*; founds a college at Wye, *ib.*
- Kempe, Thomas, a commissioner, temp. Elizabeth, 478 *n.*
- Kempe, Sir Thomas, a defence commissioner, 497.
- Kempe, William, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Kemps, two smugglers, executed for housebreaking, 621.
- Kemsing, John de, charges against, 139.
- Kendale, Robert, warden of Dover Castle, 268; controversy with the abbot of Battle, *ib.*; empowered to repair the Castle, 301.
- Kenelyngworth, Thomas de, sent to fetch Flemish cloth-workers, 324.
- Kenith, Nicholas de, his gift of part of Lamberhurst to the convent of Robertabridge, 15.
- Kensing, Richard de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Kent, Edmund, earl of, 72 *n.*, 264; in league with Queen Isabella, 287; castellan of Tunbridge, 296; custos of the Cinque Ports, 303; beheaded, 322; the grandfather of Richard II., 345, 349.
- Kent, Joan, countess of, 345 and *n.*
- Kent, John, earl of, 345 *n.*
- Kent, Thomas Holland, earl of, 345.
- Kent, the Fair Maid of, 345; the Holy Maid of, 442.
- Kent, baronets connected with, 525, 526; distinguished natives, 113, 420, 682; earls of, 72 *n.*; justices of the peace, 464, 465; knights of the shire, 265, 306, 602, 634, 687, 689; lords lieutenant, 603, 636, 689; Parliamentary committee of, 535, 538; sheriffs of, 117, 265, 306, 371, 420, 464, 465, 471, 518, 602, 636, 688.
- Kentish Royalists, rising of the, in 1648, 534; assemble at Canterbury, 539; besiege Dover Castle, *ib.*; assemble at Rochester, 542; advance to Dartford, *ib.*; retire to Rochester, 543; defeated at Maidstone, 546; many cross into Essex, and stand a siege at Colchester, 549; surrender Canterbury, 550; defeated at Deal, 551; the rising entirely crushed, 552.
- Kentish, Mr. J., information received from, acknowledged, 165.
- Kenwood, John, esq., his attempted arbitration in a tithe suit, 610.
- Kerstone, William de, charge against, 158.
- Keyne, John, his claim to land in the Isle of Harty, 173.
- Kilburne, Richard, the topographer, 601 remarks by, on Castle Toll, 16; on ruins at Abdale, in Stone, 18; on Tunbridge, 19; on the College of Wittersham, 20; on the Harlackenden tomb, *ib.*; on Sutton Castle, 86; on Newenden, 133 *n.*; mentions the lath of Hedelinth, 156; on Bridge and Petham, 159; on the death of Jack Oade, 387; on the ancient parochial division between East and West (now Mid) Kent, 846.
- Kilburne, Mr. Goodwin, of Hawkhurst, 500 *n.*
- Kilwardby, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, his character, 229; death, 230.
- Kingsmill, Thomas, a smuggler, 620 and *n.*; executed, 621.
- Kingsnorth, Mr. Alfred, 515.
- Kingewod, Robert de, false charge brought against, 137.
- Kippe, William, false claim made by, 60.
- Knachebull, William and Thomas, occupants of Willop, A.D. 1512, 426.
- Knatchbull, Edward, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Knatchbull, Sir Edward, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Knatchbull, Sir Edward (2), M.P. for Kent, 636, 687.
- Knatchbull, Sir Edward (3), M.P. for Kent, 687; opposed to the Catholic claims, 655 and *n.*; M.P. for East Kent, 687.
- Knatchbull, Sir John, M.P. for Kent, 602.
- Knatchbull, Norton, created a baronet, 525; M.P. for Kent, 530 *n.*, 602.
- Knatchbull, Sir Wyndham, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Knatchbull, Sir Wyndham (2), 211.
- Knevet, Anthony and William, Kentish rebels, 470, 471; executed, 474.
- Knight, Thomas, 635 *n.*
- Knight, Thomas, the younger, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Knights, formerly ironmasters in the Weald, 487, 577.
- Knights Hospitaliers and Templars, encroachments of the, 237.
- Knights of the shire for Kent, 265, 306, 602, 634, 687, 689.
- Knoll, Matthew de, charge against, 139.
- Knolle, William and Henry de la, suit between, 63.
- Kymbers, the Lord Peter de, 139.
- Kynardinton, Alice and Thomas de, 32.
- Kyngesfold, William de, chief bailiff of the hundred of Wye, 244.

Kyngesmod, Robert de, a coroner, 244.
Kyrill, John, Esq., his attempted arbitration in a tithe suit, 610.

Labon [Leyburn], John, a titular bishop, detained at Faversham, 564 n.

Lacy, Master Henry de, the king's cook, wardship and marriage of an heiress given to, 123.

Lacy, Robert, sheriff of Kent, 635.

Lamb, William, his grammar school and almshouses at Sutton Valence, 482.

Lambarde, on Ashurst, 11; on the Halling vineyard, 286; on Surrenden, 366; on Milton, 502 n.; on the Kentish orchards, 514 n.; on the Boroos of Kent, 784.

Lambert, a man falsely accused of extortion, 50.

Lambhirst, Absalom de, case of, 61.

Lancaster, Henry, earl of, the keeper of Edward II. at Kenilworth, 288.

Lancaster, Henry Grismond, duke of, 372 n.

Lancaster, the Lady Matilda of, letter of Prince Edward to, 259.

Lancaster, Thomas, earl of, overthrows Gaveston, 269 and n.; ravages the lands of the Le Despencers, 271; defeated and executed, 280; his possessions, 320.

Lanfranc, Archbishop, grants to, 9; a witness to two charters of Battle Abbey, 353.

Langham, Lambinus de, an early owner of Halden, 17.

Langham, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, 367.

Langton, John de, the chancellor, 224, 225; meets Edward I. at Wye, 255; his deer killed by Prince Edward, 257.

Langton, Archbishop Stephen, bridge built by, 15 and n.; his death, 15, 67; debt left by, how incurred, 67.

Lars of the Exchequer, his possessions, 146.

Large, Robert, Caxton's master, 422; his bequest to Caxton, 423.

Lardner, Dr. Nathaniel, 601.

Larking, John, sheriff of Kent, 688.

Larking, Mr. John Wingfield, 610 n.

Larking, Rev. L. B., on Domesday, 189; on the denes of the Crown, 197; his "Knights Hospitallers in England," 291; his papers on the family of the Leyburns, 317; question as to some of his statements, 317, 318, 738; on the birth-place of Caxton, 421; condemns the destruction of hedgerows, 660 n.

Laund, Archbishop, his proceedings, 585; once a Kentish incumbent, 591; his character, 592; extracts from his Diary, and his annual returns concerning his province, 847, 848.

La Wete, Hugh, his chattels forfeited, 59.

La Weyte, Ralph, a sanctuary man, 36; William, his brother, *ib.*

St. Lawrence, Ralph de, sheriff of Kent, 306.

Leach, Sir William, sheriff of Kent, 603.

Leary, Jeremiah, tried for treason, but acquitted, 626, 627.

Le Brun, Guy, half-brother of Henry III., his poverty, 212.

Leechhindene. See *Linchedenn*.

Le Cupere, Richard, 39.

Ledes, Henry de, charge against, 149.

Le Despencer v. Eveleigh, cause of, 638.

Le Despenser, Hugh the younger, put to death, 288.

Lee, Richard, J.P. for Kent, 464.

Lee, Richard, jun., a Kentish Royalist, 541.

Lee, Rowland (afterwards bishop of Lichfield and Coventry), marries Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, 437.

Lee, Captain, a Parliamentarian, 838.

Leeds, the prior of, charge against, 132; claims the church of Lamberhurst, 233.

Le Fevre, John and Peter, rioters, 47, 48.

Le Fevre, William, concerned in the murder of Walter de Twysden, 42.

Le Forst, Martin, murder committed by, 44.

Le Frelande, Richard, his escape from prison, 59.

St. Leger, Sir Anthony, viceroy of Ireland, 516; his laws there, *ib. n.*

St. Leger, Bartholomew de, possessions of, 320.

St. Leger, John, Ralph, and Thomas, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.

St. Leger, Ralph de, his erection of a market and warren at Ulocombe, 54.

St. Leger, Sir Robert, at Pevensay, 725.

St. Leger, Warham, opposes Wyatt, 470; sheriff of Kent, 470 n., 518; his after services and death, 470 n.

Legh, Alan de, taken for larceny, 57; also charged with poaching, *ib.*

Legh, Godwyn de la, a surety, 45.

Legh, Margaret and Ralph de la, 33, 34.

Leicester, earl of. See *Montfort, Simon de*.

Leicester, countess of. See *Eleanor, Princess*.

- Leicester, Robert Dudley, earl of, the South Frith granted to, 432.
 Leicester, John Sidney, earl of, Lord Lieutenant and Lord Warden, 636.
 Leicester, Robert Sidney, earl of, 601.
 Leicester, Thomas, earl of, his possessions, 320.
 Leigh, Colonel, a Kentish Royalist, 544.
 Leigh, Sir Francis, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Le Jeune, Agnes, daughter of Ralph, death of, 41.
 Le Jeune, Robert, a surety, 41.
 Leland, his account of the capture of Leeds Castle, 281.
 Le Moyne, Joan, her claims against William de Bodyham, 63.
 Le Moyne, William, 63.
 Lenham, Elias de, a bailiff, 140.
 Lenham, Michael of, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Lenham, Nicholas de, a tenant of part of Lamberhurst, 15.
 Lennard, John and Sampson, sheriffs of Kent, 518.
 Lennard, Stephen, created a baronet, 526.
 Leo, King of Armenia, visit of, to Richard II., 363.
 Leofwine, brother of Harold, the possessor of Sutton Castle, 85.
 Leonard, Sir Stephen, M.P. for Kent, 602, 634.
 Lepper, William, 243 n.
 Le Sauner, Thomas, death of, 44.
 Le Simere, Roger, son of Richard, drowned, 38.
 Le Somter, John, a murderer, 241.
 L'Estrange, Mr., promotes the Kentish rising, 537 and n.; escapes to Holland, 544 n.; as Sir Roger, excluded from the Act of Pardon under William and Mary, 598.
 Le Sumeter, Thomas, murder of, 35; Edith, his wife, 36.
 Lethe, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Le Tyler, Robert, a murderer, 241.
 Leukenor, Joan de, possessions of, 319.
 Leukenor, Nicholas de, charge against, 140.
 Levison, Sir John, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Le Waleys, Hugh, fined for acting the part of coroner, 38.
 Le Walle, John, warrenor of the abbot of Battle, 242.
 Lewes, Godfrey de, incumbent of Headcorn, 232.
 Lewin, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635 n.
 Lewin's "Portus Lemanis," cited, 250.
 Lewis, Mr. J. R., owner of the Henwood estate, 338.
 Lewisham, prior of, his franchises, 140.
 Leybourne [Leyborn, Leyborne, Leyburn, Leyburne], Lord Henry de, letter of Prince Edward in favour of, 262; summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Leybourne, Henry and Simon de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Leybourne, the Lady Juliana, 307, 318; her great possessions, 318, 320, 744; inventory of her effects, 319.
 Leybourne, Roger de, remarkable career of, 80 n., 81, 94, 117; letter to, from Prince Edward, offering terms of peace to the men of the Cinque Ports, 74; sheriff of Kent, 118; farms the Seven Hundreds, 121, 239; charges against, 145, 146, 152; death of, mentioned, 151; Dugdale's mistake as to him, 317.
 Leybourne, William de, his manor of Ashford, 136; his warren there, 242; his holding in Renham, 147; his manor of Elham, 151; its franchises, *ib.*; his warren in Preston, 158; letter of Prince Edward in his favour, 260.
 Leygrave, Dame Alice de, the nurse of Prince Edward, 260.
 Leyton, Dr., a commissioner for the visitation of monasteries, his letter to Cromwell, 462.
 Lidgbird, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Lightfoot, Mr., on the beacons in the Seven Hundreds, 499 n.
 Linchedenn, Simon de, accusations against, 37, 38.
 Lincoln, Henry de Lacy, earl of, letter of Prince Edward to, 258; his daughter Alice, *ib.* n.
 L'Isle, Lord De, and Dudley, his possessions in the Weald, 719.
 Lisle, Sir George, a Kentish Royalist, 543.
 Liverpool, Robert Jenkinson, earl of, Lord Warden, 689.
 Loader, Isaac, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Looklege family, question of title to lands, 60.
 Lollards, carry the doctrines of Wycliffe to a pernicious extent, 368; statute against them, 377; burning of, 415; the statutes against them revived, 475.
 Lollingstone, Roger de, incumbent of Staplehurst, 233.
 Lordingdenne, Thomas, son of Mabel de, scalded to death, 49.

- London, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- London, Henry of Sandwich, bishop of, 113; a partisan of the Barons, *ib.*; his death, 114.
- London, mayor of, letter of Prince Edward to, in behalf of Michael, his tailor, 261.
- Londoners, returning from Lewes, attacked and defeated at Croydon, 88 and *n.*; destroy kidels in Yantlet creek, 110.
- Long, Samuel, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Longley, Charles Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 672; assembles the Anglican Synod, 673.
- Longley, John, Recorder of Rochester, 672, 673 *n.*
- Longman's "Edward III." cited, 322 *n.*, 323, 327, 341, 344 *n.*, 345, 346; his "History of St. Paul's" cited, 581.
- Longhanks, an appellation of Edward I., 115 *n.*
- Lords Lieutenant for Kent, 603, 636, 689.
- Lords Warden of the Cinque Ports, 603, 636, 689.
- Louis the Dauphin excommunicated by the Pope, 2; besieges Dover in vain, 65; offends his English adherents, *ib.*; burns Sandwich, 66; defeated at Lincoln, *ib.*; his fleet destroyed, *ib.*; leaves England, *ib.*
- Louis IX. of France, letter of Henry III. to, 75; disputes between Henry III. and the Barons referred to, 79.
- Louis XIV., his treaty with Charles II., 558; gives refuge to James II., 565.
- Love, Rich., a Kentish malcontent, 457.
- Lovel, Henry, charge against, 151.
- Lovelace, Richard and William, adherents of Cade, 399.
- Lowe, Simon, his claim to land in the Isle of Harty, 173.
- Lower, Mr. M. A., on Jack Cade, 391; on the sheriffdom of Alexander Iden, 397 and *n.*; his "Battel Abbey" cited, 83, 203, 214, 321; his "Contributions to Literature" cited, 27, 409, 484, 486.
- Lubbock, Sir J. W., sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Lucas, John, collector of rents to Abp. Warham, 426.
- Lucy, Aymer, Jeffrey, and Thomas de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227; notice of the family, *ib. n.*
- Lucy, Geoffrey de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Lucy, Sir Mich., a Parliamentarian, 536.
- Ludlow, the Republican, his remarks on the restoration of Charles II., 557.
- Ludlow, Thomas, abbot of Battle, a Wye rental of his time, 411.
- Ludringe, Solomon, charged with horse stealing, but acquitted, 52.
- Lugge, Joseph and Thomas, of Newenden, 133.
- Lullingestone, Christiana de, said to be cured by miracle, 93.
- Lunghamp, Lord Osbert de, tenure of his lands, 128.
- Lydsing and Bredhurst, petition against the incumbent of, 588.
- Lyminge, John de, incumbent of Pluckley, 232.
- Lymonges, John de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Lynch, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Lyndestede, William de, incumbent of Frittenden, 232.
- Macaulay, Lord, on the state of England in the fourteenth century, 371; exception taken to his statements, 372 *n.*; on the seizure of James II., 562; on Tunbridge Wells, 597.
- Mackeson, Mr., his paper on the Geology of the Weald alluded to, 493, 682.
- Mackintosh, on the character of Edward I., 264.
- Mc Pherson's "History of Commerce" cited, 323 *n.*, 324.
- Madan, Dr. Patrick, a writer on the Tunbridge Wells waters, 597 *n.*
- Magdalen College, Oxford, tenants of the manor of Aldington, 523.
- Maidstone, complaint against the perpetual curate of, A.D. 1640, 586; the assizes fixed at, 758.
- Maldon, Walter de, incumbent of Chart Sutton, 232.
- Malherbe, Sir William de, 704.
- Malling, the abbess of, possessions of, 320.
- Malling, Roland de, bailiff of the earl of Gloucester, 130.
- Malmains, family of, 11.
- Malmains (or Malemayns), Henry, a special juror, 51; sheriff of Kent, 118, 337 *n.*; charged with extortion, 122, 158.
- Malmains, John, his son, 118 *n.*; fined for neglecting the repair of walls, sewers, &c., in Romney Marsh, 254; sheriff of Kent, 306; knight of the shire, *ib.*
- Malmains, John, jun., his grant to Roger de Hanlo and others, 337.

- Malmain, Nicholas de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228.
- Malmain, Thomas, withdraws himself from the hundred court, 144.
- Malmain, of Pluckley and of Waldershare, their connexion shewn, 337 and n.
- Malta, Knights of, 291.
- Man, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Man, Sir William, imprisoned by the Parliament, 535 and n.
- Maney, John, created a baronet, 525.
- Maney, Sir John and Sir Wm., Kentish Royalists, 544.
- Mann family, their extensive estates in the Weald, 610, 744 n.
- Mann, Edward Louisa, 744 n.
- Mann, Sir Galfridus, 744 n.
- Mann, Horatio, created a baronet, 526; his death, 744 n.
- Mann, Sir Horace, 668, 744 n.
- Mann, James. See *White, James*.
- Mann, Robert, owner of Linton Place, 610, 744 n.
- Mantell, William, a Kentish rebel, executed, 474.
- Manwood, Sir Roger, a commissioner to inquire about the hundreds of Marden and Milton, 502 and n., 780 n.; on assarts, 297 n.; his death, and monument, 517.
- Mapeldene, Thomas de, a surety, 36.
- Maplesden family, clothiers in the Weald, 570.
- Maplesden, Gervase, mayor of Maidstone, 840 and n.
- Marais, Thomas de, 138.
- March, Edward, earl of, at Calais, 404; becomes duke of York, and afterwards king, 405. See *Edward IV.*
- Margaret of Anjou, her marriage to Henry VI., 381; her threats of vengeance for the murder of the duke of Suffolk, 382; assembles a fleet at Sandwich, 404.
- Margaret, Princess, of France, her marriage to Edward I., 256; her son Thomas, 256 n., 259; letter of Prince Edward to her, 259; intercedes for the earl of Athol, 263; present at the marriage of her niece Isabella, 267; her possessions, 320.
- Margaret, Lady Stafford, 315 n.
- Marisco, William de, search for, 74.
- Markham, on the Weald, cited, 3, 24.
- Marr, earl of, released from his English prison, 300.
- Marriott, Rev. Hugh F., his estate in the Weald, 745.
- Marshal, William the. See *Pembrok, William, earl of*.
- Marshal, William, Earl, receives Sutton as a marriage portion, 132.
- Marsham family, notice of the, 628 n.
- Marsham, Hon. C., M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Marsham, Sir J., created a baronet, 626.
- Marsham, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Marsham, Vis., M.P. for West Kent, 687.
- Marstede, Fulk de, a part owner of the barony of Chatham, 146.
- Martin V., Pope, his bull in favour of the merchants of the Staple, 329.
- Martin family become possessed of Leeds Castle, 624 n.
- Martin, Mr. Chas. Wykeham, his "History of Leeds Castle" cited, 274 n., 281, 322; M.P. for West Kent, 687.
- Martin, Fienes Wykeham, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Martin, John, M.P. for Tunbridge, 248.
- Martin, the Pope's money-collector, obliged to leave England, 102.
- Martin, —, executed as a witch, 664.
- Martyn, John, J.P., temp. Hen. IV., 376.
- Martyn, W., J.P., temp. Hen. VIII., 464.
- Marvel, Andrew, on the wool smugglers, 572 n.
- Mary, Queen, dowager of France, 436 n.
- Mary, Queen of Jerusalem, 262.
- Mary, reign of, 467; Sir Thos. Wyatt's rebellion, 463; the queen's marriage, 475; the Marian persecution, &c.; loss of Calais, 476; death of the queen, &c.
- Mary II., reign of, 519, 566; present to Canterbury Cathedral, 599; death, &c.
- Masils, Major Philip, a Royalist, 542.
- Mason, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Master, James, of East Langdon, 631.
- Master, James, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Master, Mary, Visco. Torrington, 631.
- Master, Richard, rector of Aldington, 440; an abettor of Elizabeth Barton, 443; executed, 445.
- Masters, Wm. Daniel, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Matthew Paris, one of the St. Alban's Chroniclers, 80 n.
- Matthew of Westminster, siege of Rochester Castle described by, 81; his statement regarding Simon de Montfort, the younger, 98 n.
- Maud, the Empress, her partisans, 310.
- Maundeville, Lord Ernald de, charge against the heirs of, 140.
- Maunsel, John, the great pluralist, 34, 102, 139; his foundations in Kent, 132; death, &c.
- Maunsell, Thomas, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.

- May, J., a justice, temp. Hen. VI., 379.
 May, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635 and *n.*
 Maydeshulle, Ralph de, trial of, 35.
 Mayham, O. de, fined for default, 35.
 Maylyn, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Mayney, Sir John de, the owner of Place House, Biddenden, 704.
 Mayney, John and Walter, sheriffs of Kent, 518.
 Megos, Lawrence de, beheaded, 264.
 Mepham, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury, 367.
 Merbire, Robert de, murder of, 51.
 Merdenne, Lenota de, found drowned, 42.
 Merdenne, Yvo de, exactions by, 137; styled an extortionate bailiff, 156.
 Meredith, Sir Roger, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Meredith, Thomas, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Meredith, Wm., created a baronet, 525.
 Mereworth, John de, possessions, 320.
 Mereworth, Rose de, letter of Prince Edward in favour of, 261 and *n.*
 Meriedenne, Osbert de, a defaulter, 39.
 Merks, Richard, bishop of Carlisle, his faithfulness to Richard II., 366 *n.*
 Merry, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Merser, Thomas, of Hawkhurst, his treatment, 455.
 Mersham and Old Romney, letter of the rector of, A.D. 1640, 588.
 Meygnill, Christians, 243.
 Meygnill, Nicholas, his service to the see of Canterbury, 243.
 Michael, Prince Edward's tailor, letter in favour of, 261.
 Middleton, Heliseus de, said to be cured by miracle, 92.
 Middleton, William de, 92.
 Middleton, Lord, with James II. at Faversham, 564.
 Mileford, Robert de, incumbent of Kingsnorth, 232.
 Miles, Margaret and William, 32.
 Miller, Humphrey, created a baronet, 526; sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Milles, Chris., sheriff of Kent, 635 *n.*
 Milles, Hon. George Watson, M.P. for East Kent, 688.
 Milles, Thomas, the herald, 227 *n.*
 Mills, C. H., M.P. for West Kent, 688.
 Milner, Charles, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Milton, John, secretary for foreign tongues to the Council of State, 590.
 Minet, Isaac, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Mitchell, Thos., complaint against, 449.
 Mocking, family of, 13.
 Modelegh, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Modinden, the Friars of, 132; their miracle plays, 417 *n.*
 Mody, John, a poacher, 242.
 Mole, N. de, under sheriff of Kent, 118.
 Monchensi, Warren de, a possessor of Sutton Castle, 87; his lands at Swanscombe, 143.
 Monchensi, William de, his holding, 143; charges against, 130, 146.
 Mongeham, J., a tenant of Rolvynden, 426.
 Monk, General, receives Charles II. at Dover, 556. See *Albemarle, George Monk, duke of.*
 Montacute, Agnes de, her gift to the convent of Michelham, 12.
 Montefiore, Sir M., sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Montfort, Almeric de, escape of, 96.
 Montfort, Henry de, constable of Dover Castle, 85; killed at Evesham, 91; charges against him, *ib. n.*
 Montfort, Hugh de, grants to, 9; his manor of Street, 138.
 Montfort, Simon de, earl of Leicester, his marriage with the Princess Eleanor, 86; in default before the justiciaries, 40, 44; a Kentish landowner, 40; the leader of the Mad Parliament, 76; takes up arms, 77; his ambitious views, 78; obliged to raise the siege of Rochester, 80, 81, 82; is joined by the Londoners, 84; gains the battle of Lewes, 85; exercises regal power, 88; encamps on Barham downs to resist invasion, 89; dissension among his supporters, 91; killed at Evesham, and his body mutilated, *ib.*; charges against him, *ib. n.*; miracles ascribed to his remains, 92; estimate of his character, 93; bestowal of his forfeited estates, 97 *n.*
 Montfort, Simon de, the younger, has charge of Surrey and Sussex, 88; repairs to the Cinque Ports, and becomes a pirate, 98 and *n.*
 Montgomery, Philip Herbert, earl of, Lord Lieutenant, 603.
 Monthermer, Ralph de, his clandestine marriage with the Princess Joanna, 222; imprisoned in consequence, 223; his subsequent history, 224 and *n.*, 313 *n.*
 Monyna, Edward, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Moore, Rev. Edward, of Frittenden, 708.
 Moore, John, abp. of Canterbury, 615.
 Moore, William, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Morant, William, prohibition to, 337.
 More, Miss Hannah, her picture of the state of religion in her neighbourhood, 617.

- More, Sir John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 More, Sir Thomas, accused of countenancing Elizabeth Barton, 445; executed, 462.
 Moreland, W. Alex., sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Morell, Capt., of Woodchurch, 26 n.
 Morgan's "England under the Normans" cited, 144 n., 702, 734, 740 n.
 Moristone, Bartholomew, and Matilda his wife, their suit against John de Curtone, 59.
 Morlak, S., charges against, 143, 144, 145.
 Morland, Mr. W. C., his estate in the Weald, 745.
 Mortimer, Roger, 270; sentenced to death, 280; escapes from prison, and joins Queen Isabella in France, 287; created earl of March, 322; executed, *ib.*
 Mortimer, the name of, assumed by Cade, 383.
 Morton, Sir Albert, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Morton, E., deputy sheriff of Kent, 265.
 Morton, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 415 and n.; his buildings, *ib.*
 Moses, the miller of Hothfield, his death, 55.
 Mot, Hugh, the under-bailiff, 130.
 Mourinot, Walchelin, his payment for the lastage of Hastings, 338.
 Mowbray, Alexander de, grant of an annuity to, 296.
 Mowbray, John de, possessions of, 320.
 Moyle, Sir Thomas, 470.
 Mumford, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Mundham, evil life of the vicar of, 212 n.
 Munn, Mr. Joseph, on the manor-house of Pitelesden, 259 n.
 Murton, Mr. W., a fruit cultivator, 515.
 Muahet, on the discovery of iron, 28.
 Napoleon's threats of invasion, how met, 638.
 Navarre, Joan of, queen of Henry IV., monument of, 376.
 Naylor, Henry, a champion in a trial by battle, 173.
 Neild, Mr. J. C., his bequest to Queen Victoria, 678; his will, *ib.*; his singular character, 679.
 Neile, Richard, bishop of Rochester, 847.
 Neng, Elyas, convicted of several robberies, 39.
 Neuhone, Lefinus, a Flemish cloth-worker, 324.
 Neve, Mr. Thomas, of Benenden, 666.
 Neville, Sir Edward, obtains Birling by marriage, 494.
 Neville, Sir Ed. (2), J.P. for Kent, 433, 464.
 Neville, Ralph, bishop of Chichester, chosen archbishop, but set aside by the Pope; letters to, 211 and n.
 Neville, Sir Thomas, J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Neville, Ursula, wife of Warham St. Leger, 470 n.
 Newbery, F., Esq., his monumental pillar to Cade, 390.
 Newman, George and James, Kentish royalists, 541, 544.
 Newman, Rev. Robert, rector of Staplehurst, 593.
 Newnham, John de, knighted at Caer-laverock, 228.
 Newton's "Maidstone" cited, 553, 589.
 Newton, Sir John, castellan of Rochester, compelled to be the spokesman of the Wat Tyler insurgents, 360 and n.
 Neye, Thomas de la, extortion by his officer, 135.
 Nicholas IV., his grant to Edward I., 21.
 Nicholas the Linendraper, an offender against the assize of cloth, 52.
 Nichols' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, 493.
 Nicholls' History of the Ironmongers' Company cited, 300, 513, 575, 607.
 Nigel, chaplain of Lamberhurst, his encroachment on the king's highway, 51; pays a fine, and annual rent, 52; charged with disseizing Absalom de Lambhirst, 61.
 Noel, Dionysia and Richard, 190.
 Norden, Mr., of Sittingbourne, offers his service against Wyatt, 469 n.
 Norfolk, John Howard, duke of, letter of, 406 and n.
 Norfolk, Roger Bigod, earl of, withstands the king's illegal demands, 223.
 Norfolk, Thomas de Brotherton, earl of, 256 n.
 Norfolk, Thomas Howard, duke of, J.P. for Kent, 464; sent against Wyatt, 472; deserted by his troops, and obliged to flee, *ib.*
 Northman, William, extortion practised on, 154.
 Norman, George, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Norman, Stephen, murder of, 47.
 Normandy, Richard, duke of, the ancestor of the De Clares, 308.
 Normanville, Eustace and Thomas de, 32.
 Norris, Sir Henry, sends information of a plot to overthrow Elizabeth's government, 497.
 Norris, Admiral Sir John, the purchaser of Hempsted, 612.

- North, Fred., Lord, Lord Warden, 636.
 Northbroke, T. de, oppression of, 135.
 Northmanville family, oppressed by an escheator, 123.
 Northmanville, Galiens, 123.
 Northmanville, Ralph de, 123; Thomas, his son, *ib.*
 Northumberland, E., countess of, 403.
 Northumberland, Henry Percy, earl of, 601.
 Northwood, John de, a part holder of the barony of Chatham, 146; sheriff of Kent, 265; possessions of, 319, 320.
 Northwood, John de, and his son John, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227; both summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Northwood, Lord Roger de, his possessions, 143.
 Northye, the Lord William, 134.
 Norton, Anthony, confession of 468.
 Norton, Mr. D., his estate in the Weald, 745.
 Norton, Sir John, a J.P. for Kent, 464.
 Norton, S., an adherent of Cade, 399.
 Nortune, Guy de, charge against, 135.
 Norwich, George Goring, earl of, takes the command of the Kentish Royalists, 544 and *n.*; crosses into Essex, 549.
 Norwich, Walter Hart, bishop of, a supposed favourer of the duke of York, 400.
 Norwood, Mr. Edward, of Charing, information supplied by, 182 *n.*, 555 *n.*
 Norwood, Mr. J. D., his edition of Robinson on Gavelkind cited 121, 189; his list of Borough English manors, 756 *n.*
 Nott, Rev. Dr., a pluralist, 745 *n.*
 Oatham, Peter de, a juror, 61.
 O'Connell, Mr. Daniel, returned for Clare, 654.
 O'Connor, Arthur, trial of, 626, 627, 825.
 Odiarne, John, 34.
 Odo, bishop of Baieux, grants to, 9; Sutton Castle possessed by, 85.
 Odyerne, W., an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Offa, King, grants by, 763.
 Offaham, Wm. de, charge against, 146.
 Oldcastle, Sir John, called Lord Cobham, 473 *n.*
 O'Neil, Mr. G. B., of Cranbrook, 569, 747.
 Onewyne, John, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Opley, a murderer, hanged at Maidstone, 512.
 Orange, Mary, princess of, becomes queen, 566. See *Mary II.*
 Orango, William, prince of (afterwards William III.), lands at Torbay, 561; proclaimed king, 566. See *William III.*
 Orlanestone, William de, his holding in the hundred of Ham, 139; sheriff of Kent, temp. Edw. III., 371.
 Orleans, Henrietta, duchess of, concludes the Dover treaty with Charles II., 558.
 Ormond, James Butler, duke of, Lord Warden, 636.
 Orquendo, a Spanish admiral, 529.
 Orridge, Mr. B. B., his doubtful assertion concerning Lord Say, 384 *n.*; on the death of Cade, 395.
 Osborne, Sir Edward, a native of Ashford, 482.
 Oteringdene, Ralf de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Oteringedene, William de, a juror, 51.
 Otewy, bailiff of Tunbridge, fined for the escape of a prisoner, 57.
 Otterden, Lawr. de, possessions of, 320.
 Overstrood, Adam, Walter de Lacy killed by, 47.
 Owen, John, his loyal token, 841 and *n.*
 Owen, Nathaniel, a Quaker, imprisoned, 841 and *n.*
 Owers, wool smugglers so called, 572 *n.*
 Oxenden, Sir H., created a baronet, 526.
 Oxenden, Jas., a Parliamentarian, 536.
 Oxenden, Sir Jas., M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Oyn, Ralph, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Page, John, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Page, Michael, the Puritan mayor of Canterbury, 534.
 Pakenham, Edm. de, possessions of, 319.
 Pakenham, John de, keeper of the castle and forest of Tunbridge, 297.
 Palgrave's English Commonwealth cited, 168 *n.*, 173, 749, 750 and *n.*, 751 and *n.*, 757, 759, 766; his opinion as to the Kentish hundreds and the Grand Lath questioned, 773, 776.
 Palmer, Sir Thomas, a Kentish Royalist, 541, 544.
 Palmer, Sir Thos. (2), M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Palmerston, Henry Temple, Viscount, Lord Warden, 689.
 Pandulph, the Papal legate, assists at the translation of Abp. Becket, 67.
 Paramore, Thomas, claim made on his lands in Hartly, 173.
 Parker, Mr. J. H., his paper on Penshurst, 430.
 Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, opposed to the introduction of

- iron-works in East Kent, 486; entertains Queen Elizabeth at Croydon, 493; repairs the archiepiscopal palace, 507; settles his wife and family at Beakesbourne, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*
- Parker, Richard, a mutineer, 626
- Parker, Robert le, letter of Prince Edward to, 262.
- Parkes, Mr. C. J., on iron ores from various countries, 680.
- Parleben, William, robbery of, by the constable and serjeant of Rochester castle, 143.
- Parliamentary committee, 535; obliged to take refuge at the Friary, Aylesford, 538.
- Parminster, William, a rebel, temp. Hen. VI., 401.
- Partridge, an iron founder, charged with supplying strangers with guns, 485.
- Paston Letters, extracts from the, 382 n., 395, 406.
- Paterson, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Patehull, Martin de, orders to, regarding the court at Shipway, 74.
- Pattenson, Roger, a Yorkshire clothier, settled in the Weald, 570.
- Pavely, Walter de, possessions of, 320.
- Payne, John, an adherent of Cade, 400.
- Payne, John, of Tenterden, 758.
- Paynel, John, possessions of, 320.
- Pearson, Mr. J., his drain plough, 638.
- Pearson, Mr., his edition of Blaauw's "Barons' War," 87 n., 91; his "History of England," 87 n.; remark on the siege of Tunbridge, 134; on the jurisdiction of the hundreds, 168; on the character of Edward I., 264; his Historical Maps, 752; on the word "parish," 791.
- Peche, Lord Gilbert, his franchises, 141; his oppressive conduct, *ib.*; married to the widow of Richard of Dover, *ib.*
- Peche, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, his services, 407 and n.
- Peche, Robert and William, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228.
- Peckham, James de, sheriff of Kent, temp. Rich. II., 371.
- Peckham, James, sheriff of Kent, 420.
- Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, his oppression of the Jews, 218; founds the collegiate church of Wingham, 231; his contests with the citizens of Canterbury and the monks of St. Augustine, *ib.*; his death and burial place, 231 and n.; his manor houses, 232; his rights in the forest of Arundel, *ib.*; Fuller's remark, *ib.*; institutions to churches in his time, *ib.*
- Peckham, John of, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Peckham, Master, of Yaldham in Wrotham, 471.
- Peckham, Reginald, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Pehune, Henry, a leader of the Cinque Ports men, 99.
- Pelham, James, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Pemberton, Edward Leigh, M.P. for East Kent, 688.
- Pembroke, William Marshall, earl of, guardian of Hen. III., 2, 310; possessed of Sutton Castle, 85; his death, 66.
- Pembroke, William de Valence, earl of, 87; possessed of Sutton Castle in right of his wife, *ib.*; his character, *ib.* n.; his death, 315 n.
- Penchester, Stephen, sheriff of Kent, 118; holds the Seven Hundreds, 121 and n.; hangs thieves on the archbishop's holding, 127; franchises claimed by, in Tonstall, 147.
- Pennington, Admiral, 529.
- Pepingebire, Joan, daughter of Geoffrey de, death of, 49.
- Pepper, John, a poacher, 136.
- Perohe, earl of, defeated at Lincoln, 66.
- Percy, Lady Dorothy, 601.
- Percy, Henry de, besieged in Rochester Castle, 80.
- Perdriz, Thomas, a false witness, 51.
- Pere, William, a felon, escape of, 376.
- Peris, John, of Sandwich, robbery committed on, 173.
- Perkins, Frederick, sheriff of Kent, 683.
- Perrin, a smuggler, executed, 621.
- Perrin, Wm. Philp, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Pessun, N., charge against, 141.
- Peter the Great, a resident at Sayes Court, 596 n.
- Peter, bp. of Chester [Chichester], 352.
- Peter of Savoy, sheriff of Kent, 117; assists to raise an army for Hen. III., 89.
- Peter, son of John, case of gavelkind, 60.
- Peterborough, Henry Mordaunt, earl of, 563 and n.; sent to the Tower, 563.
- Petherst, Adam de, 133.
- Petter, Revs. George and John, 720.
- Pettyt, John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Peverel, Jeffrey de, his possessions in the Weald, 11.
- Peyforer [or Payforer], Fulk, West Peckham held by, byserjeantry, 50; sheriff of Kent, 118; charged with oppression, 122; knight of the shire for Kent, 265, 306.

- Peyforer, Fulk and William de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
- Peyforer, Lora, possessions of, 320.
- Peyton, Sir Thomas, Lieut.-General of the Kentish Royalists, 541, 542; captured, and imprisoned, 550; his house ransacked, 554; M.P. for Kent, 602.
- Philip IV. of France, sends a fleet to ravage the English coast, 220.
- Philip VI. of France, 340; his threats of invading England, 341.
- Philip of Spain, his marriage with Queen Mary, 475.
- Philipott, John, lord mayor of London, fits out a fleet at his own cost, 350 n.
- Philipott, Richard de, bailiff of the forest of Tunbridge, 19.
- Philippott on Parrocks, 4 n.; his error respecting Benenden, 10; on the residence of the Twidens, 17 n.; on the Harlackenden tomb, 20; on the Colepeper family, 284; on the Leyburns, 317 n.; on Jack Straw, 355; on the manor of Wye, 377 n.; on the capture of Jack Cade, 387; on Ightham, 801.
- Philips, Francis, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Phips, Mr., a Kentish Royalist, 543.
- Phipps, Hon. Colonel, 678.
- Picot, Rand., his cause with the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 168.
- Pierse, Richard, curate of Loose, not acceptable to the parishioners of Linton, 507.
- Pikeringes, William de, he and his son said to be cured by miracle, 93.
- Pimpe, William de, sheriff of Kent, temp. Edw. III., 371.
- Pindar, Peter, quotation from, 638 n.
- Pirie, Stephen de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Pitt, Right Hon. William, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 636; his activity as a Volunteer officer, 638 and n.; at the review at the Mote, 628; effects the Union of Ireland with England, 637; foiled in his intended disposal of the Primacy, 670.
- Pius V., his bull against Queen Elizabeth, 497.
- Plot, Dr., on the burial place of Hubert de Burgh, 72.
- Plukenet, Sir Alan, 225.
- Plumer, Sir Thomas, his remark on the tithe of wood, 646.
- Plumptre, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Plumptre, John Pemberton, M.P. for East Kent, 687.
- Pod, William, charge against, 141.
- Pole, Cardinal, returns to England, and is made archbishop of Canterbury, 475; Tunbridge granted to him, 432.
- Polhill, David, imprisoned on account of the Kentish Petition, A.D. 1701, 605.
- Polhill, David (2), M.P. for Kent, 634; sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Pomfret, Mr. J., of Rolvenden, ancient vessel found on his land, 653.
- Pomfret, Mr. Virgil, 724.
- Poneshurst, Eli, case of gavelkind, 64.
- Poole, Bishop, deprived and imprisoned, 507 n.
- Porteus, Beilby, bishop of London, his exertions in favour of Sunday schools, 617 and n.
- Portur, Lauretta le, death of, 767.
- Potesgrave, Richard de, custodian of Colepeper's forfeited lands, 284.
- Pott, Arthur, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Potter, John, abp. of Canterbury, 614.
- Potter, John, J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Potter, Thomas, a smuggler, 622; executed, *ib.*
- Potyn, William, charged with larceny, but acquitted, 49.
- Powell, Baden, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Powell, Sir Chris., M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Powell, J. Powell, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Poynings, Sir Edward, a native of Kent, 421; his government of Ireland, *ib.*; receives the Emperor Charles V. at Dover, 436; his buildings at Westenhanger, 496.
- Poynings, Robert, rebellion of, 403.
- Poynings, Sir Thomas, the owner of Bradford mills, in Horsmonden, 569.
- Poyntz, Hugh, a lord of the hundred of Hoo, 144; his possessions, 320.
- Pratellis, Wm. de, his gift of Merton to the Norman priory of Beaulieu, 159 n.
- Prato, William de, exaction from, 151.
- Pratt, George, of Chelsford, 577.
- Pratt, Richard, a loyal inhabitant of Tunbridge, 469.
- Prentiz, Simon, a tavern-keeper at Wye, murder of, 244.
- Preston, G. de, proceedings before, A.D. 1255, 31, 61, 123 and n., 125.
- Price, Captain, a Parliamentarian, killed at Maidstone, 549 n.
- Priggs, W., a smuggler, executed, 622 n.
- Prowde, Jane, 595.
- Prude, John le, charge against, 126.
- Pucot, William, has a life grant of Sellinge, 138.
- Pugh, Samuel, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Paghe, Rev. J., his remarks on Newenden, 717.

Puns, Richard de, a bailiff, 132.
 Puritans, their opinions in favour in the Weald, 533; desecration of churches by the, 539 and *n.*
 Purse, John, a clerk, murder committed by, 47.
 Purvey, John, a Lollard, confined at Saltwood Castle, 377.
 Pye, John, of Hythe, his complaint against Thomas Mitchell, 449.
 Pykewold, Hamon, a sheepstealer, 33.
 Pynntone, John, 244.
 Pynntone, Ralph, a coroner, 244.
 Pynntone, R. de, oppression of, 134.
 Quilter, William, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Quyntyn, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486.
 Raddene, Jordan, a surety, 52.
 Radingate, Allan de, an outlaw, 33.
 Raikes, Robert, the real founder of Sunday schools, 617 and *n.*
 Raleigh, Ralph de, bailiff of Tunbridge, 60.
 Ralph le Carboner, murder committed by, 44.
 Ralph the Foreigner, an outlaw, 57.
 Ralph of Thanet, said to be cured by miracle, 92.
 Randall, Alexander, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Randolph, Thomas, lessee of Marden, 502 and *n.*
 Ranndale, H. de, knight of the shire, 306.
 Rapetune, J. de, oppression of, 135.
 Rapin, erroneous statement of, regarding the monks of St. Augustine, Canterbury, 68; on the seizure of James II., 561.
 Ray, on iron smelting in the Weald, 576.
 Raymond, James, sheriff of Kent, 635 and *n.*
 Read, Mary, executed as a witch, 664.
 Read, Sir Robert, Chief Justice, temp. Hen. VI., 373 *n.*
 Reading, abbot of, charge against, 144.
 Reason, Mr. Thomas, 496 *n.*
 Rede, Richard le, murder of, 44.
 Rede, William, bishop of Chichester, a native of the Weald, 372, 373 and *n.*
 Redlynge, Tho. de, party to a suit, 331.
 Reeves's English Law cited, 167, 168, 169, 171.
 Reignaud, Sir Walter, letter of Prince Edward to, 259; letter in favour of, *ib.*
 Remmesgate, C. de, charge against, 162.
 Rennie, Mr., his projected canal in the Weald, 662.
 Reygate, J. de, a justiciary, 230.
 Reynolds, Walter, archbishop of Can-

terbury, 305; sent on a mission to the rebellious barons, 272; attempts to reconcile Edward II. and his queen, 305; flees from London, *ib.*; his sermon, 306.
 Rheims, archbishop of, assists at the translation of Archbishop Becket, 67.
 Ricaut, Sir Paul, a great traveller, 538 *n.*
 Ricaut, Sir Peter, shelters the Kentish Parliamentary committee, 538.
 Rice, Edward, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Rice, Mr., of the College of Naval Architecture, 653.
 Rich, Mr. John, his house at Linton broken open, 622.
 Richard I., his hogs in the Weald, 7, 695.
 Richard, king of the Romans, 76, 77; swears to observe the Provisions of Oxford, 77; endeavours to mediate between Henry III. and the Barons, 79; receives Tunbridge Castle as a pledge of the fidelity of the earl of Gloucester, 112.
 Richard II., reign of, 349; confirms the charters to Battle Abbey, 350; rebellion of Wat Tyler, 353; marriage to Anne of Luxemburg, 363; visits Canterbury, 364; marries Isabella of France, *ib.*; deposed, 366; imprisoned in Leeds Castle, 375; received account of his death, *ib.* and *n.*
 Richard III., reign of, 374, 406; attempted rising in the Weald, *ib.*; the Statutes first printed, 417.
 Richard of Bordeaux. See *Richard II.*
 Richard, earl [of Cornwall], honour of Haughnet belonging to, 32.
 Richard, prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 331.
 Richard, son of Hen., burnt to death, 32.
 Richard of the Mill, suit of Alice, the daughter of Godwin, against, 59.
 Richard of Oxford, a friar, charged with murder and arson, but acquitted, 230.
 Richard the Salter, death of, 39.
 Richard, vicar of Wingham, a witness to a miracle, 93.
 Riche, Hugh, an abettor of Elizabeth Barton, executed, 445.
 Richmond, Charles Lennox, duke of, a duty on coal granted to, 582 *n.*
 Richmond, Lodovick Stuart, duke of, Lord Lieutenant and Lord Warden, 603 and *n.*
 Riddenne, Adam de, trees burnt by, 241.
 Ridens, John de, and Hawysia his wife, accusation against, 39.
 Rider, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.

- Rider, Thomas, M.P. for Kent, 687; afterwards for West Kent, *ib.*; sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Ridgway, Joseph, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Riley, Mr. H. T., his memoranda respecting Romney Marsh, 770.
- Riply, Richard de, owner of Ripple Court, in Westwell, 388.
- Ripple, Walter de, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
- Rishanger's Chronicle of the Barons' Wars, cited, 79, 80 and *n.*, 89, 92.
- Rissedenne, Reginald de, murder of, 37.
- Rivaux, Peter, governor of Dover Castle, 75.
- Rivers, John, created a baronet, 525.
- Robertes, John, of Tenterden, 758.
- Robert, John, sen. and jun., adherents of Cade, 399.
- Robert le Venur [the hunter] prosecuted for poaching, 45.
- Robert the turner, murder of his wife, 42.
- Roberts, Edmund, and other tenants, their suit with Sir Richard Baker, 500.
- Roberts, Edwd., a Kentish Royalist, 541.
- Roberts, John, lessee of the rectory of Cranbrook, 556.
- Roberts, Sir J., joins the Royalists, 540.
- Roberts, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 465.
- Roberts, Sir Thomas, created a baronet, 525; sheriff of Kent, 602.
- Roberts, Sir Thomas (2), M.P. for Kent, 602 and *n.*
- Roberts, Walter, the builder of Glassenbury, 414 and *n.*; sheriff of Kent, 420.
- Roberts, Sir Walter, his attempted arbitration in a tithe suit, 610.
- Robertsbridge, abbot of, grant by Henry III. to the, 36; charges against, 125; claims the church of Lamberhurst, 233.
- Robinson, Charles, Recorder of Canterbury, 669.
- Robinson, Ralph, a name assumed by George III., 649.
- Robinson, Rev. William, 630.
- Robinson on Gavelkind, by Norwood, cited, 121.
- Rocheford, Thomas Boleyn, Viscount, J.P., and sheriff for Kent, temp. Henry VIII., 465.
- Rochester, Benedict, bishop of, a justice in eyre, 56.
- Rochester, John Fisher, bishop of, accused of countenancing Elizabeth Barton, 445; pays a composition, *ib.*; J.P. for Kent, 464.
- Rochester, Thomas of Wouldham, bishop of, 218 *n.*
- Rochester, men of, imprisoned on account of a robbery of the Exchequer, 109; quarrel with the Londoners, 110.
- Rochester, monks of, their quarrel with Archbishop Edmund, 69; also with the brethren of Stroud hospital, 235.
- Rockingham, Lewis and Thomas Watson, earls of, Lords Lieutenants, 636.
- Rode, John, found slain on Ashenfield heath, 244.
- Rodger, Robert, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Roger, chaplain of Hythe, said to be cured by miracle, 92.
- Roger of the Exchequer, charge against, 127.
- Roger the Mercer, an outlaw, 52; suspected of larceny, 54.
- Roger the Vintner of Malling, 131.
- Rogers, Professor, on customary services in Kent, 199 *n.*; his History of Agriculture and Prices in England cited, 206, 354, 356, 360 *n.*, 740 *n.*
- Rogheye, A. de la, an incendiary, 133.
- Robesia, wife of Rich. of Tunbridge, 309.
- Rokeburn, Geoffrey de, steward of the Lowy of Tunbridge, 58.
- Rokeby, Matthew Robinson, Lord, his eccentric character, 669.
- Rokeale [or Rokesly], J. de, charge against, 141.
- Rokeale, Reginald de, protection granted to, 268 and *n.*
- Rokesle, Richard de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228; summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268; possessions of, 320.
- Rokesle, Robert de, founds the Priory of Motinden, 416.
- Rokesle, Lord William de, held half the manor of Wrotham, 129.
- Rollinge, Roger de, married without the king's licence, 137.
- Rolvenden, complaint against the vicar of, A.D. 1640, 588.
- Romesedde, William de, his suit against Julian de Bestane, 61.
- Romney, Charles Marsham, third Lord, entertains George III. and 6000 volunteers, 628; Lord Lieutenant, 636, 689.
- Romney, Charles Marsham, second earl of, opposed to Catholic emancipation, 655.
- Romney, Charles Marsham, third earl of, 628 *n.*; has part of the Wyatt estates, 474 *n.*
- Romney, a mayor of, admits smugglers to bail, 574.
- Romney, men of, charges against the, 153, 154.

- Rokehurst, name of an ancient family, now called Roberts, 414.
 Roper, Jane, daughter of Chief Justice Fineux, 446, 447.
 Roper, John, will of, 446; occasions a controversy between Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Warham, 447.
 Roper, Dowager Lady, an encourager of recusants, 860.
 Roper, William, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Roa, Richard de, suit against, 141.
 Rouzee, Dr. Lodowick, a writer on the Tunbridge Wells waters, 597 n.
 Rovedene, Allan de, a surety, 42.
 Rowe, Sir William, a native of Hawkhurst, 488.
 Rudston, Robert, a defence commissioner, 497.
 Ruffus, Henry, and Helewysa his wife, action against for disseizin, 60.
 Rugel, Simon de, a defaulter, 39; his son Ralph, *ib.*
 Rulvindene, Wymarca de, and her son Richard, 35.
 Rumdene, Nicholas de, borsholder, 55.
 Rumens, Mr. Gideon, his land in Hawkhurst, 753 n.
 Rummeney, Bartholomew de, confined in Rochester Castle, 280.
 Rummens, a family of iron manufacturers, 577.
 Rupella, Richard de, his manor of Beckenham, 141; his warren, *ib.*
 Ruse, J., mayor of Maidstone, 840 and n.
 Ruse, William de, payment to, 256.
 Russell, Eli, mayor of London, 28.
 Ryddenne, A. de, charges against, 133.
 Ryngely, Sir Edward, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Sackville, J. F., M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Sackville, Sir Richard, his intended iron mills in East Kent, 486.
 Saintoler, John, a coroner, charge against, 146.
 Sakville, John, sheriff of Sussex and Surrey, 457 n.
 Salford, Walter de, incumbent of Hever, 232.
 Salisbury, Richard Nevill, earl of, 404.
 Salisbury, James Cecil, earl of, a convert to popery, 563 and n.; committed to the Tower, 563.
 Salomons, David, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Samuel on Wools, cited, 323, 347, 407, 408.
 Sanicroft, Archbishop, imprisoned, 560; refuses to take the new oath of allegiance, 593; suspension, and death, *ib.*
 Sanderson, Lady, her burial-place, 633 and n.
 Sandhurst, Solomon de, a surety, 48.
 Sandwich, Henry of, bishop of London, a custodian of Dover Castle, 113; his death, 114.
 Sandwich, the Lord John de, his possessions in Bilsington, 139; his joint tenure of Folkestone hundred, 152.
 Sandwich, Ralph de, has the farm of the Seven Hundreds, 239; summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Sandwich, Thomas de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Sandwich, Thomas de, knight of the shire, 307.
 Sandys, Sir Edw., M.P. for Kent, C02.
 Sandys, Robert, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Santa Maria, the Cardinal, letter of Prince Edward to, 261.
 Sarden, Henry de, sheriff of Kent, 306.
 Sardine, William de, incumbent of Great Chart, 232.
 Savage, John, knight of the shire, 306.
 Savage, John, Ralph, Thomas, knights of the shire, 307.
 Savage, John, Roger, and Thomas de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Savage, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Savage, John (2), sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Savage, R., a part holder of the barony of Chatham, 146.
 Savage, Ralph de, sheriff of Kent, 306 and n.; possessions of, 320.
 Savage, Ralph and Roger de, summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Savetuntewell, Hugh and Lawrence de, charged with oppression, 123.
 Savoy, Boniface of, Peter of. See *Boniface of Savoy, Peter of Savoy*.
 Saxenhurst, John de, owner of Cranbrook, 13; a coroner, 244.
 Say, Jeffrey de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227; a justiciary, 283; possessions of, 320.
 Say, John de, a holder of Shipbourne, 17.
 Say, Lady Mary de, 146.
 Say, Lord, his residence at Knole, 334; beheaded by Cade, 385; Cromwell, the sheriff, his son-in-law, *ib.*
 Say, William de, 94; withdrawal of his tenants from the hundred courts, 45; defeats the Londoners at Croydon, 88; retires to Bristol, *ib.*; his franchises in West Greenwich, 140; his holding at Patrizbourne, 158; his warren, 159.

- Saye, Galfride de, summoned to the coronation of Edward II., 268.
 Sayer, George, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Scales, Lord, defeats Jack Cade, 385.
 Schireburne, Wulstan de, charged with larceny, but acquitted, 49.
 Schreiber, Mr. J. O., his good work at Woodchurch, 745 n.
 Seoland, Richard de, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
 Seombard, Richard de, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
 Soot, John, a juror, 380.
 Scotnel, W. de, hanged for murder, 16 n.
 Scott, Sir E., M.P. for Kent, 530 n., 602.
 Scott, Elizabeth, a reputed witch, 665.
 Scott, George, sells Orlestone, 717.
 Scott, Sir John, a subsidy commissioner for Kent, A.D. 1524, 452.
 Scott, Sir John, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Scott, Robert de, sheriff of Kent, 265.
 Scott, T., a defence commissioner, 497.
 Scott, Thomas, a commissioner for the survey of Aldington, A.D. 1608, 522.
 Scott, Sir William, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Scott, Sir William, of Scott's Hall, the owner of Orlestone, temp. Hen. V., 717.
 Scoote, Mr., a servant of Lady Anne Twysden, 609.
 Soozfray, Walter, a rioter, 47, 48.
 Sout, Thomas, murder of, 43.
 Sout, William le, encroachment by, 126.
 Sebecombe, Matilda de, her lawsuit, and its results, 60, 61.
 Secher, Simon, said to be cured by miracle, 92.
 Secker, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 614 and n.
 Segrave, John de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228; knight of the shire, 306; possessions of, 320.
 Segrave, John, jun., possessions of, 320.
 Segrave, Stephen de, orders to, regarding the Court at Shipway, 74.
 Sennanz, Robert de, knight of the shire for Kent, 265.
 Senyng, Robert, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Septvans, Robert de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Septvans, William, sheriff of Kent, 306; his possessions, 319.
 Septvans, Sir William, sheriff of Kent, obliged to deliver up his rolls to the Wat Tyler insurgents, 360; by his will emancipates certain slaves born on his land, *ib.*, n.
 Serlysa, Lawrence and Will., jurors, 380.
 Sevenhak, Felix, Geoffrey, Isabella, and John, 46.
 Seyliard family, possessions of the, 15.
 Seyntleger, Anthony, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Seyntleger, Lord Ralph de, 125.
 Shadwell, Charles, witness to a will, 673.
 Shaw, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Shakespeare, unjust to Hubert de Burgh, 72; and to Cade's followers, 383.
 Shamelford, Richard de, charges against, 156, 157.
 Sharppe, Mr. John, of Spilsill, in Staplehurst, 518 n.
 Sheafe, Joan, the wife of Giles Fletcher the elder, 516.
 Shee, Mr., a Roman Catholic barrister, 655 and n.
 Sheldon, Abp., 593; his character, *ib.*
 Sheldon, an equerry of James II., 561.
 Sheldon, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Shelley-Sidney, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Shepherd, Sir Samuel, his speech on the boundary of the Weald, 645.
 Sheriffs of Kent, 117, 265, 306, 371, 420, 464, 465, 471, 518, 602, 635, 688.
 Sheppey, nuns of, charged with encroachments on the king's rights, 147.
 Sherp, Henry, three children of, burnt to death, 51.
 Shewing, John de, sheriff of Kent, 306.
 Shirley, Mr., on ancient parks, 157 n.
 Shiel, Mr., a Roman Catholic barrister, 655 and n.
 Shirley, Mr., visited by Queen Elizabeth, 495; knighted, *ib.*
 Shirley, Rev. W. W., his "Royal Letters" cited, 66, 67, 71, 218.
 Shoford, Roger, his wife Eleanor, and his son John, charged with murder, 58.
 Shoreham, Thomas de, incumbent of Mersham, 232; and of Bilsington, 233.
 Shrymplynden, Nicholas, hanged for the murder of the rector of Crundale, 379.
 Shurland, Robert de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 227.
 Sibthorp, Thomas de, employed to arrange records, 298.
 Sidley, Sir Isaac, created a baronet, 525; sheriff of Kent, 602.
 Sidney Algernon, notice of, 601.
 Sidney, Frances, countess of Sussex, the foundress of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 517 n.
 Sidney, Sir Henry, of Penhurst, 517.
 Sidney, Henry Sidney, Viscount, Lord Lieut. and Lord Warden, 603.

- Sidney, Sir Philip, career and early death of, 517 and *n.*; his wife, 520 *n.*
 Sidney, Sir Robert, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Sidney, Sir William, sheriff for Kent, temp. Henry VIII., 465.
 Siftherst family, their possessions, 16.
 Sillingheld, Eudo de, his possessions in Calchill, 134.
 Simon, bailiff of the archbishop of Canterbury, his illegal proceedings, 36.
 Simon, son of Christiana, murder by, 41.
 Simpson, John, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Skeats, James, a clothier in the Weald, 570; mayor of Tenterden, *ib.*; his waste-book, *ib.*
 Skinner, Captain Augustine, M.P. for Kent, 531, 602 *n.*
 Skinner, George, his Chronicle of London, 394.
 Skogan, Ralph, convicted of murder, 46.
 Slade, William, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Slingawai, a messenger, 95.
 Smallhide, Henry de, death of, in an affray at Tenterden, 34.
 Smallfield, Mr. J. S., list of tradesmen's tokens, furnished by, 748, 837.
 Smart, Christopher, the poet, 633, 721.
 Smeed, Mr. Geo., a fruit cultivator, 515.
 Smiles's Industrial Biography cited, 27, 409, 484, 489, 580, 581 *n.*, 584 *n.*
 Smith, Adam, his axiom on roads, 490.
 Smith, Haimo, fined for non-attendance before the justices, 61.
 Smith, Mr. J. Russell, his "Bibliotheca Cantiana," 659 *n.*
 Smith, John, sheriff of Kent, 635 and *n.*
 Smith, Jonathan, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Smith, Simon, case of gavelkind, 60.
 Smith, Mr. Toulmin, his parochial theory examined, 794.
 Smith, William Masters, M.P. for West Kent, 687.
 Smith on Wools cited, 326, 408, 480.
 Smollett, his journey from Glasgow to London, 611.
 Smugglers, temp. Chas. II., their daring, 572, 573; the Hawkhurst gang, 619.
 Smyth, J., a rebel, temp. Hen. VI., 401.
 Smythe, Sir John, grant of a court of record to, 595; buried in Ashford church, *ib.*
 Smyth, Thomas, of Westenhanger, 504 *n.*; the manor of Ashford obtained by him, *ib.*; the Strangford family descended from him, *ib.*, *n.*
 Snodland, Guynard, parson of, accused of poisoning Solomon of Rochester, 217 *n.*; delivered up to the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 218 *n.*
 Sole, John Cockain, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Solomon, reeve of Dover, gift of King John to, 161.
 Solomon of Rochester, a corrupt judge, 217; a person of that name poisoned by the rector of Snodland, *ib.* *n.*
 Somerset, Henry Beaufort, duke of, attempts to seize Calais from the Yorkists, 404.
 Somery, Robert, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Somner, on paroc, 4; on the customs and services of the Weald, 5, 6; on the name Shipway, 99 *n.*; on Queningate, 155; on the change of course of the Rother, 250; his errors regarding Sandwich 772 *n.*; and Adisham, 799 *n.*
 Sottingdone, Robert de, 45.
 Soudan, Stephen, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 24.
 Southouse, Captain Thomas, mayor of Faversham, 564.
 Southwell, Sir R., sheriff of Kent, 470; his letter to the Privy Council, *ib.*; his troops go over to Wyatt, 471; escapes to London, 472; assists to suppress the rebellion, 473; rewarded by large grants of land in Kent, *ib.*
 Sparew, John, extortions of, 130.
 Spayne, a tenant of the abbot of Battle, 413.
 Speldhurst, Isabella, daughter of Cecily de, drowned, 49.
 Speldhurst, William de, incumbent of Brenchley, 233.
 Spelman, on Foresta, 106 *n.*; on scot and lot, 124.
 Spencer, Abraham, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Spert, W., an adherent of Cade, 399.
 Spielman, Sir John, sets up a paper mill at Dartford, 514, 595; brings lime trees to England, 595.
 Spinard, John, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Spirengge, R., charged with robbery 39.
 Sponden, John de, pays 6d. to avoid serving on an assize, 134.
 Sporiere, William, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
 Sprague, Sir Edward, defeats the Dutch off Gravesend, 558.
 Springet, W., punished for not preventing the escape of a murderer, 36.
 Springett, Col. William, a Parliamentarian, 548 and *n.*
 Stace, John, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 487.
 Stafford, Hugh Stafford, earl of, off-

- dates at the enthronization of Archbishop Sudbury, 348.
- Stafford, Humphry Stafford, earl of, and duke of Buckingham, killed at Northampton, 427; Humphry, his son, killed at St. Alban's, *ib.*
- Stafford, Sir Humphry, and William, defeated and killed by Cade, 385.
- Stafford, John, abp. of Canterbury, 415.
- Stafford, Ralph, earl of, a possessor of Tunbridge Castle, 315 *n.*
- Stanegrove, J. de, charge against, 126.
- Stangrave family, their possessions, 13.
- Stangrave, Robert de, knighted at Caerlaverock, 228.
- Stanhope, Charles, Earl, his evidence as to the boundary of the Weald, 641.
- Stanley, Very Rev. A. P., on the Pilgrims' Lane, 647 *n.*
- Staymaker, a smuggler, 620; executed, 621.
- Stephen, King, his gift to the monks of Faversham, 148.
- Stephen, a servant, prosecuted for poaching, 45.
- Stephens, John, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Stephenson, George, the engineer, 639, 662; his son Robert, *ib.*
- Stertintone, William de, incumbent of Marden, 232.
- Stevens, James, of Willeborough, 678.
- Stevens v. Holmes, case of, 183 *n.*
- Stigand, bishop of Chester [Chichester], 352, 353.
- Stirling, Sir Walter, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Stook, Rev. J., an early promoter of Sunday schools, 617 *n.*
- Stofold, Nicholas, the discoverer of a murder, 380.
- Stoke, Henry de, a royal messenger, 34.
- Stone, George, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Stonelagerigge, Gregory de, a surety, 48.
- Stonstret, Solomon de, 138 *n.*
- Stopisdene, William de, charges against, 148, 150, 151, 159.
- Stow, on the introduction of a new disease in sheep, 206 *n.*; his Chronicle cited, III.
- Stratford, John, abp. of Canterbury, 367.
- Stratford, J. W., sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Stratford, J. W. (2), sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Stratton, George, witness to a will, 678.
- Streathfield, Henry, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Strathearne, earl of, imprisoned in Rochester Castle, 264.
- Straw, John, and John Ball, supposed by Hasted to be the same person, 355.
- Stretende, Adam de, murder of, 146.
- Stretfeld, T. and E., their peculiar token, 842 and *n.*
- Strethende, Ralph de, 138 *n.*
- Strick and Co., Messrs., remarks on charcoal-iron, by, 681.
- Strickland, Miss, her Queens of England cited, 228, 256, 267, 268 *n.*, 271, 277.
- Stringer, Stephen, sheriff of Kent, 635 *n.*
- Strongbow, Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, 86.
- Stroud, brethren of the hospital of, their affray with the monks of St. Andrew, Rochester, 235.
- Strudard, Roger, false charge brought against, 137.
- Stubbeldune, W. de, charge against, 158.
- Stubbins family, their possessions, 16.
- Stupeson, Wm. de, charge against, 134.
- Sturt, an opponent of the smugglers, 619 and *n.*
- Style, Humphry, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Style, Thomas, created a baronet, 625; sheriff of Kent, 602.
- Style, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.
- Suanes, John de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Sudbury, Simon of, archbishop of Canterbury, his enthronization, 348; builds the West Gate of Canterbury, 394; murdered by the Wat Tyler insurgents, 361.
- Suffolk, Charles Brandon, duke of, at Canterbury, 437; captures Boulogne, 438.
- Suffolk, Theophilus Howard, earl of, Lord Warden, 603.
- Suffolk, William de la Pole, duke of, 381; charges against him, *ib.*; banished, and murdered at sea, 382.
- Suffolk, William of, his murder, 41.
- Suffolk insurgents join Cade in London, 386.
- Sumner, John Bird, archbishop of Canterbury, 672.
- Sunderesse, Godermia de, murder of, 46.
- Sunderesse, James, the clerk of, a murder committed by, 46.
- Sundris, Adam de, a surety, 46.
- Sundris, Schireman de, murder committed by, 46.
- Surrenden, John, the builder of Surrenden in Pluckley, 366.
- Surrenden, John, his descendant, sells the manor of Old Surrenden to Archbishop Kempe, 415 *n.*
- Sussex, Amicia of, confesses to a theft of cloths, 40.
- Sussex, Thomas de, violent proceedings of, 38.

- Suthene, Thomas de, charges against, 139; his holding, 158.
 Suthesse, Thomas de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Sutton, the bailiff of, charged with extortion, 140.
 Sutton, East, and Sutton Valence, complaints against the vicars of, A.D. 1640, 587.
 Sutton, Mrs. Amy, her bequest to High Halden, 710.
 Sutton, C. Manners, abp. of Canterbury, 670; his character, 671 and n.
 Swetindene, William, son of Alexander de, death of 39; his father fined for false testimony, *ib.*
 Swingfield, master of the Hospital of, charge against, 152.
 Swinock, Robert, a Puritan, 589.
 Swinoke, Thomas, mayor of Maidstone, 840 and n.
 Swynesford, — de, oppression of, 135.
 Syocotte, W., a fuller of Cranbrook, 569.
 Sydney, John Robert Townshend, Earl, Lord Lieutenant, 689.
 Sydney, Philip, M.P. for Kent, 602.
 Tacitus on the Roman embankments, 250.
 Tait, Archibald Campbell, archbishop of Canterbury, 673.
 Talbot, J. G., M.P. for West Kent, 688.
 Talbot, Mr. Edward, information furnished by, 571 n.
 Tange, W., falsely accused of robbery, 52.
 Tanner of Ashford, a name wrongly given to Cade, 39.
 Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* cited, 12.
 Tarbutt, Mr. W., his examination of the valleys around Cranbrook, 329; gives assistance to the publication called "Fuller's Worthies' Library," 516 n.; on the cloth trade of Cranbrook, 571; on "My Lady's Cottage," 634 n.
 Tassell, John, one of the night watch of Ightham, 47.
 Tatham, Rev. Henry, archdeacon of Bedford, 678.
 Taylor's "Words and Places" cited, 137; quotations from, on Kentish names, 196 n., 765; on the hundreds, 777.
 Templars, manors belonging to the, 143, 291; charges against them, 161; their suppression, 290.
 Tenison, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 593; his charities, *ib.*; charge for dilapidations against his executors, 614 n.
 Tenterden, complaint against the vicar of, A.D. 1640, 587.
 Tenterden, Charles Abbott, Lord, 683; his character drawn by Sir Egerton Brydges, *ib.*
 Teynham, John Roper, Lord, lord Lieutenant, 603.
 Thanet, people of, make a road to Canterbury, 157.
 Thanet, John de, abbot of Battle, 267.
 Thanet, Charles Tufton, earl of, Lord Lieutenant, 689.
 Thanet, John Tufton, second earl of, his ambiguous conduct, 540, 541; his composition, 541 n.; his death, *ib.*; his park at Ripton, 554, 555.
 Thanet, Nicholas Tufton, first earl of, 531 n.; his death, 540 n.
 Thanet, Sackville Tufton, earl of, trial and imprisonment of, 627, 628.
 Thanet, Thomas Tufton, earl of, Recorder of Canterbury, 603.
 Thany, Thomas, an insurgent, executed, 381 and n.
 Thawytes, Edward, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Thechmundene, Roger de, violent proceedings of, 38.
 Theodore, Archbishop, improvements effected by, 788 and n.
 Theudele, Richard de, gives the patronage of Tudely church to Tunbridge Priory, 19.
 Thomas, son of Edward I., birth of, 228; created earl of Norfolk, 256 n.
 Thomas, Friar, killed by Friar Richard at Lossenham, 230.
 Thomas, John, cleared of felony by the oaths of his compurgators, 173.
 Thomas, Master, the king's cook, slain, 83; vengeance of Henry III., *ib.*
 Thomas le Muner, case of gavelkind, 61.
 Thomas the tailor, treatment of, 135.
 Thomas, Snelling, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Thorne, George, a champion in a trial by battle, 173.
 Thornham, Hugh de, charge against, 149.
 Thornhill, Tim., created a baronet, 526.
 Thornton, John, D.D., rector of Aldington, 440; also suffragan bishop of Dover, and titular bishop of Cyrene, *ib.* n.; resigns Aldington, *ib.*; active in the Marian persecution, 475.
 Thornton, W. de, knight of the shire, 307.
 Thorpe, John, physician and antiquary, 601; his son John, 602.
 Thorpe, William, a Lollard, confined in Saltwood Castle, 377.

- Throgmorton, —, vicar of Malling, censured in the High Commission Court, 848.
- Tichborne family at Cowden, 13 n.
- Tichbornes, formerly ironmasters in the Weald, 487, 577.
- Tilden family, their possessions, 16.
- Tillotson, John, abp. of Canterbury, 593.
- Tilmanneston, Roger de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94. "
- Toke, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Toke, Major, his property of Chilming-ton, 515.
- Toke, Nicholas, and Sir Nicholas, sheriffs of Kent, 603.
- Toke, Robert, a warden of the Fraternity of Ironmongers, 409.
- Tokenesse, Lawrence de, oppressive conduct of, 123.
- Tomlin, Mr. Sackett, 673 n.
- Tomlinson, Jane, 600.
- Tomlinson, Colonel Matthew, 600.
- Toneforde, Robert, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Toppingdene, Humphrey de, 38.
- Topley, Mr., on parish boundaries, 736.
- Tose, William, murder committed by, 35.
- Towers, a canon of Bayham, 449.
- Tracy, Sir R., a Kentish Royalist, 544.
- Tragoese, T., an adherent of Cade, 400.
- Trapham, Thomas, brutal speech of, 553.
- Tresilian, the Chief Justice, his severity, 362.
- Trihampton, Roger de, an insurgent, temp., Henry III. 94.
- Trinitarians, order of, their first house in England, 416; their habit, *ib.*; copy of an indulgence granted by them, *ib.*
- Trivet, Nicholas, his account of the encampment on Barham downs, 90.
- Tromp, the Dutch admiral, 529.
- Troughton, Jonathan, mayor of Maidstone, 840 and n.
- Trussel, William, sheriff of Kent, 265.
- Trussell, Sir William, as the representative of the Parliament, renounces fealty to Edward II., 288.
- Tudely, complaint against the vicar of, A.D. 1640, 587.
- Tufton, Sir Henry, 495 n.
- Tufton, Sir H., sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Tufton, John, visited by Queen Elizabeth, 495; his present to her, *ib.*
- Tufton, Sir John, sheriff of Kent, 518.
- Tufton, Sir John, M.P. for Kent, 602; created a baronet, 525; marries a daughter of Lord Wotton, 610 n.; sheriff of Kent, 603.
- Tufton, Sir Nicholas, M.P. for Kent, 602.
- Tufton, Sir Richard, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Tunbridge, Gilbert of, son of Richard, takes up arms against William Rufus, 309 and n.
- Tunbridge, Richard de, the founder of the family, his Kentish possessions enumerated, 108.
- Tunbridge, Richard de (2), his ancestry, 308; his career, and death, 309.
- Tunbridge, Walter of, the founder of Tintern Abbey, 309 n.
- Tunbridge, the prior of, allowed to retain lands acquired without the king's licence, 243; pardoned on payment of a fine for having acquired property without the royal licence, 364.
- Tunbridge, complaint against the vicar of, A.D. 1640, 587.
- Tunlonde, Richard and Thomas de, 123.
- Tunstall, Bishop, deprived and imprisoned, 507 n.
- Tunstall, Martin de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
- Turk, John, a felon, 130.
- Turner, a sectary, 849.
- Turner, Rev. E., on the Wealden iron, 487.
- Turner, Mr. Sharon, on Anglo-Saxon tenures, 730.
- Tuttesham, William de, a surety, 52.
- Twisden family, Philipott on the early Twisden, Sir Roger, M.P. for Kent, 634. residence of the, 17 n.
- Twisden, Sir Thomas, created a baronet, 526; notice of, 600; changes the spelling of his name, *ib.*
- Twisden, Sir Thos. (2), M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Twysden family, their seat, 477 n.
- Twysden, Lady Anne, 599.
- Twysden, Roger, an adherent of Cade, 400.
- Twysden, Roger, the royal manor of Wye leased to, 477; dispute with Lord Hunadon, 478 n.
- Twysden, Sir Roger, sheriff of Kent, 518.
- Twysden, Roger, M.P. for Kent, 530 n.
- Twysden, Sir Roger (2), notice of, 599; his Journal, 600 n.; his controversy with the Aldington court baron, 733; this misunderstood by modern writers, 732, 735.
- Twysden, Walter de, murder of, 42.
- Twysden, Sir William, created a baronet, 525.
- Twysden, Sir William (the son), M.P. for Kent, 602; his speech against a standing army, 600.

- Twysden, Sir William (the grandson), his tithe suit with the vicar of Wateringbury, 610.
- Twysdenn, Henry and John, leaders in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Tyler, Wat, variously described, as of Dartford, Deptford, or Maidstone, 353 *n.*; his rebellion, 353 and *n.*; contradictory accounts as to its leaders, 355; various causes that led to it, 356, 357 and *n.*; demands of the insurgents, 358; their progress, 359; the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports and Romney Marsh take no part therein, 381; those of the Weald join in it, *ib.*
- Tylden-Pattenson, Captain, information received from, 658.
- Tyssen, W. G. D., sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Ufford, John, archbishop of Canterbury, 367 and *n.*
- Ulcombe, S. de, knight of the shire, 307.
- Ulster, William de Burgh, earl of 348.
- United Irishmen, the, 626.
- Valeines, Robert and Thomas de, 791.
- Valence, Aymer de, earl of Pembroke, 263, 315; his lordships, 315; his history, 316; murdered in France, *ib.*
- Valence, William de, earl of Pembroke, a possessor of Sutton Castle, 87; his character, *ib. n.*; charges against him, 124; his manor of Brabourne, 149; his franchises there, 150; his death, 316 *n.*
- Valoignes, John de, a monk, party to a suit, 331.
- Valoignes, Rob. de, possessions of, 320.
- Valoignes, Warr. de, sheriff of Kent, 265.
- Valoignes, William de, sheriff of Kent, 118; service for his land, 142.
- Valoignes, William de (2), knighted at Caerlaverock, 227; Edward I. probably his guest at Ripton, 257.
- Vane, Henry, sheriff of Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
- Vane, Sir Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 518.
- Vane, William, Lord Viscount, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Vergil, Polydore, his statement regarding Simon de Montfort the younger, 98 *n.*
- Vervins, the French governor of Boulogne, 438.
- Vicenza, Reginald, bishop of, the Pope's nuncio, Baliol delivered to, 226.
- Victoria, Queen, reign of, 637, 677; bequest of Mr. Neild, 677; changes in the elective franchise, 686; M.P.s, 687; sheriffs, 688.
- Villiers, Wm., Lord, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Vinum, Hugo de, has a grant of Saltinge, 138.
- Virgil, William, employed on the repair of Dover Castle, 301.
- Volunteers, Kentish, reviewed by Geo. III., at the Mote, 628.
- Von Collet, Peter, the inventor of explosive shells, 484.
- Vyn, John and William, witnesses in a case of murder, 390.
- Wacher (or Watcher), William, a zealous Quaker, 838 and *n.*
- Waddon, John, of Tenterden, a priest, burnt as a Lollard, 415.
- Wade, Richard, tried for larceny, and acquitted, 32.
- Wahulle, Walter de, his servant charged with larceny, 50.
- Wake, William, archbishop of Canterbury, his liberality, 613, 614; dispute with the executors of his predecessors, 614 *n.*
- Walais, Henry le, extortions practised on, 141.
- Walays, Richard de, extortions of, 125, 133, 134.
- Waldegrave, Sir Edward, created a baronet, 526.
- Waldegrave, Walter, attorney for the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, 332.
- Walden, Sir Richard, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
- Waldershare, letter of Prince Edward in favour of the parson of, 262.
- Waldisse, Joseph, son of William, his claim against John de Frenclingham and Isabella his wife, 64.
- Walerand, Robert, Warden of the Cinque Ports, 74.
- Wales, Albert Edward, Prince of, birth of, 677.
- Wales, Edward, first Prince of 257. See *Edward, Prince of Wales.*
- Waleys, Henry, a leader in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 363.
- Waleyse, Richard le, his claim to the assize of bread and ale in Newenden, 241.
- Walkel, bishop of Winchester, witness to a charter of Battle Abbey, 353.
- Walkelin, official of the bishop of Rochester, 58.
- Walker, Richard, mayor of Maidstone, 840 and *n.*
- Walker, Mr. William, his evidence as to the boundary of the Weald, 644.

- Wallace, William, takes up arms and defeats the English at Stirling, 226; himself defeated at Falkirk, *ib.*
- Waller, Richard, sheriff of Kent, 420; the keeper of the duke of Orleans, at Groombridge, *ib. n.*
- Waller, Sir Walter, a Kentish iron-master, A.D. 1573, 486.
- Waller, William, of Tunbridge, letter of Archbishop Warham to, 432; J.P. for Kent, and sheriff, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
- Wallington, his notices of the reign of Charles I. cited, 588.
- Walloons, their settlement in England, 490.
- Walsingham, his account of the Wat Tyler rebellion, 356, 362.
- Walsingham, Mr., visited by Queen Elizabeth, 496; knighted, *ib.*
- Walsyngham, James and William, J.P.s for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
- Walter, son of Elwyn, death of, 40.
- Walter, son of William, burnt to death, 32.
- Walter, Mr. W., a fruit cultivator, 515.
- Waltheof, conspiracy and death of, 309 n.
- Wandehese, John de, oppression of, 133.
- Warbeck, Perkin, personates Richard, duke of York, 406; some of his partisans captured at Sandwich, 407; his fate, *ib.*
- Ward, Mr. John, his evidence as to the boundary of the Weald, 642.
- Ward, John, sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Ward, Philip, a Kentish Royalist, 541.
- Ward, Rev. Philip, vicar of Tenterden, tithe suit with the landowners, 648.
- Warde, John, sheriff of Kent, 636.
- Warham, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 439, 445; enthronization of, 107 n.; rental of his manor of Aldington, 425; his benefactions, 445; his visitation in the Weald, *ib.*; his jurisdiction encroached on by Wolsey, 446; his letters to Wolsey about Tunbridge Priory, 432; entertains Henry VIII., 435; countenances the pretensions of Elizabeth Barton, 443; his representations to Wolsey of the complaints of the clergy, 453; his death, 461.
- Warham, William, archdeacon of Canterbury, 461.
- Warrall, Mr., vicar of Wateringbury, demand of tithe by, 609.
- Warre, John A., sheriff of Kent, 688.
- Warre, Thomas de la, story of, 52.
- Warren, John, earl of, besieged in Rochester Castle, 80, 81; Herst his stronghold, 84; charge against him, 145; defeated by Wallace, 226.
- Warren, Richard, a sectarian school-master, 849.
- Warren, William de, the justiciary, 308; a witness to the second charter of Battle Abbey, 352.
- Warwick, countess of, possessions, 320.
- Warwick, Guy Beauchamp, earl of, puts Gaveston to death, 269.
- Warwick, John Dudley, earl of, Tunbridge castle granted to, but exchanged for other lands, 43.
- Warwick, Richard Nevill, earl of, "the King-maker," 404.
- Warwick, Thomas de Newburgh, earl of, a defaulter, 52.
- Warwick, Charles Rich, earl of, Lord Warden, 603.
- Warwick, Robert Rich, earl of, the Parliamentary Admiral, 542, 552.
- Washington, Col., a Kentish Royalist, 544.
- Wat Tyler. See Tyler, Wat.
- Waterhouse, Sir Edw., buried at Woodchurch, 727 n.
- Wateringbury (or Wodringebire), Bartholomew de, a false accuser, 50; charged with sheltering his brother, a murderer, but acquitted, 51; an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94; his oppressive conduct, 129, 130; imprisoned at Dover, and his goods seized by the King's bailiff, 130, 131.
- Waterman, Mr. James, of Tenterden, information received from, 26 n.
- Waterman, Mr. Thomas, 630.
- Wateville, R. de, parson of Pluckley, 55.
- Wateville, Roger de, why not prosecuted, 55.
- Watrull, Simon de, his gift to Bayham Abbey, 705 n.
- Watson, Hon. Lewis, M.P. for Kent, 634.
- Watts, Mr., of Rochester, Queen Elizabeth entertained by, 497; his house acquires then the name of Satis, *ib.*; his charity, *ib. n.*
- Wattun, J. de, sheriff of Kent, 130; charged with extortion, 132.
- Waynflete, William, bishop of Winchester, 386 and n.
- Webster, the artist, a resident in the Weald, 747.
- Weldyndenne, J., a tenant at Brook, 333.
- Welle, Matilda de, wife of Robert de Valeines, 179.
- Weller Alexander, of Cranbrook, persecution of, 533 n.

- Waller, Robert, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Weller, Thomas, lessee of Tunbridge Castle, a Parliamentarian, 533.
 Wellington, Arthur Wellesey, duke of, concedes Catholic emancipation, 654; duel with the earl of Winchelsea, 655; their reconciliation, 656; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 689.
 Wells, John, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Wendover, one of the St. Alban's Chroniclers, 80 n.
 Wenman, Sophia Elizabeth Wykeham, Baroness, sells the manor of Marden, 524.
 Wentworth, Rev. John, his rectory house at Brenset broken open, 622.
 West, John, a friar at Antwerp, his correspondence with Haokett, 460, 461.
 Westerham, Aldiva de, murder of, 44.
 Westmoreland, Charles Neville, earl of, rebellion of, 497.
 Westmoreland, Mildmay Fane, earl of, Lord Lieutenant, 603.
 Weston, Michael, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 487.
 Weston, William de, the escheator for Kent, 301.
 Wethershed, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, his complaint against Hubert de Burgh, 68; his death, 69.
 Wever, mayor of the Staple, 328.
 Whatman, James, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Whatman, J., M.P. for West Kent, 687.
 Wheatley, Will., sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Wheler, Granville, sheriff of Kent, 636.
 Whelton, Mr. a Kentish Royalist, 544.
 Whitaker, Thomas, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 White, Mr. James, purchases the Linton estate, and assumes the name of Mann, 744 n.
 White, William, a priest, burnt as a Lollard, 415.
 Whitgift, John, abp. of Canterbury, 507.
 Whitnal, William, of Tunbridge, letter of Archbishop Warham to, 432; J. P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Whitton, Edw., a Kentish Royalist, 541.
 Whyte, Nicholas, a surveyor of the works, 451.
 Whyte, Will. le, attack on his house, 55.
 Wildman, James, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Wilforde, Thomas, a justice of the peace, 450.
 Willford, James, his bequest for the repair of a highway, 491.
 Wilkinson, R., a Kentish Royalist, 541.
 Wilks, Mr., Town Clerk of Hythe, grant communicated by, 512 n.
 Willerde, Davy, a Kentish ironmaster, A.D. 1573, 486.
 William I., his dealings with the Weald, 9; his charters to Battle Abbey, 350; his vow before the battle, *ib.*
 William III., reign of, 519, 566; plot against his life, 566; wool smuggling, 574; the Kentish Petition, 604; death of the king, 605; M.P.s, 634; sheriffs, 635.
 William IV., reign of, 637, 666; disturbed state of society, 666; the Reform Act, 667, 685; the Poor Law Amendment Act, 667; death of the king, 677; M.P.s, 687; sheriffs, 688.
 William, son of Andrew, an outlaw, 47.
 William, the bailiff of Biddenden, 38.
 William the baker, of Kennington, 245.
 William, Brother, a Trinitarian, document issued by, 416.
 William the Miller, his family drowned, 35.
 William the Smith, accused of murder, 36.
 William of Wickham, bp. of Winchester, 329 n.
 William of York, a justice itinerant, temp. Hen. III., 30.
 Willoughby, Serjeant Thos., 455; J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Willoughby, Thos., sheriff of Kent, 518.
 Wilmott family, clothiers in the Weald, 570.
 Wilnar, J., a bell-founder at Borden, 595.
 Wilson, Ford, sheriff of Kent, 688.
 Wilson, John, an ironmaster in the Weald, 487.
 Wilson, Sir Thos., sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Wilson, T., a learned Presbyterian, 589.
 Wilson, Sir Thomas Maryon, sheriff of Kent, 638.
 Wilson, William, sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Wilson, —, executed as a witch, 664.
 Wilton, William de, a Royalist, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Winch, Mr., his worsted manufactory at Hawkhurst, 606.
 Winchelsea, Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, suit of, against the tenants of his demes, 201; his enthronization, 233; quarrel with the king, 234; reconciliation, 235; excommunicates the Governor of Dover Castle, *ib.*; his decree concerning the images of patron saints, *ib.* and n.; excommunicates Gaveston, 269; death, and character, 304; attempt to procure his canonization, 305.

- Winchelsea, writ to the mayor and bailiffs of, against smuggling of wool, 336.
 Winchester, countess of, charge against her servants, 136; her manor of Ashford, 318 n.
 Winchester, Ethelmar, bishop of, 113.
 Winchester, Peter des Roches, bishop of, a rival of Hubert de Burgh, 66; driven into exile, 67; recalled, 71.
 Winchester, William Waynflete, bishop of, his conference with Jack Cade, 386; the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, *ib. n.*
 Winchester, Wm. of Wickham, bishop of, builds Queenborough castle, 329 n.
 Winchester, Hugh Le Despenser, created earl of, 285; captured and hanged, 287.
 Winchilsea peerage, 522 n.
 Winchilsea, Eliz. Finch, countess of, 522 n.
 Winchilsea, Geo. Wm. Finch-Hatton, earl of, his duel with the Duke of Wellington, 655; their subsequent reconciliation, 656.
 Winchilsea, Charles and Daniel Finch, earls of, Lord Lieutenants, 636.
 Winchilsea, Heneage Finch, earl of, Lord Lieutenant and Lord Warden, 603; buys the manor and vicarial tithes of Wye, 522; notice of him, *ib. n.*; visits James II. at Faversham, 562; persuades him to return to London, *ib.*; the King's letter to him, 825.
 Winchilsea, Thos. Finch, earl of, 522 n.
 Windsor, or Windlesores, Hugh de, under sheriff of Kent, 70 n., 117.
 Wingham, Henry of, his nomination to the church of Tenterden and its consequences, 34; becomes bishop of London, 113; his death, *ib.*
 Wingham, Richard, vicar of, witness to a miraculous cure, 93.
 Winston's "Hints on Glass Painting" cited, 315.
 Winter, a secret confederate of Wyatt in his rebellion, 469.
 Winton, Robert de, incumbent of Fritenden, 232.
 Wise's "New Forest" cited, 26.
 Wittersham, letter of the rector of, 616.
 Wittlesey, William, archbishop of Canterbury, 367.
 Wokingdenne, John de, charged with robbery, and acquitted, 39.
 Wolfe, Colonel Edward, 632 and n.
 Wolfe, General James, notice of, 632.
 Wolkokam, Alexander, said to be cured by miracle, 93.
 Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal, commences the foundation of Christ College, Oxford, 432 and n.; Tunbridge and other suppressed monasteries granted to him for his foundation, 434; advowsons procured for the same, *ib.*; his ambitious schemes, 435; warning to him by Elizabeth Barton, 444; his attempt to raise an illegal subsidy, 452; resisted, 453; threats of the men of Cranbrook and Goudhurst against him, 457; his demand for the delivery of English heretics, 459; J.P. for Kent, 465; was once vicar of Lydd, 767 n.
 Wood's "Tithe Causes" referred to, 609.
 Woodchurch, complaint against the rector of, A.D. 1640, 588.
 Woode, Thomas, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Woodgate, William, an adherent of Cade, 400.
 Woodgate, William, sheriff of Kent, 603.
 Woodgate, W. (2), sheriff of Kent, 635.
 Woodgates family, owners of Somershill, 521.
 Woodstock, Thomas of, created duke Gloucester, 315; appointed guardian of the earl of Stafford, 365.
 Woodville, Rich., sheriff of Kent, 420.
 Woodward, the name, its meaning, 735 n.
 "Wool and Woollens," by Samuel Brothers, cited, 323, 327, 407, 408, 573, 606.
 Woollett, Bernard, a smuggler, 620.
 Worcester, Walter Cantilupe, bishop of, a partisan of the Barons, 113.
 Wordsworth, quotation from, 638.
 Worldham, Peter de, sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, 300.
 Wotton (or Wootton), Anne, married to Mr. Edward Hales, 552.
 Wotton, Sir Edward, 455; declines the office of lord chancellor, 458; sheriff of Kent, *ib.*; J.P. 465.
 Wotton, Sir Edw., sheriff of Kent, 518.
 Wotton, Dr. Henry, one of the executors of Henry VIII., 458.
 Wotton, Mary, married to Sir Richard Guldeford, 458.
 Wotton, Mary, Lady, 544 n.; fined in the High Commission Court, 848 n.; her house plundered, 554.
 Wotton, Sir Robert, sheriff of Kent, temp. Hen. VII., 458 and n.
 Wotton, Thomas, a defence commissioner, 497; a commissioner to inquire into the state of the Kentish ports, 511; sheriff of Kent, 518.
 Wotton, Thomas, Lord, his family, 552; his death, *ib.*; his widow, 544 n., 554, 848 n.

- Wranek, John, a warrantor, 58.
 Wraw, J., a seditious priest, 355 and n.
 Wren, Sir Chris., his objections to the iron balustrade round St. Paul's, 581.
 Wright, Mr., his house at Snave broken open, 622.
 Wright, —, executed as a witch, 664.
 Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, witness to a charter of Battle Abbey, 353.
 Wy, Hugh de, charged with oppression, 121, 123, 125, 126; his death, 126 n.
 Wyatt, Sir Henry, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, the elder, his remark to Henry VIII., 469 n.
 Wyatt, Sir Thomas, opposes the marriage of Queen Mary, 468; collects forces, and makes Rochester Castle his head-quarters, 469; his proclamation, 471; joined by a body of Londoners, 472; captures Cowling Castle, 473; reaches Dartford, *ib.*; his demands, *ib.*; his failure, *ib.*; clears the Princess Elizabeth of any knowledge of his designs, 475; is executed, *ib.*; forfeiture of his estates, *ib.* n.
 Wyche, Sir Richard, vicar of Deptford, burnt as a Lollard, 422, 423.
 Wycheling, Geoffrey de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Wycliffe, John, notice of, 368 and n.; his doctrines, and their condemnation, 368; John Ball said to be one of his followers, 361; not known to have taken any active part in the rebellion, *ib.*
 Wygenden, William de, his illegal hunting in the park of Broxham, 243.
 Wykeham, Mr. Herbert, owner of the manor of Milton, 524.
 Wylard le Marescal, an outlaw, 40.
 Wylard of Newenden, his servant drowned, 39.
 Wylder, E. Atter, oppression of, 134.
 Wyllok, John, coroner for the liberty of Battle, 379.
 Wylmington, James de, his service to Dover castle, 138.
 Wylminton, Benedicta, named in a suit, 203.
 Wylminton, Bertram de, suit against, by the archbishop of Canterbury, 203, 204.
 Wylminton, Isaac de, an insurgent, temp. Hen. III., 94.
 Wylminton, Isaac and Richard de, the king's master-cooks, 245.
 Wylshire, Sir John, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Wynchelese, William, found dead, 54.
 Wyndham, Sir Wyndham Knatchbull, M.P. for Kent, 634.
 Wyngfield, Sir Richard, J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 Wynslaive, Thos., an administrator, 398.
 Wynter, Rich., charged with murder, 58.
 Yarmouth, men of, Cherbourg burnt by the, 221.
 Yarmouth, William Paston, earl of, with James II. at Faversham, 564.
 Yden, William de, a murdered man found in his house, 39.
 Yonge, John, rector of Crundale, murdered of, 380.
 Yore, Robert, 92.
 Yore, T., said to be cured by miracle, 92.
 York, Cecilia, duchess of, owner of the South Frith, by Tunbridge, 431.
 York, James, duke of (afterwards James II.), lands at Dover with Chas. II., 556; entrusted with the care of the metropolis, 558; Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 603.
 York, Richard, duke of, holder of the South Frith, 348; sent to Ireland, 381; killed at Wakefield, 405.
 York, Richard, duke of, personated by Perkin Warbeck, 406.
 York, Thos., Cardinal of (Wolsey), J.P. for Kent, temp. Hen. VIII., 465.
 York, William of, a justice in eyre, pleas before, 30.
 Yorkists flee to Calais, 404; land in England, *ib.*; establish Edward IV. on the throne, 405.
 Young, Arthur, his agricultural reports, 627, 660, 826; letters addressed to him by George III., 649; his remarkable letter, 627, 825; vehemence of his language, 660; strange statement about the road from Horsham to London, 660 n.
 Zouch, Edward la Zouch, Lord, Lord Warden, 603.

PLACES.

- Abdale (or Apdale), in Stone, ruins at, 18.
- Abersychan iron-works, 680.
- Abinger, Surrey, peculiar shape of the parish of, 819 n.
- Acton, borough of, 806.
- Addington, nailbourne at, 112.
- Addington, Surrey, 821.
- Adisham, formerly a hundred, 166; grant of the manor (?), taken as a model for later grants, 178 and n., 799; its courts, 799.
- Adisham Church, a sanctuary, 33.
- Aginocourt, battle of, 378.
- Agney Court, grant of, by Offa, 763.
- St. Alban's, the Great Chronicles of, 80 n.; battles of, 405, 427.
- Aldington, various ways of spelling, 203 n.; its church mentioned in Domesday, 763, 796; does ward to Rochester Castle, 182; price of stock at, 209; Archbishop Warham's rental of, 425; the living of, bestowed on Erasmus, 439; resigned by him, for a pension, 440; his successors, 440, 441; last royal survey of the manor, 522; its extent, 523; its dunes in the Weald, *ib. n.*; its courts lost, 523; hundreds appendant, 806. *See also p. 702.*
- Aldington Park, damage done in, by an escheator, 137, 743.
- Aldington, in Thurnham, 53 and n.
- Aldrinden, a manor in Sandhurst, 17.
- Allards in Biddenden, 12.
- Allington, early church at, 796.
- Allington Castle, the seat of Sir Thomas Wyatt, 469; rebels imprisoned there, 473.
- Aloesbridge, hundred of, 139, 153, 165.
- Amberley Castle, Sussex, 373 n.
- Andersida, incidental help to the identification of, 10 and n.
- Angley, a manor in Cranbrook, 673 n.; its fulling mills, 330 n.
- Antwerp, sack of, 480 and n.
- Apdale. *See Abdale.*
- Appledore, church of, a sanctuary, 31; mentioned in Domesday, 763, 796; warren at, 126; burnt by the French, 368; the church, 364 n.; remains of an ancient penstock found at, 492; tokens issued at, 837, 843; Cobbett at, 845. *See also pp. 702, 743.*
- Appledore Dowles, 760 and n.
- Appledore Wood, 760.
- Appledore and Ashford, dangerous ways between, 584.
- Appleton, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred court, 127.
- Archer's Court, in River, near Dover, 181.
- Arundel Castle, Hubert de Burgh its Governor, 71.
- Arundel Forest, rights of the archbishop of Canterbury in, 232.
- Ash, manor of, 142; Templars' lands in, 291.
- Ash in Achestan, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Ash near Wrotham, a manor of Sir Edward Poynings, 421.
- Ash next Sandwich, 673 n.
- Ashdown forest, grant of, to John of Gaunt, 787.
- Ashenfield, scene of the death of Richard, earl of Gloucester, 78, 310.
- Ashenfield Hoath, 244.
- Asherinden, East, a manor in Tenterden, 19.
- Ashford [also Essedeford, Essedesford], once treated as a hundred, 166; separate jurisdiction of, 135; market and fair at, 136; different owners of the manor, 504; monuments in the church, *ib. n.*; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; image of the Virgin outside the church, 235 n.; desecration of the church by the Puritans, 589 and n.; Edw. I. at, 257; the Tanner of, a name wrongly given to Cade, 389; college founded by Sir John Fogge, 463 n.; Wyatt's proclamation published in, 471; earthquake at, 513; arms at, seized by the Royalists, 538; a court of record granted, 595; barracks at, 638; poor relief system pursued at, 667; the town now included in the West Ashford Union, 668; once a separate Liberty, 806, 807 and n.;

- separatists at, 848; the slaughter-house at, 849 and *n.*
- Ashford Tower, in Dover Castle, 137.
- Ashford and Appledore, dangerous ways between, 584.
- Ashurst, or Ashenhurst, its owners, 11; its holy rood, *ib.*; Cobbett at, *ib. n.*; pits and iron foundry at, 27, 487. *See also p. 703.*
- Ashore, a park near Penhurst, 429, 743.
- Attertone, land at, granted by King John to Solomon, reeve of Dover, 161; singular service by which held, 181.
- St. Augustine, lath of, 186, 187, 158, 165.
- St. Augustine, Canterbury, gift to the monks of, 6; loan solicited from, 270; deaneries of, 820; suppressed, 821; visit of Richard II. and his queen to, 364; marriage of Charles I. and the Princess Henrietta Maria at, 527; plundered by the populace, 554.
- Atone, hundred of, 142, 163.
- Aylesford, lath of, 143, 163.
- Aylesford, ancient demesne of, 15; Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; Foreign of, 166; claim of exemption from the county rate by the tenants of the manor of, 123; the Parliamentary committee sheltered at the Friars at, 538; the house taken, *ib.*
- Badoock's cross, in Hawkhurst, 490 *n.*
- Badlesmere church and manor house, 273.
- Badminder, 128.
- Badsell, in Tudely, its owners, 19.
- Bakeshore, a possession of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 147.
- Bannockburn, battle of, 270.
- Banstead, in Surrey, 72.
- Bardens, a manor in Tunbridge, 20.
- Bare [Bere], forest of, 621.
- Barfrestone, parish of, 799.
- Barham, hundred of, 159.
- Barham, early church at, 797.
- Barham Downs, De Montfort's encampment on, 89; encampment of the Royalists on, 539; reception of Charles II., 556; modern camp on, 638.
- Bark-Hart, a name given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Percival Hart's seat at Orpington, 493.
- Barkley, hundred of, 164.
- Barnfield, two half-hundreds of, 40, 122, 164.
- Bartholomew's Gate, in Thanet, 559.
- Battle Abbey, charters of William I. to, 350; the first charter, *ib.*; the second charter, 351; peculiar privilege conferred thereby, *ib.* and *n.*; third charter, 352; fourth, fifth, and sixth charters, 353; charter to, of 1354, showing the extent and privileges of its manor of Wye, 338; charters confirmed by Henry VI., 378; ravage committed at, by the royal troops, 84; Edward I. at, 257; its liberties said to impede the common justice, 121; its denes, 200; compromise with its tenants, 204; its tile-kilns, 211; its burgage tenements, 213; loan solicited from, 270; grants a lease of the manor of Wye to Roger Twysden, 477.
- Bayhall, in Pembury, 16.
- Bayham Abbey, gift to the canons of, 6; suppressed, 449, 463; attempt to restore, 449.
- Beakesbourne, a dependency of Hastings, 787; an archiepiscopal palace, 467; Crammer retires to, *ib.*; Archbishop Parker settles his family at, 507; the church repaired by him, *ib.*
- Bear's Oak in Penhurst park, 517 *n.*
- Beaulieu, priory of, in Normandy, 159 *n.*
- Becket's shrine, Canterbury, the crown of Scotland offered at, 226; the shrine destroyed, 464.
- Bedford, rated as half a hundred in Domesday, 144 *n.*
- Bedgebury, in Goudhurst, held by a family of the same name in the 13th century, 13; possessed by Sir Alexander Culpeper in A.D. 1528, 457; Queen Elizabeth entertained at, 494; present made to her, *ib.*; its present owner, 745.
- Beleries, a hamlet, 138; a castle, 743.
- Belgar, manor of, 512.
- Benorouch (or Denorouch) Highlands, in Pembury, a possession of the abbey of Robertsbriidge, 16.
- Benenden, a manor, 10; error of Philipott respecting, *ib.*; its holders, 11; proceedings of the abbot of Robertsbriidge in, 36; suit of trespass in, 331; the church struck by lightning, 596; tokens issued at, 837, 843; Cobbett at, 652. *See also p. 703.*
- Benfield, Northamptonshire, 308.
- Benstead, mistaken for Benenden by Philipott and Harris, 10.
- Berkeley Castle, Edward II. murdered at, 288.
- Bernefield, offences in the half-hundred of, 242.
- Bersted, part of the dower of Queen Margaret, 267.

- Berwick, meaning of, 714.
 Betenhamme, timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202.
 Betham, Bethamswode, and Bettenhams-wode, 61 and *n.*
 Betherinden, a manor in Sandhurst, 17.
 Bethereden, or Bethereden Lovelace, its owners, 11; dedication of its church, 333; price of oxen at, 209. *See also* p. 703.
 Beult river, Stephan's bridge over the, 15.
 Bewper, a manor belonging to Faversham Abbey, 13.
 Bewborough, hundred of, 161, 165.
 Bidborough, in the Lowy of Tunbridge, 12. *See also* p. 703.
 Biddenden, its members, 12; incumbents of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; tokens issued at, 838. *See also* p. 703.
 Biddenden Place, the seat of the Hendens, 570.
 Bilkington, its church mentioned in Domesday, 763; encroachments by the rector of, 139; priory founded at, by John Maunsell, 102; suppressed 463; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 233. *See also* p. 704.
 Birchington, exactions in, 162.
 Bircholt, hundred of, 149; barony and franchise, 164; franchise, 137, 806.
 Birling, Queen Eliz. entertained at, 493.
 Bishopsbourne, parish of, 799.
 Bishopsbury, wood of, 160.
 Bixle, the park of, wasted by an executioner, 141.
 Blackborne, hundred of, 164.
 Blackheath, hundred of, 140, 163.
 Blackheath, muster of the Wat Tyler insurgents on, 360; of Cade's followers, 383; part of Cade's body sent to, 400; reception of Charles II., 556.
 Blackmanstone, its church mentioned in Domesday, 763.
 Blacksole field, the Kentish rebels defeated at, 471.
 Blackwall, the, effect of its formation, 253, 752.
 Blakeburne, hundred of, 123.
 Blean, lordship of, a possession of the earl of Gloucester, 315; privileges claimed for his tenants in, 108; withdrawn from the hundred, 154.
 Bleangate, hundred of, 157, 165.
 Blean woods, ravage in the, by an executioner, 149.
 Booton, West, a half borough, 182.
 Bodiam, in Sussex, 37; trade in firewood, 336.
 Bokenfold, in Brenchley, 12, 13; a possession of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, 286 and *n.*; now a farmhouse, 728.
 Bolynton [Bonnington?], Templars' lands in, 291.
 Bonnington, its church mentioned in Domesday, 763; payment to Dover Castle, temp. Edw. I., 138; token issued at, 838. *See also* p. 704.
 Borden, bell foundry at, 595.
 Boreplace, a manor in Chiddingstone, 12.
 Borstall, withdrawn from the suit of the hundred, 161.
 Boughton, hundred of, 149.
 Boughton Aluph, burglary in the church of, 245.
 Boughton Malherbe, Queen Elizabeth entertained at, 495. *See also* p. 704.
 Boughton Monchelsea, 705.
 Boughton Place, its owners in the 16th century, 458; in the 18th century, 610.
 Boughton-under-Blean, hundred of, 164; nailbourne at, 112.
 Boulogne, marriage of Edward II. and Isabella at, 267; the town burnt by Edward III., 340; meeting of Henry VIII. and Francis I. at, 437; capture of the town, 438; its gates set up at Hardes Court, &c.
 Bounds, or Bunds, in Bidborough, 12; granted to Lord Hunsdon, 478.
 Bourne, holding of William de Leybourne in, 159.
 Bourne Place, Canterbury, 744 *n.*
 Boxley, fuller's earth found at, 330; wool from, 209.
 Boxley Abbey, its possessions in Staplehurst, 18; the king's bailiffs not allowed to enter its lands, 42; charter of Henry III. to, 48.
 Brabourne, a manor of Simon de Montfort, 87 *n.*; its value, 149; barracks at, 638.
 Brabourne Lees, 523.
 Bradbourne, in East Malling, the seat of the Twisden family, 600.
 Bradford mills, in Horsmonden, the property of Henry VIII., 569 and *n.*
 Brambles, the, an archiepiscopal prison at Maidstone, 358.
 Brasted, murder at, 41; township of, 127; hundred of, 163; Foreign of, 166; a possession of the earl of Gloucester, seized by Edward I., 222; the ville of, how composed, 801; Upland in Brasted withdrawn from the hundred, 45; token issued at, 838. *See also* p. 705.
 Brasted Park, 743.

- Brede, ironworks at, 486 n.
 Brechesley, hundred of, 131, 164; part of the possessions of the Clares, 12.
 Brencley, incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 233; the church appropriated to Cardinal College, Oxford, 434; tokens issued at, 838. *See also* p. 705.
 Brennet, the, at Teynham, 514.
 Brenzet, not mentioned in Domesday, 765; burglary at, 622; Cobbett at, 845.
 Bretigny, peace of, 343.
 Bridge, hundred of, 154, 158, 165, 800.
 Bridge, East and West, deaneries, 821.
 Bristol Castle, Bartholomew de Badlesmere, governor of, 273.
 Broadstairs, a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512.
 Brocket, a manor in Ebony, 13.
 Bromley, hundred of, 140, 163.
 Brook, manor of, once a hundred, 333 and n.; indenture between the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and the tenants of, *ib.*; bell cast for, 595; the parish wrongly spoken of as in the Weald, 736.
 Brooke, in Marden, its owners, 16.
 Brook Gate, Sussex, 753 n.
 Brookland, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
 Broomfield, bell foundry at, 595.
 Broomhill, or Proomhill, not mentioned in Domesday, 765; its ruined church, 753, 754.
 Bruges, Caxton prints books at, 423 and n.
 Buckhurst, a manor belonging to the abbey of Faversham, 13.
 Buckland, belonging to Jeffery de Fevel, 11.
 Buckland, near Dover, parish of, 799.
 Buckstead, in Sussex, 579.
 Bugehoh', three thieves hanged at, 127.
 Bulverhithe, agreement of the men of, with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 449.
 Burezdine, a ditch at Canterbury, 156.
 Burgate, Canterbury, 571.
 Burgh on Sands, death of Edward I. there, 264.
 Burham, Templars' lands in, 291.
 Burmarsh mentioned in Domesday, 763.
 Burwash church, cast-iron monumental slab in, 493.
 Buxford, in Great Chart, 242.
 Buxted, Sussex, early cannon foundry at, 484.
 Byssupedenne, wood of, 149.
 Cade Street, or Cat Street, Sussex, 391.
 Cades, a manor in Ospringe, 393.
 Caerlaverock, capture of, 226; Kentish men knighted at, 227.
 Caesar's Road, 137, 804; forms a parochial boundary, 804.
 Cage, a park near Tunbridge, 429.
 Calais, capture of, 340; the Staple established at, 328; removed, 329; regulations for the passage to or from Dover, 419; the Yorkists at, 404; sail for England, *ib.*; the town retaken by the French, 476.
 Calchill, hundred of, 134, 164; encroachments of the archbishop, 134.
 Calchill Park, 743.
 Camber Point, 574.
 Cambridge, the town of, rated as a hundred in Domesday, 144 n.; Parliament at, 370; statutes passed at, 370, 371, and n.
 Canterbury, *see of*, its denes in Penshurst, 17; taxation of its temporalities, 209; menial tenure of some of its lands, 243; rearrangement of its parishes in 1845, 821.
 Canterbury Diocesan Church Building and Endowment Society, its work in the Weald, 675.
 Canterbury, deanery of, 821.
 Canterbury Castle, Hubert de Burgh its governor, 71 and n.; its foreign governor displaced, 76 n.
 Canterbury Cathedral, Becket's shrine destroyed, 464; Archbishop Warham's benefaction to, 445; hangings presented to, by Sir Richard Dering and by Queen Mary, 599 and n.; bells cast for, 595.
 Canterbury, Christ Church, Ebony a possession of, 13; suit between the prior and monks of, and James de Eshynghamme, 331; its drovedenes, 332; its income from the Weald, 336.
 Canterbury, city of, 154; Longport, 155; the city ditch, *ib.* and n.; Queningate, *ib.* and n.; the Abbot's mill and the King's mill, 156.
 Canterbury, church of St. Gregory, 12.
 Canterbury, the Speech House at, 757 and n.
 Canterbury, council at, A.D. 1222, 67; Henry III. at, 77; massacre of the Jews at, 80; Parliament held at, 91; miraculous cures at, 92, 93; earthquake at, 246 n.; establishment of the Franciscans in, 103; inundation at, A.D. 1271 or 1272, 111, 246 n.; hours for closing the gates, 174

- quarrel between the citizens and the monks of Christ Church, 229; assembly of justices at, A.D. 1279, 240; their proceedings, 240—243; Parliament held at, 248; marriage of Edward I. at, 256; execution of the earl of Athol, 263; Edward II. at, 269; the staple established at, 328 the West Gate built by Archbishop Sudbury, 364; ravages of the Wat Tyler insurgents, 360; grant of waste lands to, by Henry IV., 376; said to be in great ruin and decay, A.D. 1514, 509; Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. at, 436; reception of Cardinal Campeggio, 452; remains loyal during Wyatt's rebellion, 469 and *n.*; foreign settlers in, 480; riot at, on Christmas Day, 1647, 535; the city occupied by Colonel Hewson in consequence, *ib.*; rising at, in 1648, 534; entry of the Parliamentarians, 535; the special commission at, 536; arms seized at, by the Royalists, 538; surrender to the Parliament, 550; Charles II. at, 556; bells cast for Westgate, 595; the last assizes held at, 618, 620.
- Canterbury fair, the most important in Kent, 513.
- Cantium, 749.
- Capel, a chapelry of Tudely, 12; date of its church, 22. *See also* p. 706.
- Carlisle, Parliament at, 224 *n.*
- Caseburne, in Folkestone hundred, 152.
- Casingham, a manor in Rolvenden, 17.
- Castle Toll in Newenden, 16.
- Castwistell in Biddenden, 12; borough of, 240.
- Causton, early owners of, 14; mentioned as the birth-place of William Caxton, 421; this doubtful, *ib.*
- Cerrynge, exactions and other oppressions at, 134.
- Cetthamale, services of its tenants withdrawn from the hundred court, 124.
- Chalk, East and West, manors of, 143.
- Chalk Hills, the, as the boundary of the Weald, 640, 641.
- Challock, fair at, claimed by the abbot of Battle, 246.
- Charing manor, paramount over eight others, 805; account roll of, A.D. 1230, extract from, 5; archiepiscopal manor-house of, 15; Edward I. entertained at, 255; Henry VIII. at, 436.
- Charing, East and West, deaneries of, 821.
- Charing cross, its builder, 247 *n.*
- Charlton, assize of bread and ale in, 140.
- Chart, hundred of, 164; accidents in, 242.
- Chart, the dumb borsholder of, 785 *n.*
- Chart, Great, the gallows at, 55; the the Prior's prison at, 135 and *n.*; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; the advowson of, forfeited by Sir Thomas Wyatt, 474 *n.*; earthquake at, 513; ancient cherry orchard at, 515. *See also* p. 706.
- Chart, Little, incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; complaint against the incumbent, temp. Car. I., 587. *See also* p. 706.
- Chart Sutton, incumbents of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; the church struck by lightning, 706.
- Chartham, manor of, 150; the first Prince of Wales at, 260; his letters written therefrom, 260, 261.
- Chatham, hundred of, 145, 163.
- Chatham, early church at, 796, 797; camp at, 638; the high constable, 808 *n.*
- Cheapside cross, its builder, 247 *n.*
- Chekealand, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred court, 127.
- Chekeswell, in Brenchley, 12.
- Chelsea Hospital, originated by Charles II., 559 *n.*
- Chelsfield, lands at, belonging to Simon de Montford, 87 *n.*
- Chelsford, 577.
- Cherbourg burnt by the men of Yarmouth, 221.
- Cherecote, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred court, 127.
- Chester, the see of Lichfield and Coventry sometimes so called, 257 *n.*
- Cheveney, in Marden, 16.
- Chevening, the church and mansion, 706, 707; the parish, 801.
- Chichester, a staple town, 328; the shire court to be kept at, alternately with Lewes, 420.
- Chiddington, a possession of the Cobhams, 12; Parrook Croft, in, 4; the Chiding Stone, 707.
- Chiddington Burgherst, a manor, 12.
- Chikeshull, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108.
- Chilham, manor of, its holders, 150 and *n.*; miraculous cure at, 93.
- Chilham Castle, forfeiture of, 263 *n.*; restored, *ib.*; granted to Bartholomew de Badlesmere, 273 and *n.*; again forfeited, and restored, 283 *n.*; rebuilt by Sir Dudley Digges, 527; its present owner, 680.

- Chilindenne, a dene in Marden, 42, 132.
 Chillington, the tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 128.
 Chilmington, in Great Chart, the seat of the Twysden family, 477 n.; an ancient cherry orchard in, 516.
 Chiselhurst, a member of Dartford, 142.
 Chisleth, early church at, 796, 797.
 Chistens, the King's wood at, 148.
 Chyveling, township of, 46.
 Cinder-lane, Cowden, 577.
 Cinque Ports, royal mandates concerning the, 74; join the party of the Barons, 77; reduced by Henry III., 81, 82; some of their burgesses hanged by Queen Eleanor, 97 n.; abuse of their privileges complained of, 153, 160; their privileges confirmed and extended by Edward I., 264; also by Edward II., 313 n.; their barons' duty at coronations, 75; consulted about providing ships, 249; presumed first summons for legislative purposes, 303, 768; charged with the duty of guarding the land, 341; not concerned in the Wat Tyler rebellion, 381; Lords Warden, 603, 636, 689.
 Cinque Ports fleet, services of the, 66; testimony to their privileges, *ib. n.*; orders to the, 74; complaints against the, 74, 75, 91 n.; got ready to oppose the invasion by Queen Eleanor, 90; defeats the French at St. Mahae, 220.
 Claygate, an entrance to the forest of Tunbridge, 59 n.
 Clive, privileges of the Church of Canterbury at, 143.
 Cobham, deanery of, 822.
 Cobham, a manor in Chiddingstone, 12.
 Cobham, a member of Dartford, 142.
 Cocklescombe in Liddon, Templars' lands in, 291.
 Codaheath, hundred of, 163; granted to Lord Hunsdon, 478.
 Colbridge Castle, 743.
 Colchester, its clothing trade, 325; siege of, 549.
 Cold Harbour, places so called, 744.
 Collingwood, in Hawkhurst, 684.
 Colred, withdrawn from the suit of the hundred, 161.
 Combden in Sandhurst, its owner, 17.
 Combe Bank, in Sundridge, 630.
 Combwell, murder in the wood of, 242.
 Combwell Priory, 13; suppressed, 463.
 Comden, a manor belonging to the Priory of Leeds, 13.
 Constantinople, the pestilence called the Black Death first appears at, 343.
 Conyptite in Teynham, a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512.
 Cook's cross, in Hawkhurst, 499 n.
 Cookstone (or Cuxton), a living held by Laud, 591, 847.
 Cooling, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
 Copton, a manor in Cranbrook, 13.
 Corbie Castle, in Eltham, 16.
 Corkwood, 752.
 Cornilo, hundred of, 161, 165, 800.
 Cornwall, Gaveston created earl of, 267.
 Councillor's Wood, near Battle, search for coal at, 682.
 Court-at-Street, the scene of the visions of Elizabeth Barton, 443.
 Cowden, its early owners, 12; the Tiebornes at, 13 n.; former iron-works in, 27, 487, 577; its parochial accounts, 577 n.; flood at, 578 n.; meaning of the name, 579; tokens issued at, 838. *See also p. 707.*
 Cowden Leighton, manor of, 13.
 Cowling Castle captured by Wyatt, 473.
 Coxheath, camps formed at, 624, 638.
 Cranbrook formed into a borough, 10; its owner in the reign of Henry III., 13; hundred of, 124, 164; Edward I. at, 255; settlement of foreign cloth-workers in, 325; trade in firewood, 335; the rectorial tithes given to the see of Canterbury, 369; Queen Elizabeth's visit to, 495, 707 n.; present made to her, 495; decay of the clothing trade, 482; leases of the rectory, 556; reputed witches executed, 664; tokens issued at, 838; system of poor relief practised at, 668 and n. *See also p. 707.*
 Cranbrook Church, gift of Archbishop Tenison to, 593; bells recast for, 595; Tarbutt's "Annals" cited, 562, 595.
 Cranbrook, murder committed in the borough of West, in, 230.
 Cranbrook hundred, 124.
 Cranbrook and Rolvenden hundreds, improvement of the roads in, 490.
 Crayford, iron mill at, 488.
 Cregy, battle of, 340.
 Creggefen, dene of, encroachment on the, its consequences, 124.
 Criola, a manor in Breunchley, 12.
 Criola, in Shadoxhurst, 17.
 Crippenden, a mansion house in Cowden, 13 n.; a seat of the Tiebornes, *ib.*
 Crombury, early owners of, 14.
 Crown inn, Rochester, Queen Elizabeth at, 496.
 Croydon, conflict at, 88 and n.; Queen

Elisabeth entertained at, by Archbishop Parker, 493; the great Boundary and Tithe cause tried at, 640; in the diocese of Canterbury, 821.
 Croydon Palace restored by archbishop Wake, 614 and *n.*
 Croydon, deanery of, 821.
 Crundale, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 154; obstruction of a path in, 245; murder of the rector, 379; discovery of a skeleton near the churchyard, 380.
 Cuperland, land at, granted by King John to Solomon, reeve of Dover, 161; singular service by which held, 181.
 Daehurst, or Hildenborough, in Tunbridge, 20.
 Dalkehurst, a manor of the earl of Gloucester, 129.
 Damme, fleet assembled at, for the invasion of England, 88.
 Dartford, township of, 142; hundred of, 163; Templars' lands in, 291; Wyatt at, 473; iron slitting mill established at, 488; the first English paper mill set up at, 514, 595; formerly an assize town, 820; Priory founded by Edw. III., 347; its denes in the Weald, *ib.*; Queen Elizabeth at, 497.
 Dartford, East and West, deaneries of, 821.
 Deal, borough of, 161.
 Deal Castle, captured by the Royalists, 540; retaken by the Parliamentarians, 552.
 Dean Forest, the iron-works in, destroyed, 580.
 Debting Church, a sanctuary, 33.
 Delaware, a manor in Edenbridge, 13.
 Demescherhe, for Dymchurch, 764.
 Dene in Wingham, miraculous cure at, 93.
 Dengemarah, borough of, 154; price of oats at, in the 14th century, 210.
 Dennemannesbroke, 297.
 Denton, parish of, 799.
 Denwood-street, Wye, 379, 380.
 Deptford, partly in Surrey, 752; the church appropriated to Cardinal College, Oxford, 434.
 Dering's Droff, in Lydd, 633 *n.*
 Ditton, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108.
 Dokeshurst, a denes of Marden, 132.
 Dommerhe, in the serjeantry of Hurst, 153.
 Dornden, in Speldhurst, 722.
 Dover, royal admonition to the barons

and bailiffs of, 74; Parliament said to be held there, 78; wool illegally shipped at, 161; peculiar franchise in, 188 *n.*; sacking of, by the French, 221; punishment of the barons of, 249 and *n.*; embarkation of Edward I. at, 249; Edward I. at St. Radegund's, 255; regulations for the passage to or from Calais, 419; standard weights and measures, *ib.*; landing of the Emperor Charles V. at, 436; landing of Cardinal Pole at, 475; the port, a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 511; its decayed state, 512; Queen Elizabeth at, 496; earthquake at, 513; arrival of the Princess Henrietta Maria at, 526; landing of Charles II. at, 556; disgraceful treaty concluded by him at, 558; camp at, 638; fortifications at, 826.
 Dover, deanery of, 821.
 Dover Castle, siege of, by the Dauphin, 65; held by Hubert de Burgh, *ib.*; change in the mode of garrisoning introduced by him, 73; oppressive practices of the Constables, *ib.*; royal mandates, 74; church of St. Mary, *ib.*; provision for its government by Englishmen only, 76; attempt of Henry III. to regain possession from the barons, 79; given up by them, but soon recovered, 80 *n.*; Prince Edward and Prince Henry confined there, 85; residence of the countess of Leicester in, 95, 96; recaptured by Prince Edward, 97; besieged by the Royalists, 539; relieved, 544, 549.
 Dover, St. Martin's le Grand at, 161; the New Work, *ib.*
 Dover, Maison Dieu at, founded by Hubert de Burgh, 73; mentioned, 152, 154, 161; letter of Prince Edward to the Prior of the Hospital, 260.
 Downhamford, hundred of, 158 and *n.*, 165, 800.
 Downs, battle in the, between the Dutch and Spanish fleets, 529; ships there revolt from the Parliament, 537; the fleet in the, declares for the king, 539.
 Drellingore, nailbourne at, 112.
 Dungeness, accumulation of shingle at, 754 and *n.*
 Dunkirk, ville of, 813.
 Dymchurch, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
 Dymchurch wall, 523 *n.*
 East, a borough in Cranbrook, 230.
 Eastbridge, its two churches mentioned

- in Domesday, 763, 764; the manor granted to Hubert de Burgh, 71 and *n.*, 152.
- Easthill in Orpington, *a* manor of Sir Edward Poyninga, 421.
- East Kent, proposal to establish iron-works in, denounced as a plague, 486.
- Eastry, Saxon lath of, 156.
- Eastry, hundred of, 160 and *n.*, 165.
- Eastwell, manor of, held by Bertram de Criol, 245; treasure trove at, 630.
- Ebony, a possession of Christ Church, Canterbury, 13; not mentioned in Domesday, 765; warren in, 126, 134. *See also* p. 708.
- Eccles in Aylesford, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Edenbridge, early owners of, 13; the manor granted to the abbot of Westminster, 243, 247; called Eatonbridge, 127; tokens issued at, 839. *See also* p. 708.
- Edingham, a manor in Woodchurch, 20.
- Egerton, a boundary parish, 708; fine view from the church tower, *ib.*
- Egerton House, 744 *n.*
- Eightham, said by Philipott to be the proper name of Ightham, 801.
- Elarinden, a manor in Tenterden, 18.
- Elham, descent of the manor, 160; bailiffs' rolls of, preserved, 208; price of horses therein, 209; price of oats, 210; taxes and tenths, 214.
- Elham, deanery of, 821.
- Elmley ferry, James II. embarks at, 561.
- Elmsted, in Stowting hundred, 151, 811 *n.*; nailbourne at, 112; land in, held by St. Katherine's Hospital, London, 147.
- Elmstone, parish of, 799.
- Eltham, 16; privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108; Henry III. at, 112; withdrawn from suit, 140.
- Eltham Palace, given by Bishop Beek to Queen Eleanor, 247; King John of France entertained at, 344; neglected by the Stuarts, 520.
- Ely, Isle of, inclosure of lands in the, 511.
- Engham, or Edingham, a manor in Woodchurch, 20.
- England, Bank of, its establishment, 599.
- Bridge, Queen Elizabeth entertained at, 494.
- Erith, manor of, 141.
- Erith marshes, inning of, 511.
- Eahmerfeld, Eamerefel. *See Astenfeld.*
- Ease, manor of, 142.
- Easedesford, Easedesford. *See Ashford.*
- Essex, Badlesmere's lands in, seized, 279.
- Eshire, in Godmersham, 150.
- Everherst, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred court, 127.
- Everynghekere, in Marden, 134.
- Evington, in Elmsted, 811 *n.*
- Ewell (or Euelle), parish of, 799; tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 124; franchise of the Templars at, 161; their lands in, 291.
- Exore, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred court, 127.
- Eythorne, hundred of, 131, 164 and *n.*; its great extent, 782.
- Eynsford, early church at, 796.
- Eytchden, or Haechesden, in Bethersden, 11.
- Eythorre, borough of, 160; withdrawn from its original hundred, 813.
- Fairfield, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
- Fairlawn, its early owners, 17.
- Fairlight, shingle bank extending eastward from, 251.
- Falkirk, Wallace defeated at, 226.
- Fant Wells (now Tunbridge Wells), 18.
- Farleigh, manor of, seized by the escheator, 128; belonged to the Crevequers, 130; oppression of the sheriff, *ib.*; price of oats at, in the 14th century, 210.
- Farleigh, East, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; the only crown manor in Kent that now possesses a dene in the Weald, 524.
- Farleigh bridge, crossed by Fairfax, 545.
- Farnborough, lands at, belonging to Simon de Montfort, 87 *n.*
- Farningham, 18; Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Faversham, hundred of, 148, 164.
- Faversham, rising at, in August, 1450, 401; Henry VIII. at, 438; a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; arms at, seized by the Royalists, 538; James II. detained at, 562; allowed to return to London, 564; other prisoners there, *ib.* *n.*
- Faversham Abbey, manors in the Weald belonging to, 13; a frequent resting-place of sovereigns and their connexions, 212.
- Felborough, hundred of, 150, 164.
- Feraham, or Forsham, a manor in Rolvenden, 17.
- Field, borough of, 806.
- Field of the Cloth of Gold, 437.
- Finchcocks, in Goudhurst, 13.
- Finchden, a manor in Tenterden, 19.
- Fish Hall, in Hadlow, 14.

- Fletching, Henry III. at, 84.
 Flimwell, 315 archers beheaded at, 83.
 Fogylston (or Fulston), Queen Elizabeth at, 496.
 Fokingberry, in Marden, 133.
 Folkeneserth, 42; a dene in Marden, 132.
 Folkestone, hundred of, 152, 165.
 Folkestone, early church at, 797; the alien priory of, seized by Edward I., 236; Queen Elizabeth at, 496.
 Ford Palace in Hothe, almost rebuilt by Archbishop Morton, 415 n.; Archbishop Craumer at, 467; Henry VIII. at, 438; its present state, *ib.* n.
 Ford in Wrotham, the seat of the Clarkes, 470.
 Forsham (or Fersham), a manor in Rolvenden, 17.
 Four Trowes, in Hawkhurst, 499 n.
 France, Queen Isabella in, 286, 287; wars of Edward III. with, 340; war with, A.D. 1778, 623; threatened invasion of England, *ib.*; war with, A.D. 1793, 637; Arthur Young's character of, 826.
 Frant, partly in Sussex, 753; stated to be the most ancient enclosed park in England, 157 n. *See also* p. 708.
 Frenchay, in Appledore, a manor forfeited by Sir Thomas Wyatt, 474 n.
 Fresingfield, in Suffolk, 593.
 Fresingham, timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202.
 Frid (or Frith), in Bethereden and Tenterden, 11, 19, 570.
 Frindsbury, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
 Fright, or Frith Woods, in Hawkhurst, 711.
 Frindsbury fields, Royalist muster in, 548.
 Frittenden, manors in, 13; incumbents of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; church restoration, 706.
 Frizley, in Cranbrook, 570, 668.
 Fromonds, its early owners, 14.
 Froxhole, near Canterbury, 156.
 Fulston. *See* Fogylston.
 Gaffer's bridge, Marden, 779.
 Gascony, expedition of Edward I. into, 223.
 St. George's-street, Canterbury, 571.
 Gerundialande, in Luddenham, 148.
 Gibbet Lane, Horsmonden, 621.
 Gillingham, hundred of, 145.
 Gillingham manor, 712 n.
 Glamorganshire, iron-working in, 580.
 Glassenbury, 414, 743, 745,
 Gloucester, Statute of, 240.
 Gloucester, part of Cade's body sent to, 400.
 Gloucester Abbey, gift to, 816.
 Gloucester furnace, in Lamberhurst, why so named, 581 n.; visits to, *ib.*, 730.
 Gloucestershire, early mention of a fulling and teasing mill in, 330 n.
 Godden, a manor in Tenterden, 19.
 Goding, a manor in Hadlow, 14.
 Godmersham, early church at, 796; manor of, 152.
 Godsheath, hundred of, 142.
 Goldwell, early owners of, 14.
 Gorsparruke, in Calehill, 134.
 Goudhurst, its manors, 13; murder in, 241; prison at Patyndenne, in, 241; the clothing trade established, 325; the church spire struck by lightning, 581; complaint against the vicar of, A.D. 1640, 587; tokens issued at, 839, 843; the "band of militia" defeats the smugglers, 620; Cobbett at, 651. *See also* p. 708.
 Grain, Isle of, 146 and n.
 Grange, in Gillingham, 787.
 Gransted, borough of, 127; a member of Dartford, 142.
 Gravesend, early church at, 796; manor of, 143; burnt by the French, 350; Sir Simon Burley seizes his bondsman at, 354; Henry VIII. at, 438; forts erected by him there, *ib.* n.; the Dutch fleet off, 558; beaten off by Sir Edward Sprague, *ib.*
 Gravesend, deanery of, 822.
 Greenwich, assize of bread and beer in, 140; Queen Elizabeth's journey from, and return to, 493, 497; a favourite resort of James I. and Charles I., 520 and n.; Palace at, begun by Charles II., 559; Royal Observatory built by him, *ib.*
 Greenwich, deanery of, 822.
 Greenwich and other royal parks ordered to be sold, A.D. 1652, 590.
 Greenwich, East, formerly an assize town, 820.
 Greenwich, West, franchises of William de Say in, 140; its church given to Cardinal College, 434.
 Gransted, hundred of, 127.
 Groombridge, in Speldhurst, 12; a possession of the Cobhams, 18; tokens issued at, 839. *See also* pp. 722, 743.
 Guildhall, Lord Say's tumultuous trial at, 385.
 Guilford ferry, 574.

Guston, parish of, 799.

Haccheeden (or Eytchden), in Bethersden, 11.

Hachelwoldene [High Halden], timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202.

Hackington, parish of, how formed, 800; the seat of the Hales family at, in the time of James II., 560 n.

Hackington church, the Manwood monument in, 517.

Hallow, a manor of the Clares, 12, 14, 20, 108; Foreign of, 166; seized by Edward I., 222; Templars' lands in, 291; survey of the lordship of, A.D. 1512, 429; the manor granted to Lord Hunadon, 478; token issued at, 839. See also p. 710.

Hallow Place, its early owners, 14.

Halden, or Lambin, a manor in Rolvenden, 17; a property of the Guldefords, 448; its twelve denes, *ib.* n.; its park, 743.

Halden farm, in Rolvenden, 17 n.

Halden, High, restoration of the church, 710; Tiffenden in, 15; token issued at, 839.

Hales Place, in High Halden, 361, 537.

Half Yoke, near East Farleigh, a property forfeited by Sir H. Isley, 474 n.

Halidon hill, battle of, 323.

Halifax, its small population in the 15th century, 408.

Halkwell, in Pembury, a possession of Bayham Abbey, 16.

Halling, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; privileges of the bishop of Rochester at, 143.

Halsted, manor of, 142.

Halstow, a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512.

Ham, hundred of, 139, 165.

Harbledown, named in mistake for Barham downs, 90 n.

Hardby, near Grantham, death of Queen Eleanor at, 247.

Hardres, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108; advowson of the church belonged to Henry, duke of Buckingham, 429; the two parishes of Upper and Lower Hardres, how formed, 799, 805.

Hardros Court, the gates of Boulogne set up at, 438; Henry VIII. at, 439.

Hardres, Lower, part of the dower of Queen Margaret, 257.

Hardres, Upper, 154; its tenants withdrawn from the hundred, 159.

Harlackenden, its early owners, 20.

Harriestham, early church at, 796; manor of, 132; incumbent of the church, temp. Edw. I., 233.

Hartfield, in Sussex, 579, 819 n.

Hartley, manor of, 142.

Hartilp, origin of the name, 296 n.

Harty, land in the Isle of, the subject of trial by battle, 173.

Hastings, royal admonition to the barons and bailiffs of, 74; charged with piracy, 98 n.; lastage of, 338; attacked by the French, 342; agreement of the men of, with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 449; places severed from its Liberty, 787.

Hatoham, hamlet of, 752; formerly part of Kent, 753.

Haughnet, honour of, in Woodchurch, 32.

Hawkhurst, partly in Sussex, 753 and n.; treading of the five denes in, 4 n.; grant by the abbot of Battle, to his tenants at, 199; incumbent of the church, temp. Edw. I., 233; iron foundry at, 27; the clothing trade established, 325; the five crosses or watch-houses of, 499 n.; tokens issued at, 839, 843; Collingwood, in, 684; Parroc, in, 14; beautiful scenery, 711.

Hawkridge, in Cranbrook, 570.

Haythurst, timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202.

Hazeldene, in Sussex, 753 n.

Headcorn, at first only a dane, 647; formed into a borough, 10; the rectory and vicarage, 14 and n.; the great oak, 14; Stephen's bridge, 15; the manor, 132; incumbent of the church, temp. Edw. I., 232; the cloth trade established, 325. See also p. 711.

Hean, hundred of, 152, 165.

Hecham, 42; a deme in Marden, 132.

Hedegrove, timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 201.

Hedelinth, lath of, 156, 157, 775; Mr. Riley's remark on, 775 n.

Hedlinge, an ancient wood in Waldershare, 776.

Hamsted, a manor, 10; its holders, 11; the original seat of the Guldefords, 448; Queen Elizabeth entertained at, 494; its owners in the 18th century, 612 and n.; its present owner, 448, 612 n., 680.

Hamsted Oak, a landmark, 490.

Henden, a manor in Woodchurch, 20; its early owners, *ib.*; its park, 743.

Henwood, in Ashford, 338, 807; springs

- there, 338 *n.*; exempt from the jurisdiction of Ashford, 136.
- Hareford, Hugh Le Despenser executed at, 288.
- Haroldeshyok, in Stowting hundred, 161.
- Herst. *See Hurstmonceux.*
- Herst, the wood of, 149.
- Hertford Castle, capture of, by the Dauphin, 66.
- Hethindene, fee of, illegally dealt with, 125.
- Hever, its early owners, 15; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I. 232.
- Hever Castle, 15; its date how ascertained, 410; possessed by Sir Thomas Boleyn, 430. *See also pp.* 711, 743.
- Hever, in Kingsdown, 15.
- Heykybery bridge, question of the repair of, 298.
- Heythamerst, in Marden, 133.
- Higham, manor of, 143.
- Highgate, in Hawkhurst, 199.
- Highgate cross, in Hawkhurst, 499 *n.*
- Hilden, in Tunbridge, 20; Foreign of, 166.
- Hill, the, a common name for the county above the Weald, 664, 696, 747; visit of a Hill lord to his manor in the Weald, 729.
- Hindon, in Woodchurch 570.
- Hinxhill, 291 *n.*
- Hoadley, in Lamberhurst, visited by the lord of the manor, 729.
- Hockingfalde, the wood at, 148.
- Holbeame, tenants in, withdrawn from the manor of Kemsing, 142.
- Hole, a manor in Rolvenden, 17, 570.
- Holindene, tenants in, withdrawn from the manor of Kemsing, 142.
- Hollinden, a manor in Tunbridge, 20.
- Holy Trinity, Canterbury, manor of Westwell a possession of the priory of, 179; charges against the convent, 134, 154, 156.
- Hoo, hundred of, 163, 801.
- Hoo, early church at, 797; the manor granted to Hubert de Burgh, 71; Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Hope-all-Saints, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
- Horsendown (for Horsmonden?) 621.
- Horsfold, within the liberty of the city of Canterbury, 154.
- Horsmonden, partly in Sussex, 753; a manor of the Clares, 12, 107 *n.*, 711.
- Horstead, in Sussex, 679.
- Horton Kirby, lands at, belonging to Simon de Montfort, 87 *n.*
- Horton Park, Hythe, 669, 670.
- Hothfield, peculiar service rendered by the tenant of the manor of, 712; the church, *ib.*
- Hothfield Place, Queen Elizabeth entertained at, 496; house on the heath said to have been occupied by her, *ib. n.*
- Hunton, 713; the church, a sanctuary, 50.
- Hurst, parish of, 806; tenure of the manor, 138; a resort of Jacobites and smugglers, 713.
- Hurstmonceux, Henry III. at, 84; Edward I. at, 257.
- Hurstmonceux Castle, its date, 410.
- Hurst Woods, the, said to be in the Weald, 640, 641.
- Hythe, royal admonition to the barons and bailiffs of, 74; miraculous cure at, 92; wool illegally shipped at, 161; a French galley burnt at, 221; earthquake at, 513; hospital of St. Bartholomew at, 286 *n.*
- Hythe, West, a deme of Wye, 413; not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
- Ibornden, irregular proceedings at, 38; purchased by Roger Patterson, 570.
- Ickham, early church at, 796; old custom of the manor, 5.
- Ightham, question of the derivative of the name, 801.
- Inglewood Forest, important tithe case, temp. Edw. I., 22 *n.*
- Ipawich, Wolsey's college at, 432 *n.*
- Iron-bar lane, Canterbury, 571.
- Ivychurch, in Romney Marsh, 673 *n.*, 806; not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
- St. James, Canterbury, lepers' hospital of, 147.
- St. John, a manor in Cowden, 13.
- Kasern Street [Caesar's Road], 137, 804.
- Kasingham, timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202.
- Kemsing, a manor of Simon de Montfort, 87 *n.*; tenants withdrawn from, 142; the manor and advowson of, granted to Lord Hunsdon, 478.
- Kenilworth Castle, Edward II. imprisoned at, 288.
- Kennardington, not mentioned in Domesday, 765; held by castle-guard service, 713; the church destroyed by lightning, 511 *n.*, 713.
- Kennington, robbery at, 245.
- Kent, as a kingdom, and as a shire, 749; styled a mediatised kingdom, 786; history, 750; boundary, 752; the

- county court, 757; Romney Marsh, 758, 845; question of its population, 762; the Laths, 770; the Hundreds, 776; the Boroughs, 784; the Villas, 786; the Parishes, 787; the parishes in the Weald, 801; erection of churches and creation of manors, 808, 813; assize towns, 819; ecclesiastical jurisdictions, 820.
- Kent, the people of, generally opposed to Henry III., 84 n.; how supplied with churches by the end of the 13th century, 101; lay lords in, A.D. 1316, 319; its hundreds, temp. Edw. II., 293; number held by the Church, *ib.*; number of parishes in, in the 14th century, 369; its taxation, temp. Edw. III., 342; Wat Tyler's rebellion, 353—363; Cade's insurrection, 382; demands of the insurgents, 383; discontent in, regarding the subsidy, A.D. 1524, 453; threatened rising, 455; Henry VIII.'s visits to, 436, 437, 438; Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, 468—475; Queen Elizabeth's visits to, 492 and n.; the army of, A.D. 1599, 517; the Royalist rising in 1648, 534—552; a scene of war and pillage, A.D. 1648, 552, 554; preservation of timber in, 569; changes effected in the representation, 686; present number of electors, 689; ancient Parliamentary division between East and West, 846; modern parochial division, 847; area, houses, and population in 1871, 822; list of denes, 827; parishes in and on the borders of the Weald, 833; tradesmen's tokens, 837; Laud's annual returns as to Kentish dioceses, 848.
- Kent, lists of Baronets, 525, 526; of Justices, 464; of Knights of the Shire, 265, 306, 602, 634, 687, 689; of Lords Lieutenant, 603, 636, 689; of Sheriffs, 117, 265, 309, 371, 420, 464, 465, 471, 518, 602, 636, 688.
- Kent, East, Mid, West, number of registered electors in, in 1867, 689; in 1874, *ib.*
- Kent ditch, 752 n., 753.
- Kentish boroughs, 798; parishes, 787; ports, commission to inquire into the state of, A.D. 1566, 511.
- Kent and Sussex, division of, at Lamberhurst, 15.
- Keston, a mistake for Ditton, in Harris and Hasted, 108 n.
- Kinghamford, hundred of, 159, 165.
- King Henry's meadow, in Westwell, possible origin of the name, 389 n.
- Kingsdown, manor of, in Axton hundred, 142.
- Kingsdown, a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; smuggling at, 573.
- Kingsdown, in Sheppy, 147.
- King's ferry in Sheppy, bad state of the road between Milton and, 491.
- Kingsgate, in Thanet, why so named, 559.
- Kingsnorth, murder at, 54; its tenants withdrawn from the hundred court, 136; price of stock at, 209; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232. *See also* p. 713.
- Kingsnorth, East and West, 209 n.; price of wheat, 211.
- Kington, a member of the barony of Chilham, 150, 159; parish of, 799.
- Kipping's Cross, its early owners, 19.
- Knell's Dam, 263.
- Knole, date of the older parts of, 410; the residence of Lord Say, 384; interview between the Kentish yeomen and Archbishop Warham at, 455; Queen Elizabeth at, 493.
- Knolle, in Benenden, 332.
- Knolton plundered by the Parliamentarians, 554.
- Kyngesnod, East and West, in Caleshill, 134, 209 n.
- La Knocke, 128.
- Lamben, or Lambin, the original name of Halden in Rolvenden, 17, 448.
- Lamberhurst, partly in Sussex, 753; early owners of, 15; ironfoundry at, 27; a half fee in, sold to the abbot of Robertsbriidge, 131; right of presentation to the church of, 233; Edward I. at, 255; tokens issued at, 839, 843; Cobbett at, 651. *See also* p. 713.
- Lamberhurst furnace, 581 and n., 730.
- Lambeth, Prince Edward at, 262.
- Lambeth Palace, in the diocese of Canterbury, 821; restored by Boniface of Savoy, 70; attack on, 586 n.; restoration of, by Abp. Wake, 614 and n.
- Lambe farm, in Rolvenden, 17 n.
- Lancaster Great Park, 579.
- Langbridge, hundred of, 136.
- Langdon Abbey, council at, 301; Leyton's account of the abbot, given to Cromwell, 462.
- Langley, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Langley, Bucks, Edward I. at, 214.
- Langley, Herts, Gaveston buried at, 269 n.
- Langport, half-hundred of, 154 and n.

- Langport, lepers' hospital at, 147.
 Larkfield, hundred of, 146, 163.
 Leeds Castle, a possession of William de Leybourne, 247, 248 n.; visit of the earl of Barr, 248; exchanged with the Crown for other lands, 274; part of the dower of Queen Margaret, 257; Bartholomew de Badlesmere made governor, 273; the castle unjustly granted to him, 281; Queen Isabella refused admission, 276; skirmish at the gate, 277; defended by Lady Badlesmere against the king, 279; captured, *ib.*; retained in the hands of the Crown, 284; William of Wickham its warden, *ib.*; Richard II. confined in, 375; Henry VIII. at, 435 and n.; fee-farm rent of £10 charged on, 527 n.; purchased by Sir John Colepeper, 528; converted into a prison by the Parliament, 535 n.; used as a prison in the Dutch war, 597; visited by George III. and the royal family, 624; its present owner, *ib.* n.
 Leeds Priory, manor in the Weald belonging to, 13; its possessions in Staplehurst, 18; lands in Milton hundred given to, 147.
 Leigh, a manor, called also West Leigh, Paul's Leigh, and Leigh Hollanden, 16; its owners, 16, 714.
 Leigh church, why appropriated by the Priory of Tunbridge, 19; given to Cardinal College, Oxford, 434.
 Leigh Park, 743.
 Lenham, the manor of, belonged to St. Augustine's, 132; former deanery of, 820.
 Lenham, East, borough of, 806.
 St. Leonard's forest, Sussex, 27; Crown ironworks in, 299.
 Lesnes, hundred of, 141, 163.
 Lesnes, manor of, part of the dower of Queen Margaret, 257.
 Lesnes marshes, inning of, 511.
 Lewes, battle of, 84; estimates of the number of combatants and their losses, 85 n.; alluded to, 208; the shire court to be kept at, alternately with Chichester, 420.
 Lewisham, assize of bread and beer in, 140; the alien priory of, seized by Edward I., 236; desecration of the church by the Puritans, 589.
 Leybourne, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
 Leybourne Castle, ruins of, 81 n.
 Leysdown, a possession of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 147; Rich. de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
 Leysnes, township of, 141.
 Lights-Notinden, a manor in Tenterden, 19.
 Lilsden, in Hawkhurst, 483.
 Limen. See *Rother*.
 Lincolnshire, its taxation, temp. Edw. III., 342.
 Lingfield, in Surrey, 12 n.
 Linton, dispute about the service in the church of, 507. See also p. 714.
 Linton Place, its owners in the 18th century, 610, 714, 744.
 Littlebourne, parish of, 799.
 Littlelye, hundred of, 141.
 Littleheld, hundred of, 127, 129, 131, 163.
 Littleho, manor of, 141.
 Loddington, hamlet of, 715, 716.
 Lollard's Hole, at Wye, 377 and n.
 Lomewood, in Nettlestead, 581 and n.
 London, the city of, lends money to Louis the Dauphin, 66; joins the party of the Barons, 79; price of wheat at, in the 14th century, 210; the White Bands Parliament in, 272; entry of the Yorkists, 405; entry of Charles II., 557; the great fire of, 581.
 London Bridge damaged by a flood, 246; fight by night on, 385; Cade's head set on, 400; other rebels' heads there, 401.
 Longbeach, a wood in Westwell, proposed as a site for iron works, 486 and n.
 Longport, Canterbury, borough of, 813; mock election of a mayor of, 155; Foreign of, 166; rights of pannage, 743 n.
 Longport, Old, in Lydd, grant of, by Offa, 763.
 Loningborough, hundred of, 151, 165.
 Loose, manor of, seized into the king's hands, 128.
 Lossenham, in Selbrittenenden, 125; outrages at the convent of, 230; the church burnt, *ib.*
 Lowden, or Little Maytham, its owners, 11.
 Lowy of Tunbridge, its situation and extent, 105; perambulations, 106; privileges of the lord and his tenants, 107.
 Luddenham, the parish of, 148.
 Lullingstone, miraculous cure at, 93.
 Lumeffeld, wood of, 241.
 Lydd, parish of, 806; not mentioned in Domesday, 765; the embankment at,

- 301, 337; Thomas Wolsey vicar of, 767 n.; Samuel Fisher lecturer at, 689 and n.; revenue officers in danger at, 574; Dering's droff in, 693 n.
- Lyllington, *See* *Linton*.
- Lymene, the river of (or Rother), 37.
- Lyminge, early church at, 796; manor of, 151, 524; its descent, and present owners, 524; its wood, 151 and n.; nailbourne at, 112; sacrilege at, 53.
- Lyminge Park, 524.
- Lympne, not mentioned in Domesday. 766; its manors, 714; its Castle, 743.
- Lympne, North and South, deaneries of, 821.
- Lyons, a canonry of, long held by the archbishops of Canterbury, 230 n.; Fuller's remark, 231 n.
- Magdalen College, Oxford, its founder, 386 n.
- St. Mahae, the French defeated at, by the Cinque Ports fleet, 220.
- Maidstone, hundred of, 128, 163.
- Maidstone, hospital built at, by Archbishop Boniface, 70; converted into a college, &c.; manor of, seized into the king's hands, 128; early mention of holding assizes at, 245 n.; the Wat Tyler insurgents at, 369; standard weights and measures to be kept, 419; its religious houses suppressed, 463; the manor and rectory granted to Sir Thomas Wyatt, 469; the town disfranchised for taking part in his rebellion, 474; foreign settlers, 480; storming of, by Fairfax, 545; tokens issued at, 839, 844; the gaol at, built, 618; crown debtors at, released by Geo. III., 629; holding of assizes at, 643 n.; an assize town only since the Restoration, 819. *See* also p. 715.
- Maidstone, Archbishop's prison at, 33.
- Maidstone archdeaconry founded, 821.
- Maidstone, early church at, 796, 797; a sanctuary, 42; the living held by John Maunsel, 139 n.
- Maisons Dieu, at Dover and Ospringe, exempted from taxation on the ground of poverty, temp. Edw. II., 301.
- Maldon, convent founded at, by Richard de Gravesend, 114.
- Malling, market place of, 129.
- Malling Abbey, Bishop Gundulph's gift to, 816.
- Malling, North and South, deaneries of, 822.
- Malling, West, Foreign of, 166.
- Malling, Sussex, an archiepiscopal mansion, 232.
- Malmains, its former and present owners, 118 and n.
- Maplescaumpe, peculiar service of the manor of, 142.
- Marden, hundred of, 132, 164 and n.; disorders there, 241; an appendage to Milton, 16; the church, 6; manors, 16; timber from the wood of, 3; timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202; grant of a market to, 246; incumbents of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; the church appropriated to Cardinal's College, Oxford, 434; the manor granted by James I. to Sir Henry Brown, 524; present owner, &c.; records of its Hundred Court, 778. *See* also p. 715.
- Marden and Hollingbourne, suit for lands in, 63.
- Maresfield, in Sussex, 579.
- St. Margaret, borough of, 161.
- Margate, a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; O'Connor and others arrested at, 626.
- St. Martin, hundred of, 153 and n., 165.
- St. Martin, Ivychurch, 295 n.
- St. Mary, in Romney Marsh, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
- Mascula, a manor in Brencchley, 12.
- Mayfield, Edward I. at, 255.
- Maytham, trade in firewood, 336.
- Maytham Creek, 253.
- Maytham, East, ancient vessel discovered at, 653.
- Maytham, Great, its owners, 11.
- Maytham Hall, not on its original site, 11.
- Maytham, Little, its owners, 11.
- Medersham, Sussex, 134.
- Medway, fishery in the, dispute about, 109; plans for improving the navigation, 661.
- Mekelande, land in, held by St. Katherine's hospital, London, 147.
- Melbourne, Victoria, a Carlton fund in, 424.
- Meopham, manor of, 143; Richard de Tenebridge's lands in, 108.
- Merdenne, in Smerdenne, 134.
- Mereworth, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108. *See* also pp. 715, 743.
- Mersham, manor of, 136; illegally seized, 137; the church, a sanctuary, 52; incumbent of, temp. Edw. I., 232. *See* also p. 716.
- Mersham Hatch, 746.

Merham Park, appendant to Aldington, 523.
Merton, in Patricbourne, manor of, 159 and *n*.
Methven, battle of, 263.
Michelham Priory, in Sussex, 12.
Mid Kent, a modern Parliamentary division, 686; parochial division, 847.
Middleton. See *Milton*.
Midley, its church mentioned in Domesday, 763.
Milbroke, a manor in Chiddingstone, 12.
Mile End, Crowmer, the sheriff of Kent, beheaded at, 385.
Milkhouse Street, Edward I. at, 258.
Milton, hundred of, 146; its extent, 147; granted to John de Burgh for life, *ib.*; its jurisdiction over Marden, 376; its great extent, 809; its peculiar condition, 810.
Milton, near Canterbury, 811.
Milton, near Gravesend, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; fort erected at, by Henry VIII., 438; formerly an assize town, 820.
Milton next Sittingbourne, miraculous cure at, 92; a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; Wyatt's proclamation published at, 471; present owner of the manor, 524.
Milton and King's Ferry, in Sheppey, bad state of the road between, 491.
Mincing Court, or Minikins Court, in Shadoxhurst, 17.
Minster in Thanet, early church at, 797; its owner, 158; exactions in, 162.
Moatlands, a manor in Hadlow, 14.
Monday Boys, a detached portion of Little Chart, 508.
Mongeham, borough of, 161.
Monkton, its owner, 158; its tenants withdrawn from the hundred, 162.
Monmouth Castle, 222.
Moorhouse, in Hawkhurst, 478, 500.
Morgien, a manor in Tenterden, 19.
Mortimer's Cross, battle of, 405.
Mote, the, portraits of the Wyatts at, 474 *n*.; review at, 628 and *n*.
Mothingbery, in Marden, 133.
Motinden, or Modindene Priory, 14; foundation of, 416 and *n*.; fanciful derivation of the name, *ib.* *n*.; its miracle plays, 417 *n*.; suppressed, 417, 463.
Mottingham, a possession of Avicia de Aul, 140.
Nacoolt tile-kilns, their great antiquity, 211,

Naah, borough of, 806.
Natindene, or Natindone, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108; tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 154.
Nettlestead, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108. See also p. 716.
Newchurch, hundred of, 138, 165, 763.
Newenden, a manor, 10 and *n*.; house of Carmelite friars in, 16; Castle Toll, *ib.*; ancient font in the church, 16; withdrawn from the hundred, 125; held by Richard de Walays, 133; Foreign of, 166; wrongly said to be in Sussex, 240; claim of Richard le Waleyse, 241; withdrawal from the hundred, *ib.*; Edward I. at, 257; trade in firewood, 336; Parliamentary Survey, 555. See also p. 716.
Newgate, its early existence as a prison, 56 and *n*.; smugglers rescued from, 622.
Newington by Sittingbourne, old Customal of, 5, 6; how distinguished from Newington next Hythe, 227 *n*.; the church appropriated to Cardinal's College, Oxford, 434.
Newington next Hythe, mentioned in Domesday, 763; a possession of Hubert de Burgh, 71 *n*.
Newstede, in Staplehurst, its owners, 18.
Nicole, for Lincoln, in early documents, 258 and *n*.
Nore, mutiny at the, 625.
Norfolk, its taxation, temp. Edw. III., 342.
North, a borough of Cranbrook, 230.
Northampton, Parliament at, 267; battle of, 405, 427.
Northamptonshire, iron ore from, 680.
Northbourne, manor of, 161; exactions in, 162; pariah of, 800.
Northene, borough of, 154.
Northfleet, a possession of the Hever family, 15; Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
North Frith, park of, near Tunbridge, 429; granted to Sir Edward Guldeford, 451; afterwards to Lord Hunsdon, 432, 478.
Northiam, Queen Elizabeth at, 494.
Northwade, lands in, given by King Richard to the lepers of Langport, 147.
Norton, a living held by Laud, 591, 847.
Norwich, its clothing trade, 325.
Offham, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.

- Offham Wood, tithe suits regarding, 609, 610.
 Old Hay, in Mereworth, 716.
 Old Surrenden, in Bethereden, 415 n.
 Omenden, Omendenneshoke, in Cranbrook, 332 and n.
 Ore, half a church at, mentioned in Domesday, 764 n.; Templars' lands in, 291.
 Orgarswick, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
 Orlestone, two churches at, mentioned in Domesday, 763; owners of the manor, 717; this never belonged to the Church, 801 n.
 Orpington, the manor of, illegally seized, 141; Queen Elizabeth entertained at, 493.
 Osmundesheye, a possession of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 147.
 Ospringe, nailbourne at, 112; the Foreign of, 166.
 Ospringe, the manor of, granted to Hubert de Burgh, 71; held by Queen Eleanor, 127; part of the dower of Queen Margaret, 257; hence called Queen's Court, *ib.*; the Maison Dieu at, founded by Henry III., 14 and n., 132, 150, 162, 212; Edward, Prince of Wales, writes letters from thence, 262.
 Ospringe, deanery of, 821.
 Oterford, woods and fish ponds at, 128.
 Otford, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; charge against the bailiff at, 142; extortions of the escheator, *ib.*; Henry VIII. at, 435 and n.
 Otford Weald, a deme in Penshurst, 17.
 Otham, the living of, given to a Presbyterian, 589.
 Otterden, the seat of Sir Anthony Aucher, 524.
 Otterpole, its holder, t. Edw. I., 138.
 Ovely, or Owlve, its early owners, 20.
 Ovenhelle, in Boxley, 128.
 Oving Wood, tithe suits concerning, 609, 610.
 Oxenhoath, tenure of the manor of, 190, 718; the two parks, 743; annexed to West Peckham, 801.
 Oxford, the Mad Parliament at, 76 and n.; the Barons meet there, 79; captured by the King, and the scholars expelled, 80.
 Oxney ferry, 427 and n.
 Oxney, hundred of, 139, 165, 763; found bound to repair and maintain a bridge, 240.
 Oxney, Isle of, 13.
 Paddlesworth, chapel of, 524.
 Paddock Wood, in Brenchley, 4.
 Palatinate, emigration of English cloth-workers to the, 568.
 Palstre, or Palstrei, a manor in the Isle of Oxney, 20; its church, 20, 763.
 Panthurst Park, 743.
 Parrock Croft, in Chiddingstone, 4 n.
 Patribourne, its holders, 158; the alien priory at, seized by Edward I., 236.
 Pattenden, in Goudhurst, 13; prison at, 241.
 St. Paul's cathedral burnt, 581; rebuilding of, *ib.*; the iron balustrades and gates, *ib.*
 Paul's Leigh, its owners, 16, 714.
 Peasridge, Upper, a manor belonging to the Badlesmeres, 13.
 Peckham, early owners of, 14.
 Peckham, East, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108. See also p. 718.
 Peckham, Up and West, manor of, its tenure, 130.
 Peckham, West, parish of, how formed, 801; belonged to Leofwine, 718; yearly value of the living, 50.
 Pembury, manors in, 16.
 Pencestre, Penocheater. See Penshurst.
 Penenden, the pasture of, interfered with, by the abbot of Boxley, 128.
 Penenden Heath, the county court not always held at, 120; county meeting at, in 1828, 654.
 Penahurst, its early owners, 17; denes in, *ib.*; the Oak in, *ib.* n., 517; survey of, A.D. 1521, 429; tokens issued at, 840; its scenery, 718; the park, 743.
 Penahurst Halymote, its holders, 17.
 Pepingbury, the church appropriated to Cardinal College, Oxford, 434.
 Pepingstrow, in Offham, 355.
 Petham, hundred of, 159, 165, 800.
 Petham, parish of, how formed, 805.
 Pettehurst, a deme of Marden, 132.
 Pevensey, agreement of the men of, with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 449.
 Philipotts, a manor in Leigh, 16, 19.
 Philpot's cross, in Hawkhurst, 499 n.
 Pilkindone, withdrawn from the hundred, 42.
 Pilgrims' lane, its course, 640, 647 n.; not the correct northern boundary of the Weald, 647; in some cases adopted by consent, *ib.*
 Pipsden's cross, in Hawkhurst, 499.
 Pitlesden, a manor in Tentarden, 19; the manor house of, 259.

- Plaxtol, severance of, from Wrotham, 812 *n*.
- Pluckley, Lambard's notice of, 366; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; token issued at, 840. See also p. 719.
- Plumstead, manor of, 141; inclosure of the great marsh at, 246 and *n*.; further innings, 511.
- Plurenden, a dene of Wye, 20.
- Plurinden, in Woodchurch, 26.
- Poitiers, battle of, 340.
- Pomfret, or Pontefract Castle, records deposited in, 298; Richard II. said to be murdered at, 375 and *n*.
- Pontis Edulmi. See *Edenbridge*.
- Poole custom-house, broken open by smugglers, 620.
- Porchester Castle, the bishop of Glasgow imprisoned in, 264.
- Portledge, or Port-Lynche, 775 *n*.
- Portsmouth burnt by the Cinque Ports fleet, temp. Henry III., 97 *n*.
- Portsmouth and Yarmouth, battle between the ships of, 226.
- Postern, a park near Tunbridge, 429.
- Postling and its members, 152; various holders, *ib*.
- Pountney, hundred of, 165.
- Preston, hundred of, 158 and *n*., 165.
- Preston near Faversham, early church at, 796.
- Preston next Wingham, the manor-house of, 318.
- Prigles, in Pembury, a possession of the abbey of Robertbridge, 16.
- Promhill, destruction of, 250.
- Pykindenne, a dene in Marden, 132.
- Quarry Hills, the northern boundary of the Weald, 85.
- Queenborough, Jews drowned near, 219; a staple town, 329; a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512.
- Queenborough Castle rebuilt by Edward III., 329 *n*.; defended against Jack Cade, 386; destroyed by the Parliamentarians, 557.
- Queen's Court, Ospringe, 257.
- St. Radegund's, Dover, Edward I. at, 255, 257.
- Radmersham. See *Rodmersham*.
- Ramhurst, in Bidborough, 12.
- Ramsgate, a common road stopped at, 162; a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; its high constable, 808 *n*.
- Reculver, once a hundred, 157; early church at, 797; exactions in, 162; a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512.
- Rede, manor of, in Marden, 373.
- Red Hills, the, as the boundary of the Weald, 85, 640, 641.
- Redleaf, in Penshurst, survey of, A.D. 1521, 429.
- Renham, in Chelesherste, 147.
- Rethyng, trade in firewood, as a cloak for smuggling, 336.
- Rhode, borough of, 800, 801.
- Ridley, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Ringslow, hundred of, 162, 165.
- Ripple Court, in Westwell, its owners, 388.
- Ripton (or Ripentone), in Ashford, the seat of William de Valoignes, 118, 807.
- Ripton, Great and Little, park made at, 554; why disparked, 555 and *n*.
- Riverhead, in Sevenoaks, 631, 801.
- Robertbridge, convent of, 16; grant of Henry III. to the abbot of, 36; ravage committed at, by the royal troops, 84; cannon foundry at, 492.
- Rochester, city of, 144; why held by the King, 145; rated as a hundred, *ib*.; privileges, *ib*.; prison at, 32; price of wheat in the 14th century, 210; Cade sends his plunder to, 386; remains loyal during Wyatt's rebellion, 469 and *n*.; the port a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; Queen Elizabeth at, 496; the Crown Inn, *ib*.; Satis, 497; assembly of the Royalists at, in 1648, 540; reception of Charles II., 556; flight of James II. from, 565; formerly an assize town, 820.
- Rochester Bridge carried away by a flood, 246; broken down, on fear of an invasion, 364; rebuilt, *ib*.; remission of sins to contributors to its repair, 415 *n*.; gift of railings by Archbishop Warham, 445; act for its maintenance and repair, 511.
- Rochester Castle, Hubert de Burgh its governor, 71 and *n*.; its foreign governor displaced, 76 *n*.; besieged by the Barons, 80; relieved by Henry III., 81, 82; the earl of Strathearn imprisoned in, 264; rebels confined there, 280; the queen of Robert Bruce and other Scottish prisoners, 300; a bondsman imprisoned in, by Sir Simon Burley, 354; released by the Wat Tyler insurgents, 360; Wyatt's head-quarters, 469.
- Rochester Cathedral, desecration of, by the Barons, 82.

- Rochester, deanery of, 822.
 Rochester and St. Albans, archdeaconry of, 822.
 Rodmersham (or Radmersham), land in, sold to the Hospitallers, 147 and *n.*; Templars' lands in, 291.
 Rokealey. See *Ruxley*.
 Rolvenden hundred, 125, 164; found bound to repair and maintain a bridge, 240; its manors, 17; timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202; the church, a sanctuary, 36; token issued at, 841; Cobbett at, 652. See also *p.* 719.
 Rolvynden, dane of, concession to the tenants, 426.
 Romden in Smarden, its early owners, 18.
 Romney, mentioned in Domesday, 763; royal admonition to the barons and bailiffs of, 74; the countess of Leicester at, 96; hospital for lepers at, 64; an alien priory founded at, by John Maunsel, 102; this seized by Edward I., 236; visit of Edward I. to, 255 and *n.*
 Romney, New, rise of, 766; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 233; Cobbett at, 846.
 Romney, Old, Cobbett at, 845.
 Romney Marsh, never a part of Andred or any other forest, 759; embankment of, ascribed to the Romans, 250; its hundreds and lordships, temp. Edw. II., 295; decay of, temp. Hen. VIII., 450; smuggling in, 567, 572, 574 and *n.*; church building and population in, 768, 846.
 Rosamond's Tower, Westenhanger, 496.
 Rother, course of the, changed by a great storm, 250, 761; remarks by Mr. James Elliott, 251, 761; its old bed the original county boundary, 752.
 Rothwell, common lands of, 691, *n.*
 Rotting, in Pluckley, its tenure, 719.
 Rotinge, in Calehill hundred, 134.
 Roydon Hall tithe suits, 609.
 Ruckinge, mentioned in Domesday, 763; tithe suit at, 719, 720.
 Rudlow, borough of, exempt from the jurisdiction of Ashford, 135, 807 *n.*
 Ruffin's Hill, in Aldington, 523.
 Rugmerhill, borough of, in Brenehley, 15, 131, 705, 802.
 Rusthall, in Tunbridge, a resort of the Puritans, 725.
 Ruxley, hundred of, 141, 163.
 Ruxley, parish of, its union with North Cray, 268 *n.*
 Ryarsh, manor of, 146.
 Rydlingwalle, a member of the barony of Chilham, 150.
 Rye, etymology of, 35; its church a sanctuary, 36, 50; royal admonition to the barons and bailiffs of, 74; obtained by exchange from the abbot of Fecamp, 98; Tenterden joined to, 402; Queen Elizabeth's visit to, 494; landing of Royalists at, 533; means taken to intercept them when crossing the Medway, *ib.* and *n.*; gavelkind in, 756 and *n.*
 Rypes, the, at Lydd, 35.
 Rysedanne, its owner, 17.
 Salehurst once accessible from the sea, 253.
 Salisbury, part of Cade's body sent to, 400; Henry, duke of Buckingham, beheaded at, 427.
 Saltwood, extortion and waste at, by an escheator, 152.
 Saltwood Castle, Lollards confined in, 377; partly destroyed by an earthquake, 513.
 Sandgate, Queen Elizabeth at, 496.
 Sandhurst, manors in, 17; token issued at, 841. See also *p.* 720.
 Sandown Castle captured by the Royalists, 540; retaken by the Parliamentarians, 552.
 Sandpett, borough of, 806.
 Sandwich, the most important Kentish port, temp. Hen. III., 111; burnt by Louis the Dauphin, 66; grant in compensation from Henry III., *ib.* *n.*; royal admonition to the barons and bailiffs of, 74; the burgesses of, visit the countess of Leicester at Dover Castle, 96; illegal exportation of wool from, 156; probably once a hundred, 162; its privileges, *ib.* *n.*; its flourishing state, temp. Edw. I., 163; his landing there, 226; the mayor and jurats of, made guardians of infants in the Cinque Ports, 254; the appointed port for the export of wools, &c., 328; a staple town, 329; landing of the Black Prince and King John of France at, 343 and *n.*; sacked by the French, 404; Lord Rivers seized at, by the Yorkists, *ib.*; Queen Elizabeth at, 496; state of the port, A.D. 1565, 511; its members, 512; foreign settlers, 480 and *n.*, 848; earthquake at, 513; visited by the Kentish royalists, 539; a pretended Prince of Wales at, *ib.* *n.*
 Sandwich, deanery of, 821.

- Satis, Mr. Watts's house at Rochester, why so styled, 497.
- Savoy, Palace of the, the residence of King John of France, 344; dies there, 345; burnt by the Wat Tyler rebels, 362.
- Saxenhurst, now Sissinghurst, 13.
- Sayes Court, Deptford, 596 and *n*.
- Scarborough Castle, Gaveston captured at, 269.
- Schorham (Shoreham), 7.
- Scintlinge, the fee of, 141.
- Sootland, contest for the crown of, 223; Balliol made prisoner, *ib.*; the Soots again take arms, 226; siege of Caerlaverock, *ib.*; the cloth trade of, 606.
- Sootney, in Lamberhurst, 16.
- Sootney Castle, 524, 745.
- Soot's Float, effect of the sluice erected at, 254.
- Scott's Hall, Smeeth, 746 and *n.*; appendant to Aldington, 523; arms at, seized by the Royalists, 538.
- Soray, lath of, 164; parishes severed by the, 797 *n*.
- Seaford, agreement of the men of, with the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, 449.
- Seale, tenure of the manor of, 181; granted to Lord Hunsdon, 478.
- Seasalter, Foreign of, 166.
- Seaton, in Boughton Aluph, singular tenure by which held, 181.
- Sebrocke, the mill at, 426.
- Selbritten, hundred of, 126, 164.
- Selling church, armorial glass in the east window of, 315.
- Sellings, not mentioned in Domesday, 765; its vicar witness to a miraculous cure, 92; its owners, 138.
- Sendenne, a deme of Marden, 132.
- Seven Hundreds of the Weald, number of manors in the, in the 13th century, 10; farmed out, 119, 239; Plea Rolls relating to the, 41; held by Roger de Leybourne, temp. Hen. III., 81 *n.*, 121, 239; the Hundred Roll, 121; Parliamentary Survey, 545; probably then enjoyed a separate civil jurisdiction, *ib. n*.
- Sevenoaks, formation of the parish of, 801; murder of a brother at, 46; the manor granted to Lord Hunsdon, 478; Royalist rising at, 533; formerly an assize town, 820; tokens issued at, 841. See also p. 720.
- Sevenoaks Weald, 801.
- Shadoxhurst, manors in, 17, 721; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 233.
- Shalmesford, borough of, 150.
- Shalmesford mill, 209 *n*.
- Shameles, hundred of, 143, 163; given to the Templars, *ib.*, 291.
- Sharnden, in Edenbridge, 12, 13.
- Sharpness, wool from, 209; oysters from, 213.
- Sheerness, the fort of, destroyed by the Dutch, 558; the ville of, 813 and *n*.
- Sheldwich, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108.
- Shellness, James II., seized at, 562.
- Shelve, encroachment on the highway at, 54 and *n*.
- Sheppey, petition from, 504; encroachments of the sea, 755.
- Sherwinhope, lath of, 164 *n*.
- Shippbourne, or Shippbourne Puttenden, its tenure, 17; its early owners, *ib.*; suit about lands in, 59; township of, 129. See also p. 721.
- Shipway, lath of, 164.
- Shipway, directions for holding the Court at, 74.
- Shipway Cross in Lympne, 99; oaths taken at, 99 and *n*.
- Shirley Moor, its extent and character, 505 *n*.
- Shoarte, borough of, 800.
- Shoreham, deanery of, 822.
- Shorncliffe, camp at, 638.
- Shorne, manor of, 143; its tenure, 181.
- Shotyndon, murder in, 245.
- Shoywell hundred, in Sussex, 753 *n*.
- Shuppeweys, bailiwick of, 152.
- Siftherst, a manor in Marden, 16.
- Sissinghurst, foundation of a chapel at, 13; Edward I. probably at, 255; Queen Elizabeth at, 495; present made to her, *ib.*; the park, 743.
- Sissinghurst Castle used as a prison, 611.
- Sissinghurst Castle farm, 668 and *n*.
- Sittingbourne, land in, sold to the nuns of Clerkenwell, 147; fruit culture at, 515; grant of a charter to, by Elizabeth, 496 and *n*.
- Sittingbourne, deanery of, 821, 822.
- Skelcrouch, in Hawkhurst, 499 *n*.
- Slaughterhouse Meadows, 610.
- Slindon, an archiepiscopal mansion in Sussex, 15, 67, 231, 232; Archbishop Langton dies there, 15, 67.
- Slogham, charcoal burning at, 335.
- Sluya, Edward I. at, 226.
- Smallhythe, once a haven, 338; its port destroyed, *ib.*
- Smarden, rival claims to jurisdiction over, 18; Edward I. at, 265; the church

- a sanctuary, 33; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 232; complaint against the rector of, A.D. 1640, 687; token issued at, 841. See also p. 721.
- Smeeth, living of, formerly united to Aldington, 442 n., 806.
- Smithditch, borough of, 40.
- Smoghele, a dene of Marden, 132.
- Snargate, Cobbett at, 845.
- Snaue, not mentioned in Domesday, 765.
- Snoddenne, in Calehill, 134.
- Socumbe, obstruction of a path in, 245.
- Somerden, hundred of, 127, 163.
- Somerfield, in Sellindge, 746 and n.
- Somerhill, in Tunbridge, the residence of the bailiff of the South Frith, 19; house built by Lord Clanricarde, 520; granted to the earl of Essex, 521; subsequent history, and present owner, *ib.*
- South, Foreign of, 166.
- Southampton, ravages of the French at, 342.
- Southborough in Tunbridge, a resort of the Cavaliers, 725.
- Southfleet, Richard de Tonebridge's land in, 108.
- South Frith, the chase of the earls of Gloucester, 19; descent of the manor and forest of, 348; the park granted to Dudley, earl of Leicester, 432; vested in Frances, countess of Essex, *ib.*
- Southwark, occupied by Jack Cade, 386.
- Speldhurst, its early owners, 18; suspected murder at, 43; token issued at, 841. See also p. 722.
- Spillsill, in Staplehurst, its owners, 18.
- Spit's Wall, 263.
- Spood Lane, in Cowden, 487, 577.
- Stallisfield, manor of, 149; Templars' lands in, 291.
- Stanford, manor of, 151; its chapel, 524; the parish severed by the Stone Street, 805.
- Staplegate, borough of, 813.
- Staplehurst, its early owners, 18; suit for lands in, 62; incumbent of the church of, temp. Edw. I., 233; the manor forfeited by Sir Henry Ialey, and given to Sir John Baker, 474 n.; dispute between the parishioners of, and their rector, 593; the church damaged by a storm, 596 and n.; token issued at, 844. See also p. 722.
- Starndenne, a dene of Marden, 134.
- Stellingne, manor of, the tenants withdrawn from the hundred, 151; privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108; extra-parochial district in, 805.
- St. Stephen, Canterbury, 800.
- Stirling, Warrenne, earl of Surrey, defeated at, 226.
- Stodmarsh, illegal inclosure in, 157.
- Stokebery, the tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 128.
- Stonar, abode of Edward III. at, 345.
- Stone, Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108.
- Stone, a manor in Cranbrook, 13.
- Stone in Oxney, ruins at, 18; not named in Domesday, 765; Roman altar found at, 723.
- Stone Bridge, near Gravesend, 543.
- Stone Street road, the, forms a parish boundary, 804. See also *Cæsar's Road*.
- Stonlake, tenants of, withdrawn from the county court, 127.
- Stour, act for deepening and widening the river, 509.
- Stowting, hundred of, 151, 164.
- Stowting, early church at, 797.
- Street, hundred of, 137, 165.
- Street, borough of, 806.
- Street, a parish and hundred in Sussex, 138 n.
- Strengelande, woodland called the, 451.
- Strood, manor of, given to the Templars, 143; their lands there, 291.
- Stubbins, a manor in Marden, its owners, 16.
- Sturry, early church at, 797.
- Stutfall, 743.
- Subturnesnod, wood of, 139.
- Sudtone. See *Sutton*.
- Suffolk, ravages of the insurgents in, 355 and n.
- Sundridge, a manor forfeited by Sir Henry Ialey, 474 n.; title of Baron given by, to the Argyle family, 630; Bishop Porteus buried in the churchyard, 617 n. See also p. 723.
- Surrenden, Old, its owners, 11; purchased by Archbishop Kempe, 415 n.
- Surrenden Dering plundered by the Parliamentarians, 554.
- Surrey, iron forges in, 487.
- Surrey and Sussex, only one sheriffdom until the reign of Elizabeth, 300.
- Sussex, the people of, generally opposed to Henry III., 84 n.; the cloth trade established, 325; nobles among the ironmasters of, 487; destruction of timber in, 579; customs of, as to descent, 756.
- Sussex Weald, the great seat of the iron manufacture, 486.

- Sussex and Kentish ironworks, 579.
 Sutherland, a dene of Marden, 132.
 Sutton at Hone lath, 163.
 Sutton at Hone, manor of, 142; Edward Prince of Wales at, 262; Templars' lands in, 291.
 Sutton Castle, history of, 85; possessed by Simon de Montfort, 86; the park, 743.
 Sutton Church damaged by an earthquake, 513.
 Sutton, East, murder at, 54; plundered by the Parliamentarians, 554. See also p. 723.
 Sutton Valence, why so called, 87; the marriage portion of the Princess Eleanor, 132; early presentment against the people of, 723; Lamb's grammar school and almshouses at, 482.
 Sutton, deanery of, 821, 822.
 Swaneschamp [Swanscombe], a man hung there, and cut down alive, 142, 143; R. de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; W. de Monchensi's lands in, 143.
 Swingfield, Templars' lands in, 291.
 Talebot, barony of, in Swanscombe, 143.
 Tarbledown, in Framfield, an archiepiscopal mansion in Sussex, 232.
 Tattingbury, in Capel, a possession of the priory of Tunbridge, 12.
 Teldenne, timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202.
 Tenterden, hundred of, 126, 164; its manors, 19; timber wrongfully taken by tenants in, 202; formed into a borough, 10; affray at, 34; suit for lands in, 64; encroachment on the High Street of, 240; the clothing trade established, 325; annexed to Rye, 402; visit of Henry VIII. to, 438; the beacon at, 499; refractory people at, 850; lessees of the rectory, 556; the Court Hall burnt, 596; George Fox, the Quaker, at, 676; tokens issued at, 842; Cobbett at, 652. See also p. 724.
 Tenterden tithe suit, its expensive character, 648.
 Terston, manor of, 130.
 Tewkesbury, the earl of Gloucester buried at, 222.
 Teynham, hundred of, 148, 160, 164; the cherry garden and apple orchard of Kent, 514.
 Teynham, archiepiscopal manor house at, 15.
 Thanet, miraculous cures in, 92.
 Thanington, hospital of St. Jacob at, 17, 147 and n., 261 n.; suicide of Sir James Hales at, 468; supposed scene of Gray's Country Churchyard, 630.
 Thevegate, appendant to Aldington, 523.
 Thorney, price of oysters at, 213.
 Thorncroft manor, Leatherhead, service due from the King to, 679 n.
 Thorough-hall lane, Canterbury, 571.
 Throwley, an alien priory, seized by Edward I., 236.
 Ticheteste [Tickenherst], borough of, 800.
 Tiffenden in Halden, a manor, 10; its owners, 15.
 Tilbury, Queen Elizabeth at, 500.
 Tildens, a manor in Marden, 16.
 Tillingham, sea-breach at, 451.
 Tinton, in Warehorne, its state at the Domesday survey, 677; had then a church, 763; the devise to the Queen, 678.
 Tokyngehamme, murder committed in the borough of, 245.
 Toltintrough, hundred of, 143, 163.
 Tong, church of, mentioned in Domesday, 810.
 Totlingbery, early owners of, 14.
 Tower of London, Hubert de Burgh its governor, 67, 71; the grand master of the Templars dies there, 291; Lady Badlesmere imprisoned in the, 279.
 Town, borough of, 801, 806.
 Townland, or Woodchurch, 20.
 Towton, battle of, 405.
 Tramstone, in Worth hundred, 152.
 Trendley Park, considered by Hasted the first enclosed in England, 153; a common way through, illegally closed, 157.
 Trevesworth, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108.
 Tribur, council of, 740 and n.
 Trimworth, privileges claimed for De Clare's tenants in, 108.
 Trottescliffe, early church at, 796.
 Tudely, 12; patronage of the church of, 19; manors in, *ib.*; Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108; the church appropriated to Cardinal's College, Oxford, 434. See also p. 724.
 Tunbridge, timber from the forest of, 2.
 Tunbridge, formation of the parish, 801; peculiar services in the archbishop's manor of, 6; its other manors, 20; the Foreign, 166; the hundred, 164; the Lowy, 56, 105; the town of, burnt, 83; price of oats at, in the 14th century, 210; sends two burgesses to Parliament, 248; grant of murage and pavage, 296; Templars' lands in, 291; numerous forests and parks, 743; sur

- vey of, A.D. 1521, 428; granted to the earl of Warwick, 431; to Cardinal Pole, 432; the manor, castle, and demesne lands granted to Lord Hunsdon, 431, 478; a woman burnt at, for poisoning her husband, 512; tokens issued at, 842; early stage coach to, 583. See also p. 724.
- Tunbridge Castle described, 105; dispute concerning it and the town between Hubert de Burgh and Archbishop Wethershed, 68; taken by Henry III., 83; second siege, 117; put into the hands of Richard, King of the Romans, 112; men fined for serving at the siege of, 134, 149, 150, 151, 158, 159, 161; seized by Edward I., 222; his son Prince Edward resides there, 223, 224, 298; vested in Hugh de Audley, junior, 295; forfeited by him, 296, 314; ordered to be demolished, 314; this not done, *ib.* and *n.*; its custody during minority claimed by the archbishops, 365; confirmed to them by Richard II., 366; granted to Lord Hunsdon, 432, 478; its present owner, 520.
- Tunbridge Priory, 12; burnt, 19; question of suppression, and devoting the revenues to education, 432, 433; grant of, to Wolsey, 434; forfeited by his attainder, *ib.*; the site granted to Sir Henry Sidney, 434; suppressed, 463.
- Tunbridge Wells, as described by Lord Macaulay, 597.
- Tunlonde, the half fee of, unjustly seized, 123.
- Tunstall, franchises in, claimed by Stephen de Pencestre, 147; belonged to Henry de Cobham, sen., temp. Edw. II., 294; the manor owned by William Crowmer, 385 *n.*; treasure trove at, 618; the rectory of, given to the see of Canterbury by Hubert de Burgh, 71 *n.*
- Tunstall Green, Mr. Edward Hales' house at, 537; the Royalist rising begins there, *ib.*
- Tutbury Castle, records deposited in, 298.
- Twisden, a manor in Sandhurst, 17.
- Twisden (or Twysenden), in Goudhurst, 13.
- Twyford, hundred of, 130, 163.
- Udimore, Edward I. at, 224 and *n.*; issues from thence a promise to redress all grievances, 224.
- Ulcumb, a possession of the St. Legers, 725; bell foundry at, 595.
- Upchurch, wool from, 209.
- Upnor Castle, assailed by the Dutch fleet, 558.
- Venella at Canterbury, explained, 571 *n.*
- Wachlestone, or Wackelstane, hundred of, 164; not included in the Hundred Roll, 118, 119; alluded to, 127, 129, 131.
- Wadenhall, in Stowting hundred, 151.
- Wainway Creek, or Watering, 252, 752.
- Wakefield, battle of, 405.
- Waland Marsh, 251, 752.
- Wallinghurst, a manor belonging to the abbey of Faversham, 13.
- Walmer Castle captured by the Royalists, 540; retaken by the Parliamentarians, 552.
- Waltham, parish of, how formed, 805; Templars' lands in, 291 and *n.*
- Waltham, Aahenfield in, 78.
- Waltham Cross, its builder, 247 *n.*
- Wandeshese, a deme in Marden, 132.
- Wantage, two churches in one churchyard formerly at, 764 *n.*
- Warden, encroachment of the sea at, 755.
- Warehorne, mentioned in Domesday, 763; the residence of Hugh de Windsor, 70 *n.* See also p. 726.
- Warlaund, lands of, 141.
- Waterdown Forest, 15.
- Wateringbury, granted to Odo, bishop of Baieux, 726; tithes suits in, 609, 610, 726; the dumb boraholder, 785 *n.*; token issued at, 842.
- Watling Street, the, 810.
- Waystrode, a manor in Cowden, 13.
- Weald, how brought into pasture and tillage, 3; denes, *ib.*; mode of holding, 4; the paroc, *ib.*; customs and services, 5; manors, 8; escheats and forfeitures, 9, 32 *n.*; earliest owners, 11; churches, 21, 808; formation of parishes, 22, 801; cultivation, marl, 24; iron works, 27; Plea Rolls, 30; ravaged by Henry III., 84; its soft tracks welcome to barefooted pilgrims, 85; feudalism little known, 120; disputes as to the ownership of the timber, 197; altered course of the Rother, 251; journeys of Edward I. in the, 255; guides required, 256; visit of Edward II. to, 286; the iron works, 299; introduction of the wool manufacture, 326; charcoal burning, 334; drainage and reclamation of land, 337; residents engaged in the Wat Tyler insurrection, 361,

363; sheriffs in the 14th century, 371; concerned in Jack Cade's rebellion, 400; threatened rising, temp. Hen. VIII., 455; resident families, 458; sympathy with the Reformation, *ib.*; the broad cloth manufacture, 479; the iron works, 483; iron ordnance, 484, 489; the district gains commercial importance, 489; this retarded by the deplorable state of the roads, *ib.*; Queen Elizabeth's visit, 494; Lord Burleigh's description of the country, *ib.*; sympathy with the Puritans, 533; Parliamentary survey of the Crown lands, 555; visited by George Fox, 676; the clothiers, 567; leading manufacturing parishes, 570; wool smuggling, 573; the iron works, 575; roads in the 17th century, 583; state of the Church, 585; complaints against the clergy, 586; rise of Tunbridge Wells, 597; decay of the woollen and iron trades, 606, 607; altered tenure of the land, 608; question of boundary, 609, 638; influence of Dissent, 616, 675; smuggling, 618; the Hawkhurst gang, 619; great storm, A.D. 1763, 623; the Tithe Act, 648; Cobbett in the Weald, 650; ancient wreck in the Rother, 653; improvements in agriculture, 656; drainage, 657; Turnpike Acts, 659; state of the cross roads, *ib.*; proposed canal, 662; railways, *ib.*; state of the inhabitants, 664; belief in witchcraft, *ib.*; dwellings of the poor, 665; pauperism, 666; how dealt with, at Ashford, and at Cranbrook, 667, 668; the clergy and their churches at the present day, 674; education, 675; Mr. Neild's devise to the Queen, 677; search for coal, 682; summary of the preceding History, 690; boundary, 698; lists of denes, 702, 823; opinions of modern writers, 730; Mr. Kemble and the Mark theory, 731; Mr. Morgan, 734; Rev. Isaac Taylor, 735; Mr. Elton, *ib.*; Mr. Topley, 736; manors and parishes, 739; forest rights near Canterbury, 742; ancient castles and parks, 743; principal modern landowners, 744; possessions of the Church, 746; changes in the district, *ib.*; colony of artists, 747; tradesmen's tokens, 748, 837; incumbents and patrons of churches, 833.

Wealds of Kent and Sussex, marked

difference between the, 3; ravaged by the troops of Henry III., 84.
West, a borough in Cranbrook, murder committed at, 230.
Westbere, deanery of, 821.
Westburies, 609.
Westcliff, manor of, 161.
West cross, in Tenterden, 570.
Westenhanger, Queen Elizabeth at, 496; the parish now included in Stanford, 805.
Westerham, hundred of, 126; murders there, 44, 241; custom of Borough English in, 189, 755; price of wheat at, in the 14th century, 210; grant of the manor of, to the abbot of Westminster, 243, 247; rising at, 403; tokens issued at, 842; the birthplace of General Wolfe, 632. See also p. 726
Westerham and Edenbridge, hundred of, 127, 163.
Westgate, hundred of, 156, 165.
Westgate, Canterbury, 154.
West Greenwich, alias Deptford, the church appropriated to Cardinal's College, Oxford, 434.
Westhalimote, township of, 162; exactions in, *ib.*
West Kent, a Parliamentary division, 686; its boundary line, 846, 847.
Westminster, a staple town, 328.
Westminster Abbey rebuilt by Henry III., 112; grant of Edenbridge and Westerham to the convent of, 243, 247.
Westwell, parish of, how formed, 806; record of a trial concerning the manor of, 179; burglary in the church of, 245; the advowson given to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, 506 n.
Westwell Park, outrage at, 134.
Wethenden, warren at, 243.
Wet Level, the, 253.
White Friars, Canterbury, 571.
White Hills, or Chalk Hills, as a boundary of the Weald, 640, 645.
Whitherst, in Marden, its owners, 16.
Whitley Forest, 743.
Whitsand, John Balliol delivered to the Pope's nuncio at, 226.
Whitstable, hundred of, 165; a member of the barony of Chilham, 150, 157; tenants withdrawn from, 154; a member of Sandwich, A.D. 1565, 512; horseway from, to Canterbury, 447 and n.
Wickhambreux, a manor belonging to Joan, countess of Kent, 345 n.
Wigginden, tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred court, 127.

- Willengale, two churches in one church-yard at, 764 n.
- Willesley House, in Cranbrook, 569.
- Willow Farm, 752.
- Willow Farm, 752.
- Wilmington, tenure of the manor of, 190.
- Winchelsea, royal admonition to the barons and bailiffs of, 74; Henry III. at, 84 and n.; the countess of Leicester at, 96; the burgesses visit her at Dover, *ib.*; sack of, by Prince Edward, 98; obtained by exchange from the abbot of Fecamp, *ib.*; great storm at, 111; trial by compurgation at, 173; Edward I. in danger at, 224 n.; charcoal-burning near, 334; the Spanish fleet defeated near, 342; the town burnt by the French, 343; again, 349; Queen Elizabeth's visit to, 495.
- Winchelsea, Old, Friars Preachers at, 103 n.
- Winchester, Parliament at, in 1264, its peculiar character, 100; the great fair at, 513 n.
- Winchester castle, the bishop of St. Andrews imprisoned in, 264.
- Windsor Castle, Hubert de Burgh its governor, 71; Eleanor of Castile obliged to leave, 88; Edward Prince of Wales at, 262.
- Wingham, hundred of, 165.
- Withersden in Wye, 243.
- Wittersham not noticed by name in Domesday, 20, 763, 765; the manor house, 20; the church once collegiate, 20, 727.
- Wittersham Level, 253.
- Woghurst, in Marden, its owners, 16.
- Woodchurch, its manors, 20; the church of, a sanctuary, 35; token issued at, 842. See also p. 727.
- Woodchurch to Hemsted, ancient road leading from, 583.
- Woodland, manor of, 811.
- Woodnesborough, part of the dower of Queen Margaret, 257.
- Woodrove, a manor in Ebony, 13.
- Woolwich, assize of bread and ale in, 140.
- Woolwich, North, 755.
- Worth, hundred of, 152, 153, 165.
- Wotton's (Lady) Green, 554 n.
- Woudhese, the tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 42.
- Wrotham, hundred of, 129, 163; the bishop's prison in, 47; Richard de Tonebridge's lands in, 108. See also pp. 727, 743.
- Wrotham, early church at, 796, 797; tokens issued at, 842.
- Wrotham parish, Plaxtol severed from, 812 n.
- Wycheherst, the tenants of, withdrawn from the hundred, 42.
- Wye, hundred of, 164; not included in the Hundred Roll, 118, 119.
- Wye, early church at, 796, 797; gift of the royal manor to Battle Abbey, by William I., 338, 351; manor-house, court-house, and gaol, 243 n.; extortion at the fair of, 149; manor of, *ib.*; weekly market at, 339; murder in a tavern at, 244; pleas of juries and assizes at, 243, 300; wool from, 209; Edward I. entertained at, 235; Edward Prince of Wales at, 259; his letters written at, 259, 260; Edward II. keeps his Christmas at, 266; Lollards' Hole at, 377; college founded by Archbishop Kempe, 463 n.; rental of the time of Henry VI., 411; the Upper Town, the Dungeon, the Cross, and the North Street, *ib.*; yokes, *ib.* and n.; payments and services of the tenants, 412; free yokes, 413; yardlands, *ib.*; the denes, *ib.*; the Wall and the Rype, *ib.*; becomes a part of the possessions of the Crown, 478; granted to Lord Hunadon, *ib.*
- Wyghetheherst, a denes of Marden, 132, 133.
- Wynchenden in Hawkhurst, 243.
- Wysparroke, in Caleshill, 134.
- Yaldham, in Wrotham, 471.
- Yalding, manor of, 130; forfeited by Hugh de Audley, jun., 297; grant of the manor, 427 n.; the church appropriated to Cardinal College, 434; complaints against the vicar of, A.D. 1640, 587; tokens issued at, 843. See also p. 728.
- Yantlet creek, disputes as to fisheries in, 110.
- Yarmouth, discord between the men of, and those of the Cinque Ports, 74, 300 and n.
- Yarmouth and Portsmouth, battle between the ships of, 226.

GENERAL MATTERS.

- Abbots, exempt, 237 and *n.*
 Abjuration of the realm, 33, 36, 42, 50, 146.
 Absolution, form of, for the merchants of the Staple, 329.
 Accession of English Kings, whence dated, 115.
 Advowsons, sale of, ordered to cease, 590.
 Affray between the bailiffs of the King and the Archbishop, 53; between the monks of Rochester and the hospital men of Stroud, 2; at Tenterden, 34; at Combwell, 47.
 Agricultural labourers, Cobbett's remarks on the, 650.
 Agriculture in the Weald, progress of, 656.
 Aids, their amount, temp. Edw. III., 369; abolition of, 596.
 Alehouses in the Forest, 242.
 Alien priories in Kent, 235; taken into the King's hands in time of war, 236.
 Alienation of hundreds, 131; of lands held of the Crown, 504.
Allodium, definition of, 718 *n.*
 Alms and oblations of Edward I., 257.
 Alnager, appointment of the office of, 328.
 American War, the, 623.
 Ancient demesne, lands in, 192, 193 and *n.*; not to be confounded with Crown lands, 193; rights of the tenants, *ib.*
 Annals of England cited, 359, 605, 617.
 Antiqua statute, what, 302.
 Apparel, laws for the regulation of, 594, 595 and *n.*
 Appeal, explained, 52 *n.*
 Apple orchards in Kent, 514 and *n.*
 Archæologia Cantiana cited, 4 *n.*, 317 and *n.*, 344, 348, 356, 389, 392, 398, 417 *n.*, 421, 432, 471, 475 *n.*, 499, 556, 577 *n.*, 579, 654, 695.
 Armada, the Spanish, 498; preparations to meet it, 499.
 Arms and armour, all required to possess, according to their estate, 174.
 Army in the thirteenth century, its character, 185; of Kent, A.D. 1598, 517.
 Artillery, introduction of, 340; casting of guns in the Weald, 485, 488.
 Artists, colony of, in the Weald, 747.
 Assarts, definition of, 297 *n.*
 Assize of bread and ale, 37; also cloth, wine, &c., 45; offenders against, 41, 45, 52, 134, 152.
 Assize towns in Kent, 819.
 Assizes, the earliest Kentish, 169 and *n.*; oath of the jurors, 160; regular establishment of, 217; those for Kent settled at Maidstone, 758.
 Average, explanations of, 142 *n.*, 149 *n.*, 412 and *n.*
 Avermen explained, 160.
 Bailiffs, oppressions by, 153, 154, 158.
 Bakers fined for false weights and measures, 234 *n.*
 Baptismal churches, 814.
 Baron, limitation of the title of, 249.
 Barons' War, the, 79—93; Kentish partisans, 94.
 Barony, tenure by, 180.
 Baronets, creation of, 525 and *n.*; some connected with Kent, 525, 526.
 Battle, wager of, 172; late instance of, 173; when abolished, *ib.*
 Beacons, or fire signals, set up in Kent, 499 and *n.*
 Bearing a fagot, explained, 460 *n.*
 Beer, how made in the 13th century, 95; its price, 213.
 Bell foundry at Broomfield and Ulcomb, 595.
 Bethereden marble, its early use, 12, 15.
 Bible, the, ordered to be kept in every church, 466.
 "Bibliotheca Cantiana," list of Turnpike Acts, taken from, 659.
 Black death, a pestilence so called, 343.
 Boats, toll of, 125.
 Bondland tenants, 757.
 Book-hawking successful in the Weald, 675.
 Boroes, Boroughs, explained, 784, 797 *n.*
 Borough English, custom of, not known in Kent, 189; prevalence in Surrey and Sussex, 755, 756 and *n.*
 Borsholders, what, 38 *n.*, 781.
 Boundaries, parochial, 812.
 Boundary of the Weald, disputes concerning the, 608; consequent lawsuits, 609, 638.

- Boundary and Tithe cause, Lord Le Despencer v. Eveleigh, 638.
- Bows and arrows, provision of, 174.
- Brewers in Kent restrained by statute, 418.
- Brewers and bakers, punishment of, 2 n., 37.
- Bricks, little used in England before the 14th century, 211.
- Bridges, archiepiscopal grant of indulgences in favour of builders of, 15 n.; repair of, how provided for, 779 and n.
- Brighton Railway, its branches in Kent, 663.
- Broach, or pitcher, 128 n.
- Bulls, papal, not allowed to be brought into England, 89, 102.
- Burgage tenure, hardly known in Kent, 188.
- Burying without view of the coroner, fines for, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54, 55.
- Butchers fined for selling unwholesome meat, 234 n.
- Calendar, reformation of the, by Pope Gregory XIII., 622.
- Camps formed in Kent, 624, 638.
- Cannon, the first, of English manufacture, 484 and n.
- Cannon-balls of stone, 409.
- Carriage of heavy goods, in the 14th century, 213.
- Carronera*, what, 6.
- Castellans of manorial prisons, oppressions practised by, 168 and n.
- Castellated houses, licences for erecting, 409.
- Cast iron, various articles of, of early date, still found in the Weald, 483.
- Castle-guard, military tenure of, 182 and n.; various classes, 183; composition for, suggested by Hubert de Burgh, 73; its consequences, n.
- Castles, ancient, in or near the Weald, 743.
- Catholic Emancipation, struggle for, 654.
- Cato-street conspiracy, the, 650.
- Chantries, foundation of, 817 and n.
- Charcoal, manufacture of, 334; cost of, in the 16th century, 484.
- Charcoal-iron, manufacture of, 681.
- Chatham Chest, its foundation, 500.
- Cheese, illegal exportation of, 152.
- Cherries, cultivation of, 514 and n.
- Chimney money, abolition of, 598 and n.
- Chimneys and glass windows, 410.
- Church, the, in the 13th century, 101; during the reign of Edward I., 229; increase of its possessions, 236; internal dissensions, 237; Archbishop Winchelsea, 304; in the 14th century, 367; papal revenues, &c.; in the 15th century, 415; in the 16th century, 439, 461, 475; in the 17th century, 585; in the 18th century, 613; in the 19th century, 670; present state, 674, 675; list of incumbents and patrons in the Weald, 833.
- Church government, different opinions on, 592.
- Church lands, sale of, decreed, 590.
- Church patronage in Romney Marsh, 765; in the Weald, 833.
- Church privileges, not derived from the mistaken piety of our kings, 237.
- Churches, the early, mostly built of wood, 23 n., 814 and n.; enumeration of the earliest Anglo-Saxon, in Kent, 796; erection of, 808; endowment of, 813; division of, mentioned in Domesday, 764 n.; that record incomplete as regards churches, 810 n.
- Churches in the 13th century, lists of 22, 23.
- Churches and clergy in the Weald, 674.
- Cities and important boroughs generally rated as hundreds, 144; responsible for offences committed therein, 109.
- Citizens and burgesses, when first summoned to Parliament, 100.
- Class legislation under the Tudors, 509.
- Clergy, benefit of, 35, 47, 58; accused, claimed by their bishops, 35, 47, 58, 174; delivered over to their ordinaries, 218 n., 236; talliages levied on, by the Popes, 101; double taxation of the, by the Pope and the King, 234; their treatment by Edward I., &c.; complaint of the, of the burdens cast on them by the State, 453; their marriage discouraged by Queen Elizabeth, 507; cease to tax themselves in Convocation, 822.
- Clergy in the Weald, complaints against the, 586; their exemplary conduct at the present day, 674.
- Clergy and their followers armed to resist the Spanish Armada, 500.
- Clerks [clergymen] not in boroughs, 33, 54; claimed by their bishops when accused of offences, 35, 47, 58, 174; accused of crimes, delivered over to their ordinaries, 218 n., 236.
- Close Rolls of Henry III., extracts from, 2, 3.
- Cloth, price of, fixed by law, 408; regu-

- lations as to dyeing, &c., 480; export of, 481.
- Cloth manufacture greatly encouraged by Edward III., 323 and *n.*; his protection of the foreign clothworkers, *ib.*; statutes concerning, 325; jealousy of the people, 326; alnagers and other officers appointed, *ib.*; excess of supervision, 327; the staple, or public mart, 327 and *n.*; proposed restrictions, 479; statutes regulating the trade, 480; estimate of its extent, 481.
- Cloth trade, how lost to Kent, 606.
- Clothworkers, the company of, formed, 408; restrictions on those of Kent and Suffolk, 480.
- Coal, duty on sea-borne, 582 and *n.*
- Coal in the Weald, search for, 682.
- Colton, Court of the, at Canterbury, 154.
- Common fields, 691 *n.*
- Commonwealth, the, 519; Parliamentary Surveys under, 555.
- Compositions between lords and tenants of denes, 198, 201, 333, 426.
- Compurgators, Hallam's remark on, 171; late instance of their employment, 173 and *n.*
- Conservators of the peace, appointment of, 370.
- Constable of Dover Castle placed in ancient charters before the Lord Warden, 70 *n.*
- Constable, high, his former importance, 782.
- Coroners fined for neglect of duty, 43, 49; complaints against, 130, 131, 153, 156, 157; number of, in Kent, 773 *n.*
- Coroner's clerk fined for acting in place of the coroner, 38.
- Corporations, responsibility of, for trespasses committed by their members, 249.
- Corredy, a custom of the Weald, 5.
- Cotterall, explained, 523 *n.*
- County courts, originally held in the open air, 757; regulated, temp. Hen. III., 109.
- Court of dens, 736.
- Courts leet regulated, temp. Hen. III., 109; two classes of, 781.
- Cross-roads in the Weald, their former bad state, 659.
- Court rolls of manors, valuable information contained in, 739 *n.*
- Crown revenue from hundreds in the Weald, 780.
- Currency in the 13th century, 208.
- Curtes, explained, 523.
- Dandy fire, what, 681.
- Danger, a custom of the Weald, 5, 7, 427 *n.*, 693 *n.*
- Danger-silver, 427 *n.*
- Dates, official, not always to be relied on, 398.
- Delinquency, compositions for, 532.
- Denes, number of, in the Weald, 729; their formation, 694; table of, 827.
- Denes of the Crown in the Weald, 197; of the see of Canterbury, 201; right of the lords to the timber growing thereon, 333.
- Denes and Manors, distinction between, 3; the distinction ceases, 331.
- Deodands, instances of, 32, 38, 43, 49, 53.
- Diet in the 13th century, 207.
- Diet and apparel regulated by statute, temp. Edw. III., 370.
- Dissent in the Weald, 675; George Fox the Quaker, 676.
- Dissenters, powerful in the Weald, 615, 675.
- Dissenters and Roman Catholics, claims of, 654; the Penenden Heath meeting, 655.
- Divine service, tenure by, 179; Mr. Elton's remark on, 180.
- Domesday, iron works mentioned in, 27; churches mentioned in, 763, 810 *n.*
- Draining and reclaiming land, effected by the ecclesiastics, 337, 768.
- Drovedenes, origin of the name, 6; right claimed by the lords of, 332; not confined to the Weald, 693 *n.*
- Duel between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchelsea, 655, 656 *n.*
- Dumb boraholder of Chart, 785 *n.*
- Earl Marshal's rolls, their nature, 194.
- Earliest owners in the Weald, 10.
- Earthquakes in Kent, 513.
- Ease, chapels of, 814.
- Ecclesiastical Commissioners, their receipts from four parishes in the Weald, 746.
- Ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Kent, 820.
- Education in the Weald, 675; of pauper children, suggestion for, 669.
- Eelbournes. See *Nailbournes*.
- Eighteenth century, the, 604.
- Elective franchise, changes in the, 684.
- Electors in Kent, great increase of, 686.
- Encroachments on the King's highway, 37, 51, 54, 129, 131, 136, 139, 241.
- Encroachments on the King's rights by various persons, 121–162.
- Englicery, or Englischerie, explained, 31.

- English language first used in the courts of law, temp. Edw. III., 347.
 Enrolment of freemen, its purpose, 174.
 Episcopacy, ordinance for the abolition of, 590.
 Escarpment, definition of, 736.
 Escheats, importance of the reservation of, by lords of manors, 198 n.
 Escheats and forfeitures, 9, 32 n.
 Escheators, complaints of oppression by, 122—160; statute to restrain them, 128.
 Escuage, explained, 186.
 Espies, what, 62.
 Estreat, explained, 121 n.
 Esturam, explained, 130 n.
 Excise duty, granted to the Crown in place of purveyance and pre-emption, 594.
 Execution, men cut down alive after, 142, 143.
 Exemptions of the men of the denes, 229 and n.; from receiving knight-hood, 303.
 Exeter, Statute of, its provisions misinterpreted by Mr. Toulmin Smith, 794.
 Extended, explained, 137 n.
 Extortions of bailiffs, escheators, sheriffs, and others, 121—162.
 Fairs in Kent in the 13th century, 136; holding of, in churchyards, forbidden, 236; held by royal grant, 513; long flourished in the Weald, *ib.*; their suppression, *ib.*
 Fairs and markets forbidden to be held on Sundays, 418.
 Famine in England, 271, 292.
 Fealty, oath of, still due from every tenant of a manor, 186 n.
 Felons, chattels of, 245.
 Festivals and fast days denounced by the Parliament, 534; riot in consequence at Canterbury, *ib.*
 Feudal doctrine of escheat, 9; incidents, 186; sovereignty assumed by the Popes, 101; system, causes of its decline, 186 n.; its evils and advantages, 187.
 Feudalism little known in the Weald, 120.
 Fifteenth century, the, 374.
 Firewood, trade in, make a cloak for smuggling, 335.
 First-fruits paid to the Pope, 368.
 Fisheries, 109; disputes about those in the Medway, 110.
 Flannels and baizes, manufactories of, established at Sandwich, 480.
 Food, chief kinds of, in the 13th century, 207; prices, *ib.*
 Forage, an oppressive custom abolished by Henry III., 73.
 Foreign, list of places in the, 166.
 Foreign ecclesiastics, taxes levied for, 214.
 Foreign merchants, statutory protection for, 369.
 Foreigners, dismissal of, from office, 76 and n.
 Foreigners and Jews plundered by the Barons, 80.
 Forest laws, oppressions and exactions under the, 528, 694 n.
 Forests, derivation of, 106 n.
 "Forsworn Kent," explained, 723.
 Founday, explained, 576.
 Founders of religious houses, right claimed by, 379 and n.
 Fourteenth century, the, 266, 285, 290, 308, 321, 340, 349.
 Fox-halfpenny, doubtful what, 413.
 Fancalmoine, or free alms, 178; early charters, *ib.*
 Frankpledge, view of, regulated, temp. Hen. III., 109; baronial, 174; court for, still held, 780.
 Freemen, enrolment of, its purpose, 174.
 Free socage, tenure in, 187; opinions as to the etymology of the word, *ib.* n.; various tenures included under the term, 188.
 Free yokes, their tenure, 413.
 Frost, a severe, A.D. 1269, 111.
 Fruit, cultivation of, in Kent, 514; operation of the Tithe Act, 515.
 Fuller's earth, 330 and n.; exportation of, prohibited, 572.
 Fulling mills, their establishment, 329.
 Gallows, provided in each hundred, 119; suffered to fall into decay, 143.
 Game, in the 13th century, 207; right to kill, how formerly limited, 686 n.
 Garter, Order of the, established, 346; three of the original Knights connected with Kent, *ib.*
 Gate-peny, a custom of the Weald, 5.
 Gavel-corn, Gavel-arth, Gavel-rip, explained, 6.
 Gavel, Gafol, or Gablum, meaning of, 5.
 Gavelkind, question of, 60, 61, 62, 64, 191; its abolition recommended by the Real Property Commissioners, 192; this not advisable, *ib.*; statutory testimony to its prevalence in Kent, 418.
 Gavelkind jury, grant of, by Henry III., 63.

Gavelswine, a custom of the Weald, 5.
 Gavelwode, 6.
 Geese, price of, in the 13th century, 95.
 Genoese fleet, the Cinque Ports ravaged by a, 342.
 Grain, price of, in the 13th century, 210.
 Grand Lath, the, held at Dymchurch, 763 n.; Sir F. Palgrave in error regarding it, 776.
 Grand serjeantry, two kinds of, 181 and n.; examples of curious services, 181; formerly rendered to the archbishops of Canterbury, 182.
 Grazing, restrictions on, 509.
 Great Council, the, its limited powers, 100.
 Guard penny explained, 351 n.
 Gunpowder, social changes effected by its introduction, 409.
 Guns, illegal sale of, 485, 489.

Habeas Corpus Act, passing of the, 596.
 Habits of the 15th century, 410.
 Hand mills in use among the Britons, 49.
 Harbinger, duty of the, 452 n.
 Hares rarely noticed in the 13th century, 207.
 Hatchet shewn as a type of opprobrium, 98 n.
 Hearth or chimney money abolished, 598 and n.
 Herdsmen in the 14th century, 321 and n.
 Heriots, 756.
 Herring fishery, statutes for the regulation of the, 360.
 Herrings, purchases of, 212, 214.
 Hides, sale of, 212.
 High and Low Church, rise of the terms, 617.
 High constable, powers of the, 808.
 High roads, hedges and underwood cleared from the sides of, 217.
 Highway Act, the first general, 491.
 Highway Boards, constitution of, 661.
 Highways, diversion of, 54, 490; encroachments on, 37, 51, 54.
 Hobblers, light horsemen, 499 and n.
 Hogs, pannage of, 7 and n.
 Holidays, abolition of many, by Henry VIII., 463.
 Homage, renunciation of, 288.
 Hops, when first cultivated in Kent, 449 and n.
 Horses, prices of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 209; act for the improvement of the breed of, 510.
 Horse-shoes and nails, supply of, from the Weald, 300.
 Hue and cry, 174.

Hundred Court, its privileges, 778.
 Hundred penny, the, for what intended, 780.
 Hundred Rolls for Kent, temp. Edw. I., extracts from the, 121—162.
 Hundreds in Kent, their number, temp. Hen. III., 171; temp. Edw. II., 294; variations of number, 777; present number, and how made up, *ib.*; their ancient and modern names easily identified, 778; division of, 809; manors or lordships appendant to, 780; responsible for offences committed therein, 58; the clergy not in any hundreds, *ib.*; oppressions of sheriffs and bailiffs, 120—162; withdrawals from 121—162; formerly held pleas of the Crown, 168 and n.; places improperly returned as, 166; ordered to be let at reasonable rents, 303.
 Hundred bridges, number of, 784 n.; early presentment for the repair of, 240; in the Weald, question of repairs, 298.
 Imparled, explained, 37 n.
 Imprisonment ordered to be only in the common gaol, 418; action for false, 56.
 Inclosure acts, of the reign of Elizabeth, 511.
 Incumbents, in the Weald, list of, 833.
Inquest, le graund, explained, 171.
Inquisitions post mortem, explained, 194.
 Inundation of the sea, persons drowned by an, 35; by a nailbourne at Canterbury, 111; throughout England, A.D. 1280, 246.
 Invasion, preparations to meet threatened, 341, 498, 625 and n., 638.
 Ireland, the Union with, 637.
 Irish Rebellion, the, 626.
 Iron, home-made, and foreign, 211, 212, 409.
 Iron manufacture, present state of, 679.
 Ironmasters not allowed to cast ordnance without special licence, 488; restrained in their use of timber, 484, 485, 488, 492.
 Ironmongers, grant of armorial bearings to the Fraternity of, 409.
 Iron ore, cost of digging, in the 16th century, 484; various kinds of, 680.
 Iron trade, restrictions on the, 484, 485, 488, 492; its extinction in the south, 607.
 Ironworks in the Weald, 299, 483.
 Ironworks and furnaces in Kent in 1573, 486.

- Itinerant priests, bailiffs' accounts kept by, 208.
- Jews, treatment of the, in the 13th century, 73, 218; massacred at Canterbury by the earl of Gloucester, 80; a converted Jew, the bailiff of Richard de Clare, 57; house for converts founded by Henry III., *ib. n.*; their expulsion from England by Edward I., 219; their return, *ib. n.*
- Jousts, how differing from tournaments, 109; forbidden by Edward I., *ib.*
- Judaism, falling into, explained, 145 and *n.*
- Judges, punishment of corrupt, by Edward I., 217.
- Juries, various kinds of, 63, 171.
- Jurors, derivation of the name, 170; their original function that of witnesses, 171; defaults of, 36—40, 42—47, 49, 53; payment to, once customary, 609 and *n.*; statutes relating to, 418.
- Jury lists, tampering with, in the 13th century, 125.
- Justice, administration of, impeded by the liberties of the clergy and the Cinque Ports, 121.
- Justices in Kyre, inconvenience of following, 62; their functions, 115, 116, and *n.*; their circuits, 170 *n.*
- Justices of the Peace, institution of, 217; in the 14th century, 370; their wages, *ib.* and *n.*; list of, temp. Hen. VIII., 464.
- Kent spade introduced into Scotland, 658.
- Kentish Petition, the, 604, A.D. 1701.
- Kidel, or kettle nets, what, 109 and *n.*
- King's bailiffs hindered from entering on the lands of the archbishop of Canterbury and others, 42, 57.
- Knighthood, compulsory, 223; penalty for not taking the order of, 48, 139; illegal respite of, 146; often bestowed by Queen Elizabeth on her hosts, 493, 495.
- Knight service proper, described, 184.
- Knights' fees, number of, 184 and *n.*; obligations of their holders, 185.
- Knights of the shire, lists of Kentish, 265, 306, 602, 634, 687, 689.
- Labourers and servants, severe statutes concerning, in the 14th century, 369.
- Labour-rents growing into disuse in the reign of Henry VI., 410.
- Laghedays, or law-days, holding of more than the legal number, 43; withdrawal from, 122; arbitrarily changed for the purpose of extortion, 141.
- Land, possession of, once essential to the county franchise, 685; drainage and reclamation of, 337, 768.
- Land peerage, custom of, 641, 649.
- Land-tax assessment revised, 599.
- Lastage, a royal prerogative, 338.
- Lath, derivation of, 771.
- Lath silver, 774.
- Laths reduced to their present number, temp. Edw. II., 293.
- Lef-silver, a custom of the Weald, 5, 7, 711.
- Legion Memorial, the, ascribed to Defoe, 605.
- Leper, case of a woman whose husband was a, 64.
- Levies, military, 292.
- "L. S. A." explained, 178.
- Lime trees, their introduction to England, 596.
- Linen manufacture in the Weald, 607.
- Linen thread manufactory established at Maidstone, 480.
- Liveries, the giving of, prohibited, 418.
- Loans raised by Henry VIII., 453; men imprisoned for petitioning for the return of their money, 455.
- London, Chatham, and Dover Railway, list of lines and branches, 663.
- Long Parliament, meeting of the, 586.
- Lookers, the term explained, 567 *n.*
- Lords Lieutenant of counties, first appointment of, 508; lists of, for Kent, 603, 636, 689.
- Lords Warden of the Cinque Ports, lists of, 603, 636, 689.
- Lyef-yield, the same as lef-silver, 711.
- Mad Parliament, the, A.D. 1258, its leaders, 76.
- Mala, what, 339 and *n.*
- Malefactors in parks and preserves, 44, 45, 57.
- Malfeasance, case of, 60.
- Manor, the term not known to have been in use in the seventh century, 178 *n.*
- Manors, creation of, 808; the lesser, 807; number of, possessing denes, 729.
- Manors in the Weald, 8; the heriotable ones kept up, and the rest generally abandoned, 730.
- Manors and Denes, distinction between, 3; not now existing, 331.
- Manroode, explained, 428 *n.*
- Manuopera, what, 6.

Marian persecution, number of the sufferers variously stated, 475.
 Mark theory of Mr. Kemble, 731.
 Markets and fairs forbidden to be held on Sundays, 418.
 Market gardens, how treated by the Tithe Act, 515.
 Marl, various kinds of, 25 and *n.*
 Marl pits, deaths by accident in, 44, 47, 50, 51; number of pits, 657.
 Marriage without the King's license, 137.
 Marriage and wardship in the Cinque Ports, 254.
 Married bishops and clergy, deprivation of, under Mary, 475.
 Measure, uniformity of, provided for, in respect of dyed cloths, 325 *n.*
 Mendicant orders, rise of the, 237; charged with fomenting the Wat Tyler riots, 359 and *n.*
 Mensuration, explained, 92.
 Messengers, payment of, A.D. 1265, 95.
 Military Canal, construction of the, 638.
 Military tenures, various kinds of, 180; their abolition, 596; less burdensome in the Weald than elsewhere, 4, 596.
 Miraculous cures attributed to the remains of "Sir Simon the righteous" [de Montfort], 92.
Misericordia, explained, 31.
 Misfortune, verdict of, 32 and *n.*
 Money payments in lieu of customs and services, 503.
 Money-rents, introduction of, 410.
 Monopolies, abolition of, 529; speech of Sir John Colepeper, 530.
 Mortmain, lands in, 237.
 Murage and pavage of Tunbridge, tolls allowed to be taken for the, 296.
 Mutilation, punishment by, frequent under the Norman kings, 172 and *n.*
 Mutiny Act, passing of the first, 598.
 Mutiny of the fleet at the Nore, 625.
 Nailbournes, sudden breaking out of, 111; enumeration of several, 112.
 National Debt, first creation of the, 599.
 Naval power of England in the 13th century, 219; quarrels of the French and English mariners, 220.
 New rent, what, 331, 603.
 New style, introduction of the, 622.
 New Year's day presents to Queen Elizabeth, 493 *n.*
 Niefs, ships so called, 341.
 Nineteenth century, the, 637.
 Nomina Villarum of Kent, 9 Edw. II., 293; its main features, *ib.*

Northern Rebellion, the, 497; Lord Hunsdon sent to assist in quelling it, *ib.*
Novel disseisin, explained, 170 *n.*
 Oak, the Headcorn, 14.
 Okkicholte, 142.
 Oppressions of sheriffs, escheators, bailiffs and others, 121—162.
 Orchards, how treated by the Tithe Act, 515.
 Ordeal, trial by, 172.
 Ordinances for bakers and brewers, 37; of the Long Parliament, 590.
 Ordinance, iron, made in the Weald in the 15th century, 409; the first cast-iron cannons, 484; smuggling of, 485, 489.
 Outlawry, terrible consequences of, 130.
 Ownership of the soil of the Weald, changes in, 331.
 Oxen, prices of, in the 13th century, 208; employed to draw a coach, 612.
 Oysters, price of, in the 13th and 14th centuries, 213.
 Pannage, a custom of the Weald, 5; rights of, 7; cessation of, 608.
 Papal influence over the see of Canterbury, how acquired, 69; revenues in England, their various sources, 367.
 Paper, early, made from linen rags, 347.
 Paper mill, the first English one established, 514, 596.
 Pardon, Act of, under William and Mary, 598; exclusions therefrom, *ib.*
 Parish, the word, 116 *n.*; seldom met with in early records, 148; the term first brought into common use in the 16th century, 491 *n.*, 787.
 Parish and borough co-extensive in certain cases, 799; list of, *ib.*
 Parish and manor not co-extensive in Kent, 739, 740 and *n.*, 741, 799.
 Parish churches neglected in favour of monasteries, 816.
 Parishes, formation of, 789; this a gradual process, 812 *n.*; as civil divisions, 818; form of, 819; severances of, *ib.*; date of formation of, in the Weald, 22, 801; number of, in Kent, in the 14th century, 369.
 Parishes and hundreds, list of, in and on the borders of the Weald, 833.
 Parks, ancient, in and near the Weald, 743.
 Parliament, its state, temp. Hen. III., 99; change introduced in its constitution by Simon de Montfort, 100, 101; yearly holding of, statute for, 369.

- Parliament, attendance at the, considered a burden, 303.
- Parliament, a commercial, held A.D. 1337, 324; the Long, 586; the Mad, A.D. 1258, 76.
- Parliament, members of, for Kent, 265, 306, 602, 634, 687, 689.
- Parliaments, series of, since the close of the 13th century, 249; lists of Kentish members, 265, 306, 602, 634, 687, 689.
- Parliamentary Surveys, extracts from, 555.
- Parliamentary wages in the 13th century, 214 and *n.*; Kent claims exemption from the payment of, 302.
- Paroc, corrupted into paddock, 4.
- Parochia, or diocese, 812.
- Parochial clergy, indifferent treatment of the, 816, 817.
- Parochial system, the, 787; its nucleus in Kent, 796.
- Partridges plentiful in the 13th century, 207.
- Paths, obstruction of, 245.
- Patrons, Kentish, list of, 833.
- Pauper children, suggestion for an improved mode of educating, 669.
- Peace, Justices of the, in the 14th century, 370; their wages, *ib.* and *n.*; list of, temp. Hen. VIII., 464.
- Pears, price of, in the 13th century, 95.
- Peers, creation of, by letters patent, the practice commenced, 364.
- Pensions paid by churches, their origin, 816.
- Persecutions, religious, of the 17th century, 590.
- Personal service, substitutes for, 185 *n.*
- Personal services of tenants to lords, 8.
- Personam*, what, 5 *n.*
- Peter-pence, when granted, 368; abolished, 441.
- Petty constables, termed in Kent bors-holders, 785.
- Petty serjeanty, Kentish examples of holding in, 190.
- Petworth marble, 12.
- Pheasants rarely noticed in the 13th century, 207.
- Pig, of iron, its weight, 576.
- Pigs, 7 and *n.*; a chief article of food in the 13th century, 207.
- Piracy charged against the men of the Cinque Ports, 97 *n.*; 98 and *n.*
- Plea Roll, the earliest relating to Kent, 30; extracts from, 30—64.
- Pleas of the Crown, old and new, 170; at Wye, 244.
- Ploughland, *a.*, defined, 185 and *n.*
- Pluralities, evil effects of the system of, 442, 745 *n.*
- Poaching, prosecutions for, 44, 57, 136.
- Poll-tax, the, temp. Edw. III., 346.
- Poor, first general act for the relief of the, 511, 818.
- Poor Law systems, old and new, 666, 667.
- Poor rates, their enormous amount in former days, 666 and *n.*
- Population in Romney Marsh, question as to former, 762.
- Popes, position of feudal sovereigns assumed by the, 101.
- Portmote, explained, 129.
- Poultry, prices of, in the 13th century, 207.
- Pregnancy, plea of, 34, 46.
- Prices of various articles in the 13th century, 95; mediæval, of cattle, corn, and other produce in Kent, 206.
- Primacy, contest for the, between Canterbury and York, 304 and *n.*
- Printing, introduction of the art of, 417, 421 *n.*; Caxton Memorial recommended, 823 *n.*
- Procurator fees, 214.
- Provisions of Oxford, nature of the, 76 and *n.*
- Purpresture, 124; various kinds of, *ib.*
- Purser's pound, the, 625 *n.*
- Purveyance and pre-emption, abuse of, 594; resigned by Charles II., *ib.*
- Quaker, origin of the term, 676 *n.*
- Quarters, a land division peculiar to the Weald, 744.
- Queen Elizabeth's Oak at Northiam, 494.
- Quia Emptores, statute of, 808.
- Quit rents, explained, 198; sometimes called white rents, and why, *ib.* *n.*; absence of, not conclusive as to the tenure of lands, 191; general adoption of, 608.
- Quo Warranto Rolls, extracts from, 240—246.
- Rabbits, introduction of, into England, 207 *n.*
- Rack rents, explained, 137 *n.*
- Radlevat, Court of, 123.
- Rafts employed on the Rother for the conveyance of cannon, 492.
- Railways in Kent, 662, 663.
- Rebels, removal of the bodies of, 303.
- Redress of grievances asked by Parliament, 302.
- Reform Bills, the various, their provisions, 686, 687.
- Reformation, its principles in favour with

- the clothiers of the Weald, 458; story of Richard Harman, 459.
- Reliefs, their amount settled, 108, 412, and *n.*
- Religious houses farmed their own lands, 208; burdened by the frequent visits of great men, 212 *n.*; the abuse restrained, *ib.*; suppression of, 463.
- Rent of tenements at Battle, in the 12th century, 214; of Abbey lands, *ib.*
- Reserved rents, how paid, 336 and *n.*
- Restoration, the, 556; reception of Charles II. in London detailed by eye witnesses, 557.
- Riding officers employed to check smuggling, 575 and *n.*
- Rights, Bill of, passing of the, 598.
- Riparia*, explained, 161 *n.*
- Rippiers, what, 491 *n.*
- Rip silver, what, 6.
- Rising of the Kentish Royalists in 1648, 534.
- Road, a very early one, its materials, 26 and *n.*
- Road from Thanet to Canterbury, interference with, 157, 158.
- Road making, improvements in, by Renzie, Telford, and McAdam, 660.
- Road-side riot in the 13th century, 47.
- Roads, complaints of stoppage of, 54, 138, 139, 146, 157; in the 17th century, 582; their state at the accession of George III., 611.
- Roads in the Weald, their deplorable state, 489; attempts to improve them, 490, 491; further progress, 658; roads in other parts of Kent, 491.
- Roman potteries in the Weald, 26.
- Rooks, statute for the destruction of, 509.
- Roses, Wars of the, 403; their slight effect on the national prosperity, 408 *n.*
- Rural dean, office of, 822 *n.*
- Rye-House Plot, the, 601.
- Saccus cum brochia*, a tenure, explained, 128, *n.*
- Sacrilege, case of, at Lyminge, 53; other cases, 245.
- Salic law, 340.
- Salt, price of, in the 13th century, 95.
- Salt rent, 523 *n.*
- Salt works, 691 and *n.*
- Sanctuary, law of, 31, 818 *n.*; instances of its being sought, 33, 35, 36, 42, 50, 53, 55, 146.
- Saxon spinning wheel, the, 606.
- Scolds, punishment of, 2 *n.*
- Soot-ale, a custom of the Weald, 5; its abuse, 242 and *n.*, 245.
- Scot and lot, Spelman's definition of, 124.
- Sea, encroachments of the, 755.
- Sea coal, introduction of, 205; complaints of its use in London, *ib.*
- Sectatores, or suitors of Court, 167, 171.
- Serfdom, proof of its existence in the reign of Henry III., 211 *n.* See also *Slavery, Villeinage*.
- Serjeanty defined, 50, 181 and *n.*, 182.
- Seventeenth century, the, 519.
- Sheep, price of, in the 13th century, 95; disease among, how introduced, 206 and *n.*; number to be kept regulated by statute, 509.
- Sheriff's tourn regulated, temp. Hen. III., 109 and *n.*; an extortion so called, 131, 132.
- Sheriffs, curtailment of their powers, 168, 169; change in the mode of appointing, 303; not to hold office more than one year, or to let their counties to farm, 418.
- Sheriffs of Kent, temp. Hen. III., 117; temp. Edw. I., 265; temp. Edw. II., 306; in the 14th century, 371; 15th cent., 420; 16th cent., 464, 465, 471, 518; 17th cent., 602; 18th cent., 635; 19th cent., 698.
- Ships, toll of, 133.
- Shire, various meanings of the word, 751 *n.*
- Shire, Knights of the, for Kent, temp. Edw. I., 265; temp. Edw. II., 306; subsequently, 602, 634, 687, 689.
- Silks and stuffs, manufactories of, established at Canterbury, 480.
- Silk stockings, invented by the Spaniards, 480 *n.*
- Silver, the general currency of the middle ages, 208; the English currency once entirely of, 336 *n.*
- Sir, a title given to priests, explained, 461 *n.*
- Sixteenth century, the, 425.
- Slavery in Kent, incidental mention of, 521. See also *Serfdom, Villeinage*.
- Smiths of the Weald, complaints against the, 28, 299.
- Smoke-silver, what, 18 and *n.*
- Smuggling in the 17th and 18th centuries, 618—622; of guns, 485, 489; of wool, 137, 144, 145, 146, 162, 335.
- Socage, tenure in, explained, 188.
- Soemen, 766 and *n.*
- Soft tracks in the Weald, welcome to the barefooted pilgrims, 85.

- Somerhouse land, obligations of the tenants of, 503.
- South Eastern Railway, construction of the, 662; list of lines and branches, 663.
- Sow, of iron, its weight, 576.
- Spiritual Courts, their jurisdiction practically unrestrained in the 16th century, 446; interference of Wolsey, *ib.*; will of John Roper, *ib.*
- Stage-coach travelling in the 17th century, 583.
- Standard weights and measures ordered to be kept at Maidstone and Dover, 419.
- Staple, the, its object and regulations, 327, 328; merchants of the, 328; their form of absolution, 329.
- Statutes passed in the 14th century, their oppressive nature, 369; old mode of publication, 417; when first printed, *ib.*; of apparel, 594, 595 and *n.*
- Stock, mediæval prices of, 209.
- Stock-jobber, the term first heard in London, 599.
- Stone cannon balls, 409.
- Storm, one lasting fifteen days, 110; others mentioned, 111; the great, A.D. 1703, 623; a great, in the Weald, A.D. 1763, *ib.*
- Storms, violent, 111, 246, 250; one changes the course of the Rother, 250.
- Sub-infeudation, 807; evidence of, in the manor of Aldington, 523.
- Subsidy commissioners for Kent, A.D. 1524, 452.
- Suicide, case of, 51.
- Summer-hus-silver, a custom of the Weald, 5, 6, 503.
- Summary of the history of Kent as a Kingdom, and as a Shire, 749.
- Summary of the history of the Weald, 690.
- Sunday schools, their real founder, 617 and *n.*; supported by George III., 617.
- Suppression of religious houses in the Weald, 463.
- Supremacy, oath of, under Elizabeth, 510; persons refusing it, attainted, 511.
- Sussex Archaeological Collections cited, 13, 258, 299, 392, 483, 487, 494, 496, 573, 576, 577 and *n.*, 578, 583, 622 *n.*
- Swine, ancient directions for the rearing and treatment of, 7.
- Swine-money, Swine-peny, what, 5.
- Synodals, payment of, 816.
- Tavern, making a house into a, charged as an offence, 130.
- Taxatio Ecclesiastica of Pope Nicholas IV., its object and use, 21, 238, 764.
- Taxes and tenths, 214.
- Tenures, principal, in Kent, after the Conquest, 177; changes in, 608.
- Terms, legal, some not recognised at the Exchequer, 398 *n.*
- Test Act, the, 560; question of its dispensation, *ib.* and *n.*
- Test and Corporation Acts, repeal of the, 654.
- Thieves, hanging of, introduced by Henry II., 119; some cut down alive, 142, 143.
- Thirteenth century, the Weald during the, 1.
- Tiles and tile-kilns, 211; act to regulate the making of tiles, *ib.* *n.*
- Timber, claim of the sovereign to, 3 *n.*; illegally felled by escheators, 125, 128, 129, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139; growing in the denses, early disputes regarding it, 195, 331; complaints of the waste of, by the iron workers, 575; different estimate of, in Kent and in Sussex, 579. See also *Land peerage*.
- Tithe Act, its operation on hop gardens, orchards, and market gardens, 515; general beneficial effects, 648.
- Tithe causes in the Weald, 608.
- Tithes in forests, 22; payment of, 812, 815; abolition of, ordered, 590.
- Tithing silver, 775.
- Tithings, 148 and *n.*
- Toll of boats, exorbitant, 125; of ships, 133.
- Towns and cities responsible for offences committed therein, 109; often rated as hundreds, 144; hours for closing the gates of, 174.
- Tradesmen's tokens, 748; list of Wealden ones.
- Treasure trove at Eastwell, 630.
- Trees growing in churchyards, controversy respecting, 236; found buried in Romney Marsh and elsewhere, 760 and *n.*, 762.
- Trespasses in hunting and sporting complained of, 242.
- Trial by jury after the Conquest, 167; early instances, 167, 168.
- Troy, Histories of, Caxton's first English book, 421.
- Tumbril, punishment by the, 2 *n.*
- Turnpike Act, the first passed, 584; list of Acts relating to the Weald, 659, 661.

